VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

1640—1800

TRACED FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS PRESERVED AT FORT ST. GEORGE AND THE INDIA OFFICE, AND FROM OTHER SOURCES

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VOL. I.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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'I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff.'
SIR HENRY WOTTON.

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(*a*) India Office Records.

Series.	Abbreviations.
Bengal Letters Received	Ben. Let. Recd.
Coast and Bay Abstracts	C. and B. Abs.
Court Books	Ct. Bk.
Dutch Records, Hague Transcripts	Hague Rec.
Factory Records, Fort St. David	Fac. Rec. F. St. D.
Factory Records, Fort St. George	Fac. Rec. F. St. G.
Factory Records, Masulipatam	Fac. Rec. Masuli.
Factory Records, Miscellaneous	Fac. Rec. Mis.
Home Series, Miscellaneous	Home Mis.
Letter Books	Let. Bk.
Madras Despatches	Mad. Desp.
Miscellaneous Letters Received	Mis. Let. Recd.
Original Correspondence Series	O.C.
Portuguese Records (Transcripts)	Port. Rec.
Charters and Treaties	Treat.

(*b*) Fort St. George Records.

Series.	Abbreviations.
Fort St. David Consultations	F. St. D. Cons.
Letters from Fort St. David	Let. from F. St. D.
Letters from Fort St. George	Let. from F. St. G.
Letters to Fort St. David	Let. to F. St. D.
Letters to Fort St. George	Let. to F. St. G.

FORT ST. GEORGE RECORDS—*Continued.*

SERIES.	ABBREVIATIONS.
Military Country Correspondence	M. Count. Cor.
Military Consultations	M.C.
Military Despatches from England	M. from Eng.
Military Letters to England	M. to Eng.
Military Order Books	M. Ord. Bk.
Military Sundries	M. Sun.
Public Country Correspondence	P. Count. Cor.
Public Consultations	P.C.
Public Despatches from England	P. from Eng.
Public Letters to England	P. to Eng.
Public Sundries	P. Sun.
Revenue Consultations	R.C.
Tellicherry Factory Diary	Tel. Fac. Diary.

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VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

INTRODUCTION

THOUGH not the earliest British settlement in the Indian Peninsula, Madras possesses a peculiar interest as constituting, with the exception of the insignificant site at Armagon,[1] the first territorial acquisition by the English in Hindustan. It enjoys the distinction, moreover, of being the oldest of the three presidential cities, and for a considerable period it was the only fortified stronghold belonging to the East India Company. Fort St. George was erected, in fact, before Bombay was ceded or Calcutta founded. Its Government records are voluminous, and are preserved in singular detail. Topics range from the conclusion of a treaty with a native prince to the disposal of a worn-out horse or the midnight escapades of the Company's junior servants. In one respect, however, the public archives are found strangely lacking; not a plan or map of the seventeenth or eighteenth century survives. The cause of the defect is unknown, but it is evident that wholesale loss or destruction must at some time have occurred. Equally strange is the lamentable fact that the Company's home records, now stored in the India Office, are similarly deficient.[2] Yet there is abundant evidence that numerous plans were drawn at Madras, and copies sent home to Leadenhall Street. Remarkable ignorance of the topography of old Madras results from this inexplicable dearth of maps. At the instance of the local Government, the present work was originally undertaken with the primary object of supplementing known facts by the collation of the topo-

[1] A grant of a small piece of ground was obtained in 1626 at Armagon, where a slender fort was built.

[2] Except that they contained two maps of 1798, one of which has lately been transferred to Fort St. George.

graphical references which are scattered over the ancient records. A systematic search for old drawings in other quarters was prosecuted at the same time, as ancillary means to the same end. It became evident, however, as the investigation proceeded, that the Fort St. George archives contained a mass of interesting and hitherto unpublished matter, illustrating the origin of Madras institutions and the social life of the city's inhabitants. With the consent of the Madras Government, the scope of the work was then widened, so as to embrace a history of the town covering the period from the founding of Fort St. George, in 1640, to the end of the eighteenth century; and the Government of India, on being made acquainted with the project, arranged that the enlarged work should be published in one or more volumes of the *Indian Records Series*. The earliest document found at Fort St. George bears date 1670, but the Consultations are only sparsely preserved down to 1678. The gap between 1640 and 1678 has been bridged with the aid of the India Office archives, which have been consulted also in reference to later years in order to supplement the information available in Madras.

The Fort St. George records were explored about 1860 by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, who published a long series of extracts from them in his *Madras in the Olden Time*. He made use of Bruce's *Annals* for a sketch of the period 1640 to 1670, and thenceforward employed the Madras archives, carrying his quotations down to 1749, when the town was restored to the British after the French occupation. Far from exhausting the matter available for this interval of eighty years, Mr. Wheeler did but touch its fringe. His excerpts are rarely reproduced in this work, and only when historical sequence demands iteration, or when the original spelling, which was not preserved by him, seems to add fresh interest to the transcript. Mr. Wheeler published his extracts in strict chronological order, so that the transition from one subject to another is often abrupt and occasionally violent. That plan has not been imitated. Instead, the extracts relating to a single topic during a governorship or other convenient period are grouped together. The transcripts are printed verbatim, and are connected by a slender thread of explanation or narrative.

Between 1871 and 1873 the Madras Government published some *Notes on and Extracts from the Records* of the period 1670 to

1681, which had been collected by Mr. William Hudleston of the Civil Service; and the Consultation Books for the years 1681 to 1685 were subsequently printed by the late Mr. A. T. Pringle, and supplied with copious notes. At the present time the Madras Government are publishing further selected volumes of the older records.

As regards the India Office archives concerning Madras, Mr. William Foster issued in 1902 a valuable monograph entitled *The Founding of Fort St. George*, which embraces extracts relating to the period 1639 to 1647. These extracts he has generously placed at the disposal of the writer, and they have been freely utilised in the earlier pages of this work. The Rev. Frank Penny, in *The Church in Madras*, published in 1904, gives numerous excerpts from the India Office and Fort St. George records, bearing mainly on matters ecclesiastical.

The subjects treated of in the present work are naturally of great variety, but in the choice of documents for transcription attention has been paid chiefly to the growth of the town and its fortifications, to the origin and development of local institutions, and to the manners and mode of life of the inhabitants. The history is restricted as far as possible to that of the city. The town of San Thomé is included, lying as it does within the present municipal limits of Madras; and it was found impossible to ignore St. Thomas's Mount, which, though outside the urban area, has been closely connected with the city almost ever since Fort St. George was founded. Military operations, except when they directly affected Madras, are left out of account, partly because they are generally outside the purview of the work, and partly because they have received ample notice from writers of the eighteenth century.

Liberal use has been made of scarce books and unpublished manuscripts, and no scruple has been felt in making brief transcripts from works such as those of Salmon, Lockyer, and others, which, while not readily accessible, contain valuable descriptions of Madras.

The absence of early plans and maps proved a source of difficulty at the outset. When writing his *Madras in the Olden Time*, Mr. Wheeler had before him a map of the bounds of 1733, extending from Ennore to Triplicane. This he reproduced,

presumably to a reduced scale. The original has unfortunately been lost. Fryer's conventional and inaccurate plan of Fort St. George, dating from about 1673, is well known. An incorrect French plan of the environs of the Fort in 1746, originally published, it is believed, in the *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, has been reproduced in various forms and in several works. It is found, for instance, in French engravings preserved at the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale, and as an English print of 1751, by John Roque; while it is used by Prévost d'Exiles in his *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, 1751, and by J. Vinson in his *Anandarangapillai : les Français dans l'Inde*, 1894. The siege plans of 1758 contained in Orme's *History of the Military Transactions in Indostan* and Cambridge's *Account of the War in India* are known to all; and an outline drawing of the Fort as it was about 1746 is to be found in a Government memorandum of 1857 by Captain Rawlins.

The information conveyed by these plans is far from complete, but careful search has brought to light a number of additional maps. Chief among them is a large scale *Prospect of Fort St. George and Plan of Madrass, Actually Surveyed by Order of the late Governor, Tho. Pitt, Esq.*, an engraved copy of which has been found in the Bodleian Library. The value of this discovery cannot be over-estimated. The map throws a flood of light on the early topography of the Fort and town. An interesting MS. map of great size, drawn in 1755, has been traced in the King's Library of the British Museum, together with two large-scale plans of the Fort in 1753 and 1758. The War Office has yielded two MS. plans of the Fort of 1749, and the Pondicherry archives possess several drawings relating to the French attack of 1758-59. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a map of Madras which is considered to be of 1768, besides others of less value. Photographs of some drawings of Fort St. George of 1779, preserved among the archives of the Hydrographic Service, have been obtained through the favour of the French Government. Inquiries addressed to Lisbon, Rome, the Hague, Leyden, and Batavia, have met with courteous response, but have been otherwise unproductive. Langlès' *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l'Hindoustan* affords a plan of Madras in 1688, and Valentijn's *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* one of San

Thomé of about 1673. The British Museum preserves a MS. plan of San Thomé of about 1635. Most of the maps and drawings above mentioned have been reproduced for this work, and by comparison of them with the topographic references in the records, it has been found possible approximately to reconstruct Madras as it appeared at various periods of its history. Several old views of the Fort are also reproduced; while the addition of a few portraits of notable Madras men will, it is hoped, give a further interest to the volumes now presented.

The original spelling is preserved in the extracts, but contractions have been in most cases expanded and punctuation modified. The spelling of Indian proper names in the narrative, but not in the quotations, conforms generally to the modern system of transliteration, except where local custom justifies a different usage, or where variation from the spelling in the extracts might tend to cause confusion.

The utmost help and encouragement were extended in India by the Government of Madras under Lord Ampthill, and afterwards the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, and the writer desires to express his sense of the liberal consideration displayed. To the Hon'ble. Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., who has watched and assisted the progress of the work from its inception, he feels particularly indebted. On the writer's return to England, the most ample facilities were accorded him by the India Office, and especially by Sir Arthur Wollaston, K.C.I.E., and Mr. William Foster, successive heads of the Record Department.

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From her transcription much of the matter relating to the interval 1647 to 1680 has been prepared; so that, as regards this period, Miss Sainsbury's work is rather in the nature of collaboration than mere assistance. Moreover, the writer's own copies of the Fort St. George records have been in many cases supplemented by further extracts made by this lady at the India Office, and the instances have been so numerous that this general acknowledgment must take the place of individual recognition. The late Mr. William Irvine, the learned and accomplished editor of the *Storia do Mogor*, permitted the writer to use his copies of François Martin's valuable MS. *Mémoire* and Ippolito Desideri's MS., besides supplying translations from Correa, and giving the advantage of his own advice and experience in a multitude of ways.

The writer is indebted also to the following ladies and gentlemen who have contributed assistance in multiform variety: Messrs. Thomas Agnew & Sons for permission to reproduce the portrait by Romney of Sir Archibald Campbell; Miss L. M. Anstey for particulars regarding Streynsham Master; the Rev. L. Besse for permission to use his translation of an ancient MS. preserved among the Jesuit archives in Rome; Mr. G. F. Barwick for assistance given in the British Museum Reading-room; Mr. S. R. Scargill Bird for search in the Public Record Office; M. A. Bourgoin for copies of plans and documents in the French archives at Pondicherry; the late Archbishop Colgan for examination of the Capuchin records at Madras; Mr. J. R. Coombes for particulars of title-deeds of land and buildings; Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., for permission to reproduce an old French print in his possession; Mr. A. R. Cumming, I.C.S., for identifying obsolete villages and tracing documents relating to the Town Temple; the Rev. James Doyle for the gift of an original drawing of San Thomé Old Cathedral and for rendering other help; the Very Rev. Francisco Ehrle for search in the Vatican Library and communication of extracts; the late Mr. Donald Ferguson for the use of his monograph on Robert Knox; Colonel Francis Forde for information regarding artillery services; Dr. S. G. de Fries for inquiries made in the University Library of Leyden; Dr. F. de Haan for search among the records at Batavia; the Hakluyt Society for permission to use their copy of Desideri's MS.; Mr. A. L. Hannay, I.C.S., for help in connection with the records of the Mayor's Court: Mr. Horace

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A bibliography is appended; but particular acknowledgment must be made of the assistance derived from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, and J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*.

CHAPTER I

1603–1639

THE CITY OF MADRAS—THE COROMANDEL COAST—THE NAIK'S GRANT

The City of Madras.

In the palmy days of Madras at the end of the seventeenth century, when the southern city was the chief British settlement in Hindustan and the principal mart for European and native goods, the East India Company's ships outward bound for 'the Coast and Bay' timed their arrival for the middle of the year, when fine weather was assured and a constant southerly breeze bore them northward from Ceylon. The vessels, heavily masted and armed for defence, sailed in company for the sake of security, and generally reached Fort St. George during the month of July. To the voyager of those days who approached Madras from the south, the prospect must have been exactly what the traveller of the present day may see at the same season of the year from the deck of his steamer—a gently undulating sapphire sea; a thin line of white where the swell breaks in surf upon the shore; a strip of golden sand; a continuous fringe of dark foliage which seems to cover, as if with dense forest, the level surface of the land; and in the background a few isolated purple hills of no great height rising abruptly from the plain: the whole bathed in brilliant sunlight. Of the hills one, conspicuous by the steepness of its slopes, is crowned with a building, the ancient church of St. Thomas's Mount, which for nearly four centuries has been a landmark to mariners. Low sandhills by the mouth of a small river, which expands near the shore into a lagoon, form the site of the early Portuguese settlement of San Thomé, which was a fortified town of wealth and importance before ever the British

East India Company was constituted or Fort St. George founded. Save for the tall spire of its lately rebuilt cathedral, San Thomé can have changed little in its sea aspect during two hundred years. At the end of the seventeenth century its fortifications had already been demolished, and the almost ruined town, though still inhabited by Portuguese, was governed by the servants of the Mogul.

Three miles north of San Thomé is Madras itself. Not till the city comes into view are the changes apparent that have been wrought by the hand of man. A noble marina now skirts the shore from San Thomé. The towers and minarets of the public buildings at Chepauk rise among the trees. The traveller is borne past the mouth of a river, closed, except during the rains, by a bank of sand thrown up by the eternal surf. It is spanned by a girder bridge, over which is seen the greensward of the Island, an area sacred to martial exercises, polo and gymkhanas. The Island is formed by two branches of the river, or rather by two separate streams having a common outlet to the sea. Next is passed the historic fortress of St. George, the spire of its venerable church towering above the white colonnaded buildings of the eastern front, and the British flag floating from the tall mast at the Sea Gate. Not so long ago the waves washed the face of the fortifications, but with the construction of the modern harbour the ever travelling sand has banked up against its southern pier, and the foreshore has advanced until the Fort looks out on the ocean across a wide expanse of solid ground.

Passing the splendid pile of the High Court, which bristles with domes and gilded minarets, and is surmounted by a lighthouse, the voyager enters a square artificial harbour, and sees beyond its jetties and warehouses a mile-long line of public buildings and mercantile offices. Behind this line, though hidden from view, is a square mile of densely populated area, covered with a network of narrow streets and squalid slums, constituting the city proper. Known almost from its origin as Black Town, it has lately received the more euphonious name of Georgetown, in memory of a visit paid by the Sovereign when Prince of Wales. North of Georgetown are the suburbs of Royapurum and Tondiarpet, and west of it those of Vepery and Pursewaukum, with Kilpauk farther in the background. West of the Island are Egmore and Chetput, districts

bounded on the south by the winding course of the river now known as the Cooum. South of its placid backwater, which resembles a lake more than a river, lie Government House and Park, and the thickly populated Moslem quarter of Triplicane; while to the westward is situated the residential district of Nungumbaukum. South of Nungumbaukum and Triplicane are Teynampet and Mylapore respectively, the latter embracing San Thomé. Yet farther south is the suburb of Adyar, on the picturesque banks of the river of the same name. The chief residential districts for Europeans are those of Egmore, Chetput, Nungumbaukum, Teynampet, and Adyar, all occupied by snow-white pillared mansions, each standing in its own spacious and umbrageous compound.

Two hundred years ago Madras existed on a scale far smaller. The Fort, less than half its present size, was the European town: the native city, since swept away, was contiguous to it on its northern side. Georgetown was a sparsely populated suburb, occupied by gardens and 'garden-houses,' whither the Company's servants retired for rest and relaxation. The districts to the westward were marked by tiny villages, centres of agricultural areas held by the Company on precarious grants from the government of the country, while everything south of Triplicane was native territory, over which the British had no dominion. In the following pages an attempt is made to describe the origin of the settlement, and to trace the successive stages of its remarkable development down to the end of the eighteenth century.

The Coromandel Coast.

At the time of the founding of Fort St. George, in the year 1640, the East India Company's principal settlements were Surat on the west coast of the Indian peninsula, and Bantam in the island of Java. A President and Council governed each settlement with its subordinate out-stations. The factories on the Coromandel[1] coast, the chief of which was Masulipatam, were

[1] *Coromandel*, originally written *Chormandell*, and pronounced with *Ch* soft. Thus, Italian authors, as Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo, have Ciòmandala. The word is a corruption of *Chora-mandala* or *Chola-mandala*, the country of the Cholas, an ancient Tamil race centred in Tanjore. The term Coromandel was applied to the coast from Calimere to the Kistna.

managed by an Agent and Council, who were subordinate sometimes to Bantam, sometimes to Surat. Bantam, where an English factory had been established as early as 1603, became the seat of a presidency in 1618. It was afterwards vacated in favour of Batavia, a settlement which was founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1619; but Bantam was reoccupied in 1628, and, though for a time subordinate to Surat, it became independent again in 1634.

A settlement had, in 1611, been formed at Masulipatam, chief port of the state of Golconda, one of the five independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan. The English possessed no territory there, but they had been permitted by the Kutb Shāh 'Abdullah to build a factory or trade-house, and transact business on the coast. The factory was not a manufactory, for nothing was made there: it comprised merely warehouse, offices, and residential accommodation for the factors and their guard. The trade consisted in the importation from Bantam, and occasionally from England direct, of specie and European manufactured goods, the sale of the latter, and the 'investment' of the former in the purchase of calicoes, chintz, and muslins by advances made to the local weavers. The calico, or 'long-cloth,' was sent to England, while other cotton goods were readily absorbed by the Java market.

The Dutch East India Company, the jealous rival of the British association, had its headquarters at Batavia. On the Coromandel coast it possessed not only a factory at Masulipatam, but also a fortified settlement at Pulicat, an open roadstead 160 miles farther south. Pulicat lay in territory over which the ancient Hindu house of Vijayanagar still held sway. The Mussulman kings of the Deccan had combined to crush the state of Vijayanagar[1] at the Battle of Talikota in 1565, and the Rajah was forced to leave his capital and take refuge at Chandragiri.[2] There he built himself a palace, the ruins of which may still be seen, and maintained a loose sovereignty over his southern territory, which he ruled through local Naiks[3] or chiefs, as those of Pennukonda, Seringapatam, Armagon, Poonamallee, Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura.

[1] The country of Vijayanagar originally extended from the Godāvari to Cape Comorin, including both Mysore and Travancore.

[2] *Chandragiri*, in the present district of North Arcot, seventy-five miles west-north-west of Madras.

[3] *Naik*, *naigue*, from Sans. *nāyaka*, a chief.

These Naiks were almost independent, and their descendants became the *poligars* of the Madras Presidency.

The settlement of Pulicat proved of great advantage to the Dutch, for the best cotton goods were procurable from the adjacent districts, while the fortress of Geldria enabled them to overawe their Naik. The English at Masulipatam, hampered by the exactions of the King of Golconda's officers, saw that to compete successfully with the Dutch, they, too, must secure a footing in the southern districts. In 1621 they became partners with the Hollanders at Pulicat, but the union proved uncongenial, and it soon terminated. Five years later a grant was obtained of a piece of ground at Armagon, thirty-five miles to the northward of Pulicat, and a factory and small fort were erected there. For four years, during which Masulipatam was deserted on account of differences with the Golconda government, Armagon enjoyed an ephemeral importance; but with the re-establishment of the chief agency at the northern port in 1632, the subordinate settlement lapsed into a condition of struggling existence. The Naik was unfriendly, and the indifferently built fort was falling to decay. The Company sanctioned withdrawal from Armagon, and it was decided locally to seek a less inhospitable spot.

In 1639, when Thomas Clarke was Agent at Masulipatam, and Francis Day Chief at Armagon, affairs at the head settlement were in some confusion, and the Presidency despatched Thomas Ivie to supersede Clarke and establish order. Ivie arrived at Masulipatam from Bantam on the 22nd July in the pinnace *Eagle*. On the way he touched at Armagon[1] and authorized Day, at the latter's solicitation, to sail down the coast and negotiate for a new settlement. Day, who was first appointed a factor by the Company in 1632, had for some time contemplated this project. According to the Dutch records, he made a voyage of exploration in 1637 from Masulipatam as far as 'Pollecheere.'[2] The expedition was not immediately fruitful, but it led to overtures from a Naik named Dāmarla Venkaṭādri, Venkaṭappa, or Venkaṭapati,[3] who

1 On the 16th July (*O.C.*, No. 1700, 2nd Sept., and *O.C.*, No. 1718, 25th Oct., 1639).

2 *Pollecheere*, the future French settlement of Pondicherry.

3 Day calls the Naik Vincatadra, Vintutedra and Vintatedro; the Dutch records give Venkatappa; Agent Chamber at a later date writes Vencatapate. The village-name Dāmarla is derived from a hamlet in the Chingleput District.

ruled the coast from Pulicat to the Portuguese settlement of San Thomé. This Naik, who is called 'Lord General of Carnatica' and 'Grand Vizier' to the Rajah, had his headquarters at Wandewash, and appears to have left his brother Aiyappa,[1] Naik of Poonamallee, to attend to affairs on the coast. On Ivie's departure from Armagon, Day sailed to a town called 'Medraspatam,' three miles north of San Thomé, and obtained from the Naik a grant of territory and privileges, and licence to build a fort and form a settlement. He then returned to Armagon, wrote a report of his proceedings to Ivie, and himself carried it to Masulipatam.

There he found the succession to the Agency disputed. The Presidency of Surat, while yet unaware of Ivie's mission from Bantam, had, under authority from England, despatched Andrew Cogan, or Coggan, to the Coast. In March, 1638, the Company wrote to Surat that Cogan, who had previously served for eight or ten years under Bantam,[2] had been re-engaged for five years at £200 per annum. He was to join the Council at Surat, or, if there was no vacancy, to be sent as Agent to the Coast.[3] Accompanied by two factors named Henry Greenhill and Thomas Morley,[4] Cogan sailed to Goa in May, 1639, and thence made his way across the peninsula by way of Bījāpur and Golconda. Reaching Golconda on the 19th July, after an adventurous journey, he obtained audience of the king through the good offices of 'Meir Mahmud the Serkale,[5] my speciall good friend,' and was granted a *farmān* for the Coast trade. He arrived at Masulipatam on the 17th August, and found Ivie in possession. The latter contended that he had been duly appointed Agent by Bantam, and he declined to give way. Cogan was willing to refer the matter to the Presidency, but on the 3rd September the factors—Francis Day, Thomas Peniston, Thomas Winter, Thomas Rogers, Henry Greenhill, Humphrey Tompkins, and Thomas Morley—decided that the Company's

[1] According to the Dutch records of 1642, Aiyappa was brother-in-law to Venkatapati, Rajah of Vijayanagar.

[2] Cogan first entered the Company's service about 1615.

[3] *Let. Bk.*, vol. i., 16th March, 163$\frac{7}{8}$.

[4] *O.C.*, No. 1725, Dec., 1639. Greenhill afterwards became Agent at Fort St. George.

[5] *Serkale*, the vizier or chief minister, from Pers., *sar-i-khel*, literally head of the tribe. Mīr Muḥammad appears to have been the personage afterwards so well known as Mīr Jumlah.

orders over-rode presidential instructions, and that Cogan must be recognized as Agent. Their decision proved to be in accord with the views of the Bantam Council:—

Bantam to Surat.

'Ere wee understood of your determination in sending Mr. Andrew Cogham for Cormondell, wee dispeeded the *Eagle* thither, and upon her sent Mr. Thomas Ivie to take charge of our Masters estate, and get in order there most distracted bussines in those parts. But since the receipt of those aforesaid advises,[1] wee have revoaked what then wee imposed upon Mr. Ivie and . . . sent absolute Comission for seating Mr. Cogham in that Agency, with whome wee desire your Correspondencye.' (*O.C.*, No. 1689, 16th August, 1639.)

Being given the choice of service in Bengal or at Bantam, Ivie elected the latter, and sailed towards the end of October.[2]

The Naik's Grant.

On the 3rd September, 1639, the date on which Cogan was recognized as lawful Agent, Francis Day, who had arrived at Masulipatam a few days before, delivered his report, together with the Naik's grant:—

"*Letter from Francis Day dated in Armagun the 27th Jully*[3] *and delivered by himselfe 3d September*, 1639.

(*O.C.*, No. 1690, 27th July [? Aug.], 1639.)

'Worshippfull and our respected freinds. Yours of the 19th July,[4] left at your departure, I have with sorrow perused, for in the front I meete with discouragement sufficient; for now Expectations are frustrated in regard our freinds at South ward are in the same predicament:[5] but what remedye more then to make a vertue of necessitie, for Custome makes sufferance easy, and necessity teacheth men to suffer willingly. . . .

'Att your being here I acquainted you with many kind invitation[s] and larg priviledges by the Nague of Vincatadra, whose teritories lyes betweene Pullacatt and Santomee, the only place for paintings[6] so much desired at southwards,[7] and likewise great store of longcloath and morrees[8] which is

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[1] From Surat.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 1715, 19th Oct., and *O.C.*, No. 1718A, 25th Oct., 1639.

[3] July appears to be an error for August. Day did not reach Madraspatam from Armagon until the 27th July.

[4] A letter of instructions from Ivie.

[5] Bantam having no money could spare none for the Coast.

[6] *Paintings*, chintz, on which the coloured design was imprinted by wood blocks, or traced by hand.

[7] *At southwards*, Bantam.

[8] *Morrees*, blue cotton cloth.

there procurable (Muster[1] of the later now accompanyes these). I had your Consent to make a Voyage to the Nague, and therefore sett sayle for those parts the 23th Jully, and arrived the 27th, where I was entertayned with much Honnour by the Nague himselfe, etc. Me[r]chants, Painters, and Weavers. Affter some parlay with the Nague, I had free leve to vizt his townes and soe discourse with the Merchants, Painters, and Weavers, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of Cloath. I was not furnisht to buy, but only to inquire of their prizes, which with sorrow I heard. Haveing Compared boath sorts and prizes with ours at Armagon, beleve mee, I lament our masters great Losses and Cannot blame our freinds at Southwards for their offten Complaints. . . . I neede not tell you that Armagon is only Chargable; the place affords nothing of itselfe, not soe much as a peece of whit Cloath but Comes from other places: as for Merchants, how misserable poore they are, by the Nagues Continuall forceings, there Complying with us and the Cloath sent to the southwards speakes loude in Confirmation of the misserey of the place with their backward perffor[m]ances.

'The Common Arbitrator, time, hath now made a beneficiall discovery, iff you shall please to imbrace such Large and secure offers which the Incloased Coppie of the firman granted by the Nague will Demonstrat. It may give incouragement sufficient; and Francis Day, who Accompanyes these, wilbe readie to give you a verball relation of the Hoped benifit that will Attend if a residence were there once settled. Oppertunity of time is to bee followed when such occasions for our Masters benifite offers itselfe. Changes of time are tickle, and if you suffer this oppertunitye to pass over, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fledd and gone. . . . And that you may more Evidently perceive noe private respects of my owne hath drawne mee to advise you as abovesaid, but only a reall well wishing to my Masters will joyne with a dutious earnest desire to procecut what may bee Conceived best for their advantage, doe promise, iff the goods there provided shall not apeare at the southwards 15 per cent. Cheaper then those formerly bought at Armagon, not to lay Clayme to any one peney of what shall bee due to mee for all my service from my Honnorable Imployers; which, did I not tender their proffitt farr before my owne, I would never soe willingly hazard. But why doe I say hazard, being Confident I run none, haveing soe good assurance off performance? I forbeare to ad any more, being I am to deliver these with my owne hands.

'Some few dayes since there happned a disaster to a Portugall shipp, richly laden, lyeing in this road, by the insolencye of the dareing Dutch, whoe with two shipps from Pullacatt came to take the said shipp. I was then absent, but Mr. Browne sent of to the Duch, adviseing them that the goods were bought by the Cheife there. . . . In fine, after four or five great shott from the Portugalls, shee fired,[2] they not gaineing any thinge of hirs. . . .

'Your observant freind

'FFRANCIS DAY.

'*Armagon, Le 27th Jully*, 1639.'

The Naik's grant, erroneously styled a *farmān*, which was probably drafted by Day, was delivered with the foregoing letter. Three copies are extant, viz., *O.C.*, Nos. 1690, 1695, and 1751, all

[1] *Muster*, from Port. *mostra*, sample, pattern. [2] *Fired*, took fire.

of which are endorsed by Cogan. Only the last bears a date, 22nd July, 1639, where July is probably a slip for August, since Day did not reach Madras until the 27th July:—

'*The firman granted Mr. Day for priviledges in Medrasspatam*[1] *by the Nague Damela Vintutedra.*

(*O.C.*, No. 1690, 22nd July [? Aug.], 1639.)

'Firman granted by Demela Vintatedro Nague unto Mr. francis Day, Cheife for the English In Armagon, in behalfe of the Honble Company for their tradeing and fortifieing at Medraspatam, to this effect as followeth:—

'Whereas Mr. Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises offten made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Medraspatam and had personall Conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that Nation, Concerning their trading in our territories and freindly Comerce with our subjects; wee, out of our spetiall Love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to Idgitate the affaires of that Company, by vertue of this firman, Power to direct and order the building of a fort and Castle in or about Medraspatam, as they shall thinke most Convenient, the Charges whereof, untill fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof. And to make more full Expression of our effection to the English Nation, wee Doe Confirme unto the said Mr. Francis Day, or whatsoever other Substitutes or Agents for that Company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the Goverment of Madraspatam for the terme and space of two yeares Next Insueing affter they shall be seated there and possest of the said fortifications; and for the future by an Equall Division to receive halfe the Custom and revenewes of that port.[2]

'Moreover, Whatsoever goods or Merchandize the English Company shall either Import or Export, forasmuch as Concernes the dutyes and Customes of Medraspatam, they shall, not only for the Prementioned two yeares in which they Injoy the Goverment, but for ever after, be Custom free. Yett if they shall Transport or bring any commodities up into, or through my Countray, then shall they pay halfe the dutyes that other Merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said Commodities either in my Dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever.

'Also that the said English Company shall perpetually Injoy the priviledges of mintag[e] without paying any Dewes or dutyes whatsoever, more then the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall Quoyne the moneyes.

'Iff the English shall Accquaint us before they deliver out any moneys to the Merchants, Painters, Weavers, &c., which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or teritories, and take our word for their sufficcency and honest dealeing, then doe wee promise, in case those people faile in their

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[1] The first instance of the use of the name which has been traced. The early Portuguese writers do not mention the place.

[2] Later documents show that, while the British charged customs on all imports and exports, the Naik was entitled only to half of such portion of the dues as was paid by owners who were not inhabitants of Madras.

performances, to make good to the English all such sumes of money as shall remaine on their Accounts, or Else deliver them their persons, if they shalbe found in any part of my teritories.

'That whatsoever provisions the English shall buy in my Countrey, either for their fort or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any Custom or Dutyes for the same.

'And if any shipp or vessell belonging to the English (or to any other Countray whatsoever which tradeth or shall come to trade at that port) shall by misadventure suffer shippwrack and bee driven upon any part of my teritories, they shall have restitution upon Demand of whatsoever can bee found remaining of the said wrack.

'Dated the 22th July, 1639.'

The Masulipatam Council considered the report favourably, and resolved that Day should return to Madras and keep the Naik in play until the sanction of Bantam could be obtained:—

Masulipatam Consultation.

(*O.C.*, No. 1705, 5th Sept., 1639.)

'Consultation held in Messulipatam the 5th September, 1639, by whose names are underwritten.

'Mr. Francis Day haveing had leave to make a vioage from Armagon to Madrapatam, a port towne between Pullacatt and Santomay belonging to Damela Vincatedree Nague, as well to view the said place and take notice what Clooth and painting are there made and procured, as personally to Conferre and treat with the saied Nague concerning our trade and Traffique in his cunttrey and fortifying at his port: which hee haveing effected, and received a firmane with large and ample previledges, as is there specifyed, and accquaintted us both by word and writting with his actions there and his opinion thereupon, which wee seriously discust of and considered, doe in regard that Nague is to be answered in forttye dayes, resolve speedylie to send backe the saied Francis Daye for Madraspatam with horsses, suger and Cloves, to keepe a faire Correspondence with that place and indeavour to prolong the tyme abovesaid, it being directly against the order off the President and Councell of Bantam to begin any ffactory as yett. Butt if the Nague shall earnestly persist therein, the saied Francis Daye shall uppon occasion pishcash [1] him with one of the horses; which, with good words, and his being there to Negotiate, will wee hoope delay his importancy till further order arive from Bantam or elsewhere: and untill then wee will noe building bee medled withall.

'Our Honble Imployers being in debt at Armagon to that Nague and some other Claimorous Creditors there, hath Induced us to send a long with the saied ffrancis Day 20,000 pagodas [2] for the Cleereing those Ingadgments and

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[1] *Pishcash*, to make a present; from Pers. *pesh-kashīn*, to place before (a person).

[2] An error for Pags. 2,000. The pagoda was a gold coin current in South India, varying in value according to type and place of minting. The 'old pagoda' of Golconda, which was used at Masulipatam, was then worth about ten shillings.

defrayeing Expence of Garrison, etc., Although wee are forced to take it up here at Interest, it being all one Wether wee take it up heer or there; and doe beleive wee have noe way Contradicted the Companys orders, it [? not] being to make any Investment.[1]

'THOMAS IVIE.[2]

'ANDREW COGAN.
'FRANCIS DAYE.
'THOMAS MORRIS.
'THOMAS WINTTER.'

Difficulty in raising money caused delay, and Day applied to resign the service unless he could be employed at Madras:—

Francis Day at Masulipatam to the Agent and Council.

(*O.C.*, No. 1708, 13th Sept., 1639.)

'You Alleage I cannot be spared from the Imployment of Madraspatam. I have this seaven dayes attended for a dispeede thither; but for anything I can perceive there is noe such thing resolved on, Monies being wanting, without which iff you should send mee, it would be a great dishonour to our masters. When first I gave my consent thereto att Consultation, it was Concluded (because it is expressly against the Companies order to take upp monies att Interest to make Investments) that, to maintayne the Credit of the Ac[ti]on and not to lett fall a bussines of that Consequence and importance, the some of 2,000 pagodas should bee made upp by privat men, and sent thither to keepe the merchants there adoeing till a shipp from Bantam (or Elsewhere) with meanes should arrive; which resolution being dasht by meanes of Mr. Ivye (the first proposer), who falling therefrom hath discoraged the rest to proceede. Soe that now, you not haveing wherewithall to imploy mee, I humbly desire not to bee detayned, Contrary to Equety and reason, but to grant mee my petition. . . .

'Yett, if you are fully determined to proceed for Madraspatam, that soe fayre an oppertunity for our masters proffitt may not be lett slipp, I shall then willingly undertake it, provided that with all Expedition you furnish mee with the some of 2,000 pagodas . . ., and alsoe an able man that may equally Conclude and act with [me in whatever] good offices shall there offer for our masters beniffitt, which may the better warrant my proceedings; that when wee arrive thither, wee may as well act as discourse, and fix a firme beleif in the minds of those countray people of our intentions to settle a trade there assoone as our shipps come with meanes. And to manifest unto you no privat regard to my owne Ends sways mee, I am content to pay the Interest of the said some untill Cristmas, althoug I am Confident my masters are soe noble that they scorne any of their servants should suffer when their proffitt is totally aimed at. I shall now Conclude with the adding of respective Saluts from your observant frend

'FRANCIS DAY.'

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[1] The Company's orders prohibited borrowing for 'investment' in the purchase of manufactured goods.

[2] Ivie signs apart in order to disclaim subordinacy to Cogan.

Money was accordingly borrowed, and at the end of September[1] Day was ordered to sail in the *Unity* with Humphrey Tompkins, pay off debts at Armagon, and thence voyage to Madraspatam, see the Naik, and make an experimental investment. The proceedings are recorded in a letter to England despatched in the following month:—

Masulipatam to the Honble. Company.

'Next thinge which comes to memory is to shew your Worships that when Mr. Ivye, &c., merchants were at Armegon, Francis Day was Inordered to goe towards St. Thomay to see what payntings those parts doth afford, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon; which accordingly he did. And, the [ ] August last, the said Francis Day, haveinge Dispatcht what hee was sent about, came for this place, and shewes us what hee had Done. And first he makes itt appeare to us that at a place Called Madraspatam, neere St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or as good as anywhere on this Coast, likewise Excellant long Cloath, Morrees and percalla[2] (of which we have seene Musters), and better Cheape by 20 per cent. then anywhere Else. The Nague of that place is very Desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that Effect. For first, hee proffers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott[3] of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a shipp of any Burthen may Ride within Muskett shott, Close by a river which is Capeable of a Vessell of 50 Tonns;[4] and upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what Charges hee shall have disbursed. Secondly hee gives us the whole benifite of a towne neere by for two years, which towne may bee at present worth about 2,000 pagodas per annum; but after two years, the proceede of that towne to be Equally devided betwene him and us. Thirdly wee to be custome free continually at the Port of Madraspatam and, yf wee carry any our Goods through his Countray, to pay half the Custome usually by other Merchants. Fourthly, wee to Enjoye the priviledge of mintage, without payinge any dutyes. Fivethly, that for all such monyes as wee shall Delliver out to workmen, hee the said Nague wilbe liable to make it good, allwayes provided hee be made accquainted with the delivery. Sixthly, what provisions soever wee shall buy, Either for fort or shippinge, to pay noe dutyes at all. And lastly, if any shipp or vessell shall happen (belongeing to us or our freinds) to be cast away upon any his Territoryes, all whatever is sav'd, upon Demand, shall be restor'd.

'They are fayre priviledges; and may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. 'Tis Answered by himselfe. First, he desires his Countray may flurrish and grow rich; which he Conceives it will by Draweinge Merchants to him. Secondly, hee desires for his money good Horses from Persia. Thirdly, that yearly upon our Shipps hee may send a servant into the Bay Bengalla, to buy him Hawks, Apes, Parratts and such-

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1713, 28th Sept., 1639.

[2] *Percalla*, spangled cloth, like the modern *phulkāri*.

[3] The surf bank, on which the Fort was afterwards built, possesses a command of a few feet above the level tract to the westward.

[4] Only flat-bottomed craft of this tonnage could float in the river.

like bables; and that, when hee shall have occasion to send a vessell of his owne there, or to Persia, a man of ours may proceed upon her. And lastly, the fort, being made substantiall and strong, may bee able to defend his person on occasion against his insultinge Neighbours.

'If your Worships intend to Continue this Trade, as wee are Confident you will . . ., the abovesaid proffers are not to bee refus'd. For your fort of Armagon is of noe vallew, indeed better left then keept, for 'tis but a meere Charge to keepe it; nay, yf it bee kept till next yeare, twill require as much Charge as will build another in the prementioned place.' Besides, it affords at present not a peece of good Cloath, for that Nague soe pills and pols the Merchants that they are not able to Comply with their Contracts. Further, this place of Messulapatam is not fitt to bee your Cheif factory; for soe longe as tis soe, in some measure wee must bee subject to these people: for who knowes what may happen to-morrow? Your Estate here, upon alteration of goverment, is not secure. . . . But while the grass grow[s] the steed Starves; soe, Er these can come to your Worships hands (unless you have given the President power to fortifie, and desolve Armagon), the Dutch by their large bribes may (when wee would) cause some stopp: which yf they should, yett will not doubt to finde some other fitting place better (for a worse cannot bee) then Armagon.

'The Captain-Generall of St. Thomay, in a letter to us by Mr. Day, makes proffer of any place in that Citty, being soe Inordered from the Viz Roy: which offer of his and the former wee dare not Imbrace or medle withall without your Espetiall order or the President of Bantam. However, as wee made him noe promise to come, soe gave him noe absolute Deniall, but defferrd him till our Presidents Arrivall[1] to treate farther on that perticuler. For the Generall, &c. Portugalls, as they are now our freinds, will not goe about to opose us; but, rather then wee should settle att Madraspatam, would afford us any accomodation in St. Thomay, where wee might bee under their Command; but wee hope yowl give order for the other place, yf any.

'To that Ende, assoone as wee had procur'd 2,000 pagodas at Interest to pay our debts at Armagon, wee dispeeded Mr. Francis Day thither, with order to goe from thence to Madraspatam with our letter and a horse for a Piscash; that soe hee might bee the better persuaded, the Nague, wee would come and settle there; for the Dutch had reported wee were soe farr in Debt as wee were scarce able to keepe house, and therefore [they] wish'd the Merchants, &c., not [to] beleve as any such thinge as buildinge a fort was intended. And likwise ditto Day,[2] in Company with Mr. Tompkins, to take with him all such goods as were in Armagon unsould, with four horses sent from hence to sell; as alsoe, yf hee could perswade the Creditors in Armagon to staye for their monyes a longer time (because we pay noe Interest), to take that Monyes with him. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1718, 25th Oct., 1639.)

A letter to Bantam was despatched at the same time, but two days later the Agency received intimation that the Coast was transferred to the control of Surat. Application was accordingly renewed to that Presidency. At a subsequent date, when the

1 The Agency was then expecting a visit from President Muschamp of Bantam.

2 *Ditto Day*, the said Day.

settlement at Madras had been formed, the Agency, called on to justify its action, addressed a letter to England, quoting the correspondence which had passed at the time. The following extract from this letter discloses what occurred :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 1792, 26th Sept., 1642.)

''Tis granted that Andrew Cogan had your order, or rather the President, &c., of Surrat, for the dismantling of Armagon, for to that President, &c., your worshipps made us subordinate, and so consequently to be ordered and directed, for they writt us in this manner concerning Armagon :—

' " The Forte in respect of its quallitie, for ought wee have yet heard, can as little resist any Ordinarie force as secure goods or any thing else subsistant therein, or shipps without in the roade, in regard they are forced, thorough the shouldnes of the water, to ride at such distance. . . . Dated the primo 8 ber, 1639."

' Wee in answere to which said that Armagon was better lost then found, of which place you are not misinformed, &c. And say farther that the house and fforte is so decayed that to continue it but on[e] yeare longer it will cost a 1500 or 2000 pagodas, which monyes woold halfe build a defenceable place in a Naiques country adjoyning St. Thoma, concerning which be pleased to peruse seriously the inclosed to that effect, according as you finde the Company inclyned, give Order for its goeing foreward ; for, for the supply of the Southern parts, that or such a place must be had. Dated the 8th November, 1639.

'Then, the 18th do., after the receipt of severalls from Mr. Day which Importunes us to goe for Maddaraspatan, wee say, " Wee know obedience exceeds Sacrifice : to our power wee have and shall practize it ; but in a busines of such consequence, wherein celerity is required or hazard to lose all, it even staggers us ; for willingly wee woold proceed uppon it as Mr. Day desires, but we are very sencible how dangerous 'tis to breake a Commission, and, prove how it will, must be subject to sensure."

'Then the 14th of 10 ber wee writt againe, and intimated to Surrat that the Naique of Armagon takes notice of our intent to leave that place, &c. ; and that he being now imployd in the warrs, is a good time to get away our people. . . .

'Then . . . the primo february [1640] we writ againe to Surrat in thes words, " Wee have been long in expectation for order to remove our people from Armagon where, unless it be done very suddainely, wee must be forced to expend a good Some of Monyes in repairations ; but being almost confident that that place is doomed for desolution, wee have yesterday enordered Mr. Day to put on boord the shippe Eagle some of the Ordnance, &c."

' By which your worshipps may perceive that still wee expected order from the President, &c., unto whom wee were Subordinate ; for without order from them wee might not, nor did stirr.

'Then, about the 6th February came a letter[1] to hand from the President and Councell aforesaid, which said Letter hath thes words in one clause :—

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1751, 8th Jan., $16\frac{39}{40}$.

'"Touching the dismantling Armagon, you received the Companys positive order, when they knew not that it was so decayed and woold require so great a some of monies as 2000 pagodas to make it habitable only, not defencible. With those our masters directions, our duties prompted us to inviate our opinions, which then assented to what they had byn pleased to determine, provided you discover no maine Inconveniencie, hinderance or dammadge to their affairs in its execution. Such, nor your Advises nor Mr. Dayes relation Intimated, but on the contrary present unto us faire hopes of fortifying at Madraspatam; which wee conceive, according to the Import of your letters, will be so farr advanced that our directions will come to Late to Improve the Action if you have gone through with it. . . . That some such place is very necessarie unto you for provision of Paintings for the Southern ffactories, wee are by your information induced to credit; that the Naique of Armagon hath abus'd you and rob'd those that trade with you, your confession publisheth; that notice of your intended desertion of his precincts will exasperate him against you and invite him to Impediate the Gunns exportation, is most probable. How you can prevent his designes and force them from thence will be a matter (wee believe) of some difficultie. Then doth the whole action require no lesse then a most serious deliberation and prepention for its contrivall and performance; and therefore wee coold wish the Agent had byn present to assist and further, with his ableler advice, the progression and perfection of the whole Machine. If you goe foreward with it, doe what you resolve on to purpose, and build no such mock forts as that of Armagon, &c.;[1] and so wee wish you good sucess to your undertakings."

'Upon receipt of which Lines abovesaid, Andrew Cogan imbarqu'd himself, and went uppon the worke, taking that Letter for his warrant; for being subordinate, he durst not stir as before said till order; if which be (or bee not) warrant sufficient, Andrew Cogan referrs himself to your worshipps. . . .

'ANDREW COGAN.
'HENRIE GREENHILL.
'JOHN BROWNE.'

Note.—The Dāmarla family is now represented by the Rajah of Kālahasti. In 1800 Captain Colin Mackenzie obtained the following genealogical list.[2] Neither Venkaṭappa nor Aiyappa is mentioned, but the name of their father, Chennappa, appears:—

[1] Comparison with a copy of the original letter from Surat shows that the words here omitted in Cogan's quotation are: 'To whose direccons many appendancies are requisite and necessarye, as in the Scite, the Nature of the Moulde whereon it is to be founded, the Native helpes the circumadjacent country yealdeth for its strengthening, with many other not knowne to us, but may be acculmilated by you uppon sight of the place; whereaboutes you intend to raise the worke; to whose direccon to mannage-inge, we must of force referr the whole accon.' And in another part of the same letter the Presidency write: 'Tengumbarr (yf the Danes would parte with yt) we have heard is a convenient, serviceable and defencible fortificacon. Wee beleeve none here hath power to dispose of it; yet if theire povertie should induce them to parte with yt, and that you founde yt so usefull and serviceable to your buisnes as yt hath beene reported, that place woulde merritt oure owneinge.' (*O.C.*, No. 1751.)

[2] *Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., vol. ix., No. 31.

'*History of the Polygar of Calestry.*

1. Carey Chenapa Nairdu.	Held in Enaum the Village of Daumel in the Conjeveram Province.
2. Daumel Comar Modul Nairdu.	
3. Daumel Comar Timma Nairdu.	
4. Daumel Comar Paupa Nairdu.	
5. Daumel Comar Chinapa Nairdu.	Founded the Village of Chinai[k]upom, now called Chinapatam or Madras.
6. Daumel Comar Timma Nairdu.	Deprived of his Patrimoney in the year A.D. 1657.
7. Daumel Comar Paupa Nairdu.	
8. Daumel Comar Pedda Vencatapa Nairdu.	
9. Daumel Comar Akapa Nairdu.	
10. Daumel Comar Vencatapa Nairdu.	Slew in battle the brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn.
11. Daumel Comar Timma Nairdu.	Present Polygar, A.D. 1800.'

CHAPTER II

1640—1641

FOUNDING OF FORT ST. GEORGE—THE FIRST CYCLONE—PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT

Founding of Fort St. George.

The authority given by President Fremlen and the Council of Surat for settlement at Madraspatam was not of a decisive character. For some time they disregarded the appeals from Masulipatam, and when at length their reply was sent, it conveyed conditional approval of a transfer from Armagon which they assumed had been already made. The correspondence quoted above shows that Cogan and Day were at Armagon early in February, 1640, when the authorization reached them. They quickly completed the dismantling of the fort, and embarked in the *Eagle*, which, in company with the *Unity*,[1] reached Madras on the 20th of the same month. This important date of first settlement is fixed by the narrative of the commander of the *Eagle*, to be quoted later. The reports of their proceedings after arrival, which were doubtless transmitted to Surat, have unfortunately been lost; consequently, surmise, strengthened by sundry allusions of subsequent date, is the only guide to what occurred. The party accompanying Cogan and Day from Armagon probably comprised one, or perhaps two, other factors,[2] and as many writers, a gunner, a surgeon, the garrison of about five-and-twenty men, which was probably under the command of Lieutenant Jermin,[3] assisted by Sergeant Bradford,[4] sundry European artificers as carpenters, smiths, and coopers, a native powder-maker, and a staff of servants.[5] A few Portuguese and

[1] In a document of about 1660, to be quoted later, mention is made of three ships.

[2] Messrs. Humphrey Tompkins and John Browne appear to have been of the party.

[3] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. xx., 13th March, 16$\frac{49}{50}$.

[4] *O.C.*, No. 1885, 8th Sept., 1644.

[5] At Bantam, in 1645, the steward, barber, butler, and cook were all Europeans *O.C.*, No. 1968, 29th Dec., 1645).

other private merchants seem to have joined the expedition. The pinnaces *Eagle* and *Unity* were of about 100 tons burden, and the crew of each would consist of about twenty-five Europeans.[1] After arriving at Madraspatam and landing the ordnance and stores, the Agent's first object must have been the provision of shelter, which was obtainable by the hire of native houses in the village, or by the erection of temporary sheds of bamboo and palmyra.[2] The Naik had engaged to build a fort, but when it transpired that he contemplated nothing more than a stockade, Cogan and Day resolved to erect a permanent work themselves. Materials and labour were probably procured through the Naik, and building began on the 1st March, the date reported by Cogan as that from which expenditure on the structure was first incurred.

The site for the fort had probably been selected by Day during his earlier visits. An understanding of its position requires a brief description of the topography of the place. Two streams flowing from the west and north respectively had a common outlet to the sea about a mile south of the village of Madraspatam. The first, which was then known as the Triplicane River, and now as the Cooum, followed a winding course through the villages of Chetput, Nungumbaukum, and Triplicane. The other, a smaller stream, called the North, or Elambore River,[3] flowed parallel to and about a mile distant from the coast, along the west side of Madraspatam, till it reached the site of the present General Hospital. It then bent sharply to the east, and, when near the sea, turned southwards again for about three-quarters of a mile, and met the Triplicane River at its outlet. The first bend, by the existing General Hospital, was within 300 yards of the Triplicane River, and at that point a cut was made, at some unknown period before the end of the seventeenth century, between the two streams, with the object probably of equalizing flood-levels. The

[1] The *Advice*, a similar vessel, had a ship's company of twenty-three (*O.C.*, No. 1968, 29th Dec., 1645).

[2] Manucci, writing in 1699, says: 'Not more than sixty years ago, this Madras was a sandy beach . . . where the English began by erecting straw huts' (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii., p. 96, ed. by William Irvine, late B.C.S.).

[3] Thomas Pitt's map shows that the present Cochrane's Canal, combined with what is now the northern branch of the Cooum, was formerly called the 'Elambore River,' notwithstanding that the western branch, or 'Triplicane River,' flowed nearer to the village of Elambore or Egmore. In George Morton Pitt's map 'Elambore Street' is shown in Peddanaikpetta, close to the northern stream.

low-lying, marshy tract of land lying between the rivers was consequently surrounded by water, and it was known as early as 1643 as the Island. The two streams formed a wide backwater, and communication with the sea was open only during the rains. The site chosen for the fort was a point on the surf-bank of sand which lay between the Elambore River and the sea, three-quarters of a mile north of the outlet, and just south of the town or village of Madraspatam. At or near the site were a few huts forming a small *kuppam*, or fishing hamlet.

The extent of territory transferred under the Naik's grant is nowhere specified. The first offer made to Day, before that factor was sent down by Agent Ivie to prospect, was of a 'place (rather, plot of ground)'[1] on which to build a fort. The subsequent documentary grant not only gave power to erect a fort 'in or about Medraspatam,' but also conferred on the British the full revenue of the town for two years, which was to be continued also for the future, subject to the payment to the Naik of half the sum annually collected.[2] The territory whose control was transferred to the Company was therefore the whole area contained within the town or village limits of Madraspatam. It was regarded, not as an absolute gift conferring sovereign rights, but as a fief held under the immediate suzerainty of the Naik, just as, at a later date, Sir William Langhorn, as will be shown in the sequel, considered Madras to be part of the dominions of the King of Golconda. Almost the only guide we possess to its extent is the map of 1733 (*q.v.*), which marks the boundaries of the circumjacent villages. Village boundaries are persistent, and there is no reason for supposing that they had varied since the settlement of 1640. Moreover, all the subsequent grants of additional territory of which there is record specify, with one exception, particular villages whose limits are shown on the map referred to. We may conclude, then, that the boundary of Madras depicted in the map of 1733 coincided with that of the Naik's grant, save that the former included an undefined area called 'Narimedo,' which was added in 1645, or earlier. The boundary passed through a point on the coast 300 yards north of the river outlet, and travelled across the Island

[1] *O.C.*, No. 1764, Surat to England, 29th Dec., 1640.

[2] Subject to the proviso that no duty was payable to the Naik on the Company's imports and exports.

to the cut uniting the two rivers. It then followed the Elambore River for a distance of 1,000 yards, curved inland, but subsequently met the river again at the north-west angle of the present Georgetown. Bending due east till about 1,000 yards from the coast, it then turned north for a distance of some 2,000 yards. Finally, it travelled east again to the sea. It thus enclosed a compact area, save for a projecting coast strip at its northern end. The total length of the tract from north to south was about three and a quarter miles, and its mean width one mile.[1] It seems probable that this area, exclusive of the portion added about 1645, was the extent of territory granted by the Naik in 1639.

The fort was lined out nearly square in plan, with a bastion at each angle.[2] As, after completion, it survived until 1714, there is no difficulty in determining its dimensions, which were 108 yards from north to south, and 100 yards from east to west,[3] outside measurement. Cogan and Day were doubtless responsible for the design, and aided by the carpenters, gunners, and other petty officers of the ships, supervised the execution of the work. The factory-house, occupying the centre of the square, was probably begun first. If Fryer's plan of 1673 can be trusted, it was placed diagonally to the square, so that each face of the house fronted and defended the gorge of a bastion. The south-east bastion was completed and armed before the close of 1640, notwithstanding unseasonable rain, which hindered progress. The north-east bastion was the next to be taken in hand. These works appear to have been built of brick in mud, and cased with 'ironstone,' or laterite, a material obtained from the Redhills in the vicinity. The third bastion, probably that on the north-west, was constructed in earth in 1642,[4] and the fourth at some later period. The building of the curtain walls connecting the bastions proceeded more slowly. By 1652 only one of the four was finished, and fourteen years elapsed before the original design of the fort

1 A document of 1649, to be quoted later, partially confirms this view. Orme (*Mil. Transac.*, vol. i., p. 65) mentions that the territory granted or regranted by the Mogul extended five miles along the shore, and one mile inland; and this statement has been used by later authors as if it applied to the original grant of 1639. This area of five square miles, however, included the village of Triplicane.

2 Examples of the square form, which was common at that period, existed at Batavia, Pulicat, Trincomallee, and elsewhere.

3 *Account of the Trade in India*, Lockyer, 1711.

4 It appears to have been cased with stone by the middle of 1643.

was completed. The details of progress will be described in due course.

THE FIRST CYCLONE.

Before the new settlement had been three weeks in existence, and while the *Eagle* and *Unity* were still in the roadstead, an unseasonable cyclonic storm caused the loss of both vessels. The usual months for such storms are May and November, and the occurrence of one in March was unlooked for. The ships were short-handed, the majority of the crews being at work on shore. The *Eagle* rode out the storm, but afterwards went aground to the southward. Her commander was blamed for negligence, and was sent prisoner to Surat. To this circumstance we owe a narrative which he prepared as a defence. His account is too long and diffuse to be transcribed in full, but an extract may prove of interest :—

'*A True Relation given by mee Jno. Cartter, beinge Master of the Pinace Eagle Ridinge in the Road of Madraspatam one the Coast Cormandell, Conserninge the Accedent that befell unto us by Extremitie of Weather the* 12*th of March*, 1639 [1640].[1]

'The first wee arrived in Roade of Madraspatam [was] the 20th of february ffrom Armegon, where wee Road untill the 9th of March, beinge allwayes faire weather; but this present Daye aforesayde in the morninge, I perceavinge a verie great Sea Cominge in out of the Easterboard, I havinge most part of our men ashoare, the which was by warrant from the worshipfull Agent Andrew Cogan; where upon I sent unto the Agent desieringe him to send our men aboard, for I was douttfull of foule weather, that I might waye our anker and goe farther of the shoare for the more securitie of our Shipp. There upon hee sent mee aboard some Blackes, and three of the Unities men to heelp mee. Then presentlye I wayed and stood of into Seaven ffaddom and ½ wat [er] and there ankered, beinge some mile and halfe or more of the shoare, where wee Rid untill the leaventh in the morninge, beinge Satterdaye. By daye light I Comminge out upon the Deecke, I saw our Shipp begin to take in watter at her foremusts portes, our ordnaunce being all out. I caussed the gunner to be called upp, and gott them all in fore and afte, and all the Poartes to be barred in Cloose whereby to prevent all danger that might insue Ridinge in such a place as that is, havinge nothinge to frind in such Extremitie but the wid osean Sea, or the shoar to loose mens lives, without the great mercie of god; as the Countrie peeple sayd that never was the like storme knowne at such a time of yeare, not by the oldest man liveinge in all them parts.

'The 12th in the morninge, being Sund daye, it began to Blow verie fresh,

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[1] The civil year began on Lady Day, the 25th March. Hence the date which we now express as the 12th March, 1640 (O.S.), was then written 12th March, 1639, or 12th March, 16$\frac{39}{40}$.

the wind at south south East, and lookt verie Badlye Round about. Whereupon I stroake both our topmastes and yardes, and tooke downe all our small mastes; beinge Morred with a Cabell of a leaven Inches and a half, a hundred and thirtie faddoms longe, new made, that to any mans Judgmente it would have Rid her under watter; but only in such a place as that is where there is noe Ridinge, havinge noe sheelter at all in such weather without gods great mercie.

'Att which time I havinge but ten English men aboard and five Blacks, and of that number which I had there was but poore five men that would or indeed could stand by mee in such Extremitie for to doe any thinge, and two of them five not well neither that should have been the best amongst them to asist mee; yett to these abilities of there bodies I must needs saye that thay did doe to there uttermust of there Powers, and more then I had thought thay could have done in such a time as befell us. In the mean whill, others that were well fained them selves sicke, and some laye cr[y]inge out in holes, and would not laye there hands to anye thinge, as your worshipp shall here of there doeings more at Lardge.

'About ten of the Clocke the wind began to vere aboute from the South south east, as affore sayd, untill it Came to South east by east and east north east, and there remained soe violently, with such Extreme gustes of Raine, with such a groane Sea one a Sodaine, that wee were not abell all most to stand uppon our deecke; and soe continued untill five of the clocke in the afternoone, that wee lookt still when wee should have foundred at anker, our shipp takeinge in soe much watter that wee were not abell to free her, the sea comminge soe heavie uppon us that it beate the verie sand from of the ground upon our Shipps forecastell, in seaven ffaddoms and halfe watter where wee road as affore sayd, that a man might have gone halfe a footte thicke in sand. At that Present time the Pinnace Unitie ridinge astarne of us, thay were doutfull that thay should sincke at a anker, havinge but three English men aboard and one blacke; soe thay consented together and lett slept there cabell, and ran her aShoare to save there lives, where shee was sodainly spleet to peeces.

'Yett still wee rid it out. But one a Sodaine there came a mightie sea that came fore and afte our shipp that at Present wee did not know allmost where wee were, within board or without; the which Carred awaye our boate ffrom our Starne with a man In her, beinge morred with a halser of six or Seaven Inches. Sodainly after that there came another like unto that, or rather worsse, the which broake our cabell shoartt of. Whereupon, I lett goe our sheat anker, the which brought our Shipp upp againe, unExspeectted by any man in such Extremitie as that was, but thought noe lesse but wee should have ben put ashoare likewisse. . . .

'Wee rid it out till 12 or one of Clocke at night as neare as I could Judge; and faine I would have cutt our Maine Mast by the board, but dare not doe it, the wind and the sea beinge soe violantlye together, and our Shipp rideinge Just uppon it, not Sheareinge any wayes, and them poore companye that I had about mee were not abell neither to heire nor see one another uppon the Deecke. Haveinge soe leettell heelp about mee, dare not adventure to doe it for feare it should have fallen into our shipp, and haveinge all my Cheeifest men ashoare that should asist mee and to give mee for advice in such Extremitie as I was put to, namely my matte, William Pollett, Boatsoun, Carpenter, Carpenters matte, Surgone, and all my Blackes that were good for any thinge; all my

best men that I should have had about mee at such a time as that, thay were comanded ashoare by the worshipfull Agent; onely my matte went ashoare about his owne buissnesse accedentiallye.

'Then about one of the Clocke, as affore Sayd, our sheatt Cabell broake allsoe: then wee, thinkinge noe other meanes but that wee should ben put ashoare, wee lett goe a small Bower, thinkinge to bringe her head some thinge upon the sea that shee should no[t be] Casst thawrtt upon the bar that lieth neare one Cabelle lenght of the shoare; for if shee had, shee would have beaten to peeces sodainly; but that ran out End for End and could not be stoped.

'Whereupon, not havinge noe Anker leafte mee, nor boate, and verie small stoore of men, as you fformarly have heard; then Exspeectinge nothinge but Death by some of them namely theise, Nathaniell burtton, about nine of the Clocke at night goes into his Caben and there remained untill nine or ten in the morninge, and fained him self sicke in all this miserabell time that wee had: and this is the man which hath wrought all this mischeeife against mee as your worship shall here farther.

'Then David Rogers, Jno. Rowe, Samuell Simes, all three quartter Masters, such as wee could gett, thay gott into our Steeridge, and fower of our Blackes betweene the deeckes, and mad such a crie that it Even allmost Mazed mee, as the Pusser could Justifie it upon oath if hee were here, and some of them likewisse uppon there oathes, that it is nothinge but the truth, if thay doe not forsweare them selves. . . Soe havinge five poore men and my self to stand by mee as Affore sayd, not dispairenge in gods mercie, I made them to loosse our ffore sayle whereby to force her in before the Sea, the better to have Saved our shipp and goods and lives, if it were possible. But before wee could doe it, havinge such poore heelpe, it blewe quitt awaye. Then one a sodaine came downe a mightie gall of wind with thunder and lightninge uppon us that it Carried our Shippe broad Side in the watter, that wee lookte when shee would have over Sett, or the Sea to sincke us, haveinge at that present time fower footte and a halfe watter in hold.

'Then Thomas Kinge, one of our Carpenter's Crew, which was the best man I had to trust to then, havinge noe better aboard at that time to have any advice from uppon such occasion, hee callinge out unto mee desieringe of mee to Cutt the mainemast by the board, for now was the time to doe it, our shipp l[y]inge downe alonge soe, whereby to save our lives. I takinge his councell, seeinge noe other remidie, thinkinge all for the best in such a time as that was of Extremitie, wee condecended together for Saffguard of all, and Cutt it by the board. Thereuppon our shipp righted some thinge, and the wind at that time came at north west of the shoare as it should seeme, but wee knew it not but by heaveinge the lead over board, and had 13 ffaddoms watter; soe by that wee knew the wind was of the shoare, and drove of. Now the reasson was that wee knew it not was because wee had not one light burninge in our shipp, nor none could keepe Burninge by reason of the weather; and them hands that I had about mee other wayes Imployed that could not looke after it; and candell wee had none in our shipp.

'Where uppon I caused one to light a lampe, and with much adoe keept it lighted, placeinge it in the Caben. Then with the compas I sett the wind and found it to be at north west and north west by north, and Judged our shipps drift to be south east and south east and be East awaye; and soe remained untill the next daye beinge mondaye the 13th daye, the storme some whatt

abatted, but a mightie sea, and our shipp haveinge verie much watter in her, wee haveinge never a Pumpe leafte us ; the reson, our mainemast goeing by the board Carried awaye one with him and spoyled the other allsoe. Soe that wee began to bayle ; and about fower of the Clocke in the aftter noone wee had freed her with much adoe and with agreatt deall of paines takinge.

'Then wee began to fitt our shipp againe whereby to make sayle to gett into the shoare againe ; and the 14th in the morninge wee began to sett our foretopmast, the sea beinge soe heigh still that shee threw her topmast over board with one of our men with it, but [y]et his life was saved, and spent [? split] our mizen mast in three places. Then I had nothinge leafte mee but my foremast and bollsprit to helpe our selves with all.

'Whereuppon, I haveinge a spaire maine Topmast in the shipp, fitted him for a Juerey mast, and about 7 of the Clocke wee began to sayle in for the shoare ; at that Present time Judginge my selfe to be some 14 or 15 leagues of the shoare, the which I suppossed to have ben Kuninge worke Enught untill the next daye, nine or ten of the Clocke, to have come with the Land, haveinge but two lowe sayles, one four Coursse and a maine top sayle for a maine sayle to goe in with all, shappinge in my coursse West by North for feare of the Currant should have sett mee awaye to the northwards, havinge neither anker, boate, nor men, nor mast, but as your worshipp hath heard fformarlye in my relattion. . .

'Soe, hooppinge as aforesayd to have ben soe far of the shoare, and about nine or ten of the clock in the morninge to have seen the land ; soe in the meane time to have made some means to fitted a peece of ordinaunce to have rid our Shipp if occasion should require, for I had a peece of Cabell leafte mee, and I was in good hoopps in shoart time to have Recovered the Road of Madrasspattam againe, whereby wee might gett our Ankers againe, and with the Blessinge of god to have saved our Ship. But I was deceaved of my Exspeectation, and soe might The best sea man liveinge, as I was in such Extremitie as I was put to, and haveinge noe bodie to asist him to helpe him any kind of wayes, but onely my selfe. . .

'Where upon, beinge night before wee made sayle as affore sayd, and our men Even tiered out all the daye and time before, and my self not beinge verie well neither, standinge in the storme before in the wett and cold, I callinge of them together, Cherishinge them In the best manner I could with Bread and drinke such as I had, for meatt wee could dress none in three dayes, and gave Every one some, and told them that there was noe feare now, By the helpe of god, but all would be well with us now, and that wee should recover our place againe, with out feare verie shoartly. And in regard thay were wearie, as thay sayd unto mee, and indeed I must confess it was not without Causse with some of them to be soe, in the morninge to make some provisions to slinge a peece of ordinaunce. Soe wee Concluded, and at Eight of the clocke I desieringe the sayde Thomas Kinge to have a care to looke abroad for one Espeecially, and Jno. Somerton for another of the other side. The which promised mee soe to doe one at a time, my selfe stayinge from Sleepe untill ten or a leaven of the clocke. Then I beinge some whatt heavie to sleepe, thinkinge my selfe in securittie, I called to the sayd Thomas Kinge to have a care and looke abroad, and heave some times a Cast of the Lead, the guner beinge at the helme, I layd mee downe uppon the Deecke to take some Rest. But the sayd Kinge, instead of lookinge abroad, hee fell fast a sleep, as the guner can Justifie it that it is nothinge but truth.

'Then the foresayd Jno. Morgan, guner, beinge at the helme, perceavinge the shipe to have fine fresh waye in, Called unto the sayd Thomas Kinge to heave a Cast of the lead; whome Answered him hee would, but did not, and soe fell a sleep againe, and never regarded to call, the other of the other side neither. Then, betweene two or three of the clocke in the Morninge, our Pusser cominge out uppon the deecke, hee called and sayd that hee saw some thinge show like Land, beinge verie lowe. With that, my self waking, hereinge of him being uppon the deecke as afforesayd, I lookinge out sawe Itt was the land. Then I caussed the lead to be heaved, and had seaven ffaddoms watter. Thereupon I caused the helme to a weather, but shee would not beare up, haveinge but onely a ffore Coursse to worke with all. Then our men perswaided mee that shee would staye. Then wee putt her to stayes, but shee would not, but all that wee could doe could not make her to staye nor beare up untill shee came aground, the Sea haveinge more power of her then the wind with The sayle wee could make at that time any wayes. . . .

'In the morninge, beinge wensdaye the 15th about 3 of the Clocke, as afforesayd, beinge put ashoare right against a town Called Allumpherie,[1] a small fishinge place, as soone as it was daye, downe Came the peepell to the watter sid, and one of the Govenners of the place, beinge a more,[2] with them, and satt Downe. Whereupon I desiered one of our Blackes that I had aboard and could speake there language, to adventure ashoare to them to see what Condissioned peepell thay were, wee beinge Cloosse to the shoare in sixe ffoott watter; but none of them would goe, but sayd thay were Mallabarrs,[3] and thay would kill them. Whereupon our men, seeinge noe other remedie, one of them would adventure to goe ashoare, goeinge a greatt sea; and when he came ashoare, The govenor demanded whatt wee were and ffrom whence wee came, haveinge one or two that Could speake Portingall, the which our man told him ffrom Madrasspatam and put heither by foule weather. . . ." (*O.C.*, No. 1748.)

So the story rambles on at great length. The village headman asserted that 'the Nague of Madraspatam, where wee builte our castell, was Nague of this place allsoe'—a statement which proved to be untrue. The people swarmed on board, and began to pillage. The local Naik arrived, treated the crew kindly, and directed salvage operations. Carter sent a report to Cogan at Madras, and, after some delay, Henry Greenhill was sent down with relief. Meanwhile the crew became mutinous, and the ringleader, Nathaniel Burton, 'beinge some thinge a moneyed man and weari of the sea,' preferred charges against Carter to the Agent, and 'soe by it has gained a Soldiers place to be a gentellman of the round, and my selfe hath caused . . . to be a poore distressed prisnor.' Part of the cargo and stores were ultimately

[1] *Allumpherie*, Ālamparai. [2] *More*, Moor, Moslem.

[3] *Mallabarrs*, Tamils. The Portuguese, voyaging from the west to the east coast, found that the language of the seafaring population resembled that used on the Malabar shore. They accordingly called the Tamil inhabitants Malabars.

recovered, but frequent reference is made in the records to the heavy loss incurred.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

No Madras letters of 1640 or 1641 have been preserved, but a few particulars of progress are derived from the *Dagh Register* maintained at Batavia, and from letters passing between Masulipatam and Surat. The Coast, however, was retransferred to the control of Bantam in 1642.[1]

Extracts from the Batavia Diary.

27th November, 1640.—'Since the arrival of the *Expedition* from Bantam, and especially of the *Hopewell* from London, the English have been busily engaged bringing an angle of their fortress lately commenced into a position of defence, that part being already so far advanced that eight iron guns had been mounted; after which the great ardour and zeal displayed during the progress of the said work somewhat slackened.'

17th February, 164$\frac{0}{1}$.—'How far inland the said fortress would reach in Madraspatam, his Excellency[2] did not know, but the circuit was marked off fairly wide, and a bastion (built up of great blocks of ironstone laid in clay and plastered outside) was so far finished on the sea side towards St. Thome that eight guns had been placed on it; and it was evident that, should the work be completed, it would accommodate fifty-six guns.'

4th September, 1641.—'Their fortress at Madraspatnam before mentioned still made little progress: the second bastion at the seaside had reached the height of a man. They seemed, however, to adhere to their resolution, as soon as they obtained means, to build the fortress with four bastions as marked off.'

The garrison consisted of thirty-five Englishmen and as many natives.[3] Successful efforts were made to attract inhabitants to the new settlement, and to encourage the building of houses around the growing Fort. Portuguese of pure and mixed blood migrated from San Thomé in expectation of receiving employment, and under promise of immunity for thirty years from imports on articles used for food or clothing.[4] At a later date[5] the Fort St. George Council stated that several 'portuguezes and mestizas'[6] came down with the British from Armagon, and others

[1] *O.C.*, No. 1799, 20th Sept., with postscript of 9th Nov., 1642.
[2] *His Excellency*, Governor Arendt Gardenijs of Pulicat.
[3] *Dagh Register*, 1641-42, p. 266.
[4] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 24th May, 1661. [5] *P.C.*, vol. i., 29th Feb., 167$\frac{5}{6}$.
[6] *Mestizas*, from Port. *mestiço*, a person of mixed descent, a Eurasian.

were invited to settle at Madraspatam. To some of them money was advanced to enable them to build houses 'upon this open Sand under the protection of the Gunns.' One of the earliest settlers was Thomas Clarke, son of the late Agent at Masulipatam. He built himself a house near the Fort, which afterwards became the subject of correspondence, to be quoted in due course. Early in 1641 the Dutch reported that the fifteen or twenty fishermen's huts which originally marked the site of the Fort had given place to some seventy or eighty houses.[1] Besides the occupants of these buildings, native artisans flocked to Madraspatam. The records show that between 300 and 400 families of weavers had immigrated before the end of 1640.[2]

The expenditure on the Fort was met by borrowing, and Day held himself personally responsible for the payment of interest on the loans. Eventually, however, finding the burden too severe, he applied for relief from his engagement. About August, 1640,[3] he was summoned to Masulipatam, and thence proceeded to Surat to plead his cause. He was the bearer of the following letter, which was signed by Cogan, Day himself, Peniston, and Thomas Winter:—

Masulipatam to Surat.

'In our severalls formerly and this, wee have peradventure said too much conserninge the Portugalls, and therefore in this part shalbee at present silent, and only promise (because you will have it soe) if they take our cloakes not to bee offended if they take a neerer garment.[4] You have, it seemes, viewed the forts dimencions; when which was sent wee could not guess at the charge soe well as since wee have; which may amount unto the somme [of] 4000 pagodas; but if to the maintainance of which 100 men bee wanting, you saie twill render painteings a very deere comodity. Wee will not saie but for the first two or three yeares it wilbe chargeable, for who is it that plants an orchard, and cann the first yeare receive the benifitt? But who-ever shall live a three or fower yeares (and that the Company follow their trade in any indifferent manner) shall see that the incomes of that place by customes and else wilbe not only able to deffray itselfe, but the charge of the whole Coast. For out of that garrison at all times soe many men may bee spared as may, with a few laskarrs, . . . goe in month August or September

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[1] *Dagh Register*, 1640-41, p. 185.

[2] *Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, 14th Oct., 1640, and *O.C.*, No. 1764, 29th Dec., 1640.

[3] Both Cogan and Day were at Masulipatam in the middle of September (*Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, 15th Sept., 1640).

[4] The Agency had been instructed to maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese of San Thomé.

either to Gingalee[1] or further into the Bay, and invest a two or three thousand pagodas, which in November or December will duble the mony, if please God stormes cause them not miscarry; and this is a constant and sertaine gaine, had wee but shippinge to imploy that waie. . . .

'The worke now is in a good forwardness. If it proove good and benificiall for our Masters (as wee doubt not off), the honnour will Redound to you. And therefore you, as you tender your owne honnour, the honour of our Nation, and the honour and proffitt of our Masters, must not only strengthen it with men and matterialls, but with meanes to Imploy such people as comes from our Neighbours to Inhabitt with us. At present wee are, as formerly said, neere 400 families, who daily increase to the noe small vexation of our loveing neighbours:[2] but as now they hasten to us in hopes of gaine, if they faile in their expectations through not giveing them Imployment, they must and will away again. . . .

'Lately you comended Mr. Day for his kinde proffer of payeing the interest of such monies as should be expended untill the fort were finished at Madrasp[atam]. Hee now becomes a peticioner [to us], as formerly hee hath to you, that beinge hee is to goe for his cuntry, hee is unable to performe such his promise, findeing alredy, by payment of interest in what was disbursed before the arriveall of shipp Expedition, the burthen too heavy for him, that wee would wave that his promise: and the rather because the Nague hath confest before us that hee never had an intent or did ever promise to build other then with tody trees and earth, laying the fault on the Lingua[3] for misunderstandinge of him at the time of treatie. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, vol. v., 14th Oct., 1640.)

Masulipatam to Surat.

'Mr. Day wee hope, er these arrive, wilbe with you, and all his means about him.[4] When therefore you come to reason with him conserninge his promise (which the Company will questionless well approve of), wee doubt not but heel leave with you, or give good caution for, three or four thousand pagodas, or the interest of soe much as shalbe expended on the worke. Twas his reasonable request to conferr with you conserninge it; else must he have ben as bigg as his word er he had gone from hence. . . . But now yf you cann, in place of men, furnish us with moneys to imploy our inhabytants at Madraspatam (without which we feare theil leave us, to the shame and dishonour of our nation), it would be a great strengthneing to the mayne business, and turne the Company to a good accompt. Out of the shipp Hopewell wee tooke three of the four chiests of surgery sent forth for to supply those that wanted; one of which was put ashour in Madraspatam, where till then was not soe much as a playster, or wherewithall to make any; another wee tooke ashour here, and a third was put aboard the Expedition. But yf you shalbe pleas'd hereafter to send us a chirrurgeon, he must bringe somewhat with him, for this chiest, or rather box, was pillag'd of all what was good er[e] sent ashour. . . .

'You say you finde the charge of the fort to be but reasonable whilst

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[1] *Gingalee*, the country about Vizagapatam.

[2] The Portuguese of San Thomé.

[3] *Lingua*, interpreter.

[4] Day was again contemplating retirement from the service.

1500 peeces of eight[1] will somme up the expence ; wherin (under favour) you misunderstand that part of our letter ; for wee say 1500 pieces of eight hath (and to spare) compleated one bulwarke ; soe that by that computation 6,000 pieces of eight may compleat the whole worke. . . .

'Conserneing the Portugalls of St. Thomay, wee promise to give noe occation of distast ; but and were Julio Munis da Silva remoov'd (as tis reported he shalbe), wee will not doubt of good neighbourhood. . . .

'Wee could heartyly wish that you had not onely means to make a tryall of the Baye . . . but to imploy our people at Madraspatam ; which yf wee have not, tis to be fear'd wee shall not onely loose them but loose our selves, to the perpetuall infamy of our whole nation ; for what is it but to loose all yf, beinge possest of a pile of stone which will cost noe small matter the keepinge, and noe people to come neere it, thereby to raise some utilitie to defray the charge ? . . .

'The Dutch, after they had some few dayes detayn'd in Pollicatt the chiest of Mr. Grinhill, sent it to him ; but kept, and doth keepe, a skriptour[2] of Mr. Dayes, wherin he hath said is either three or five hundred pieces of eight. . . . Your truly Loving ffreinds, ANDR. COGAN, THOMAS ROGERS, ROBT MARKHAM.' (*O.C.*, 1763, 27th Nov., 1640.)

Day sailed in the *Expedition* for Surat, where the President and Council freed him from the liability he had voluntarily incurred. They decided, however, to send him to England in the *Crispiana*, in connexion with charges of private trade, and they reported as follows regarding the new settlement :—

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'From theire [the Agency's] forementioned letters you will find (though somewhat untruly introduced) how you became ingaged in the founding and Erecting a New Fort on that Coast when your old Ruinous building at Armagon was deserted. It hath bine a continued Tenent among as many of your Servants as have bine imployed in those parts That Goods, especially Paintings, cannot be procured, nor secured when acquired, unlesse you have some place of your owne to protect the workemen from the fræquent inforcements of those tyranous Governors, and to lodge your Goods free of the mischeivous Attempts which those treacherous Gentues[3] or Inhabitants of that Country are too often ready to adfer against them. Such a place (rather plot of ground), whose site and conveniences are in the Agents etc. letters largely discussed, being for ought we heare or know to the contrary offered by that Nague to Francis Day, and that offer[4] furthered by him to the Agent

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[1] *Peeces of eight*, also called 'reals of eight' or 'pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$,' were dollars worth about 5s. An invoice of silver 'Ryalls of 8t,' shipped from London to Madras in December, 1655, quotes 5s. as the equivalent of the real.

[2] *Skriptour, scrutore*, a writing-desk, from Lat. *scriptorium*, Fr. *écritoire*.

[3] *Gentue, Gentoo, Jentue*, a Telinga or person of the Telugu race ; the Telugu language ; from Port. *gentio*, Gentile, heathen.

[4] This first offer of a 'plot of ground' for a fort was evidently anterior to the Naik's written grant of territory and privileges.

etc. notice, He was directed to take a veiw of it, and to treat with the Nague about his confirmation of sundry Immunities and priviledges they would have graunted unto them if the ground liked them. All which was readily effected, the place liked, Their Propositions consented unto and approved, and the Naigue by promise ingaged to be at the charge himselfe of erecting a substantiall fortification.

'This unexpected successe and unparraleld kindnes in the Naigue were by Francis Day emphatically notified to the Agent, etc. They, upon notice therof, hasten these growing hopes of a new, nimble and most cheape Plantation which we more admired[1] then Credited, And therfore advized them that, although they should find that Naigue miraculously inclyned so liberally, freindly, and more really then could enter our beleife, to deale with them; yet they should proceed cautelously, Enquiring first into the causes that induced the Naigue to be so good unto them, And so by circumstances learne his Intendments; since it was not probable that these his Curtesies were so freely bestowed to gaine our freindship only, but rather by our vicinity to secure himself from his Neighbours growing greatnes, and to have (when this Fort should be created) a safe place to retire into, and theare by our assistance defend himselfe.

'And thus, having prescribed the utmost of Caution in this proceeding, we licensed them to accept the Fort the Naigue promised to build for them; whereupon Andrew Cogan on the Eagle voyaged to Armagon, brought thence whatever belonged to you unto this new guift of the Naigue, Madrazpatam. But when he had done so, and invited the Nague to goe in hand with the worke and so performe what he had undertaken, It seemes there was no such thing meant; for he replyd, The Linguist had misrendered his intentions; That he promised nothing but the ground and some other petty Assistances, And that he had neyther monies nor materialls wherewith to commence, much lesse to perfect, so great a worke. However, your People being now come thither, and finding the ground very convenient for such a service as intended, began to lay the foundation, advized us what had passed twixt the Naigue and them, and that now you must pay for the erection of the Fort if you meant to have one; for they, being so farr ingaged in the Action, could not with reputation desert the place or desist from building, though the Naigue had thus faltered with them.

'We blamed theire indiscretion or negligence that would not better understand the Naigue; prescribed continuance of care and caution to prevent greater mischeifes that might, through that Peoples treachery, befall them; and enjoyned them, since they were resolved to prosecute the worke, to proceed faire and softly in expectation of what you might please to enorder of this nature. And thus, though the Portugalls of St. Tome opposed theire proceedings what they might, yet they have so prospered that now the building is in good forwardnes, and 3 or 400 families of Weavers, Painters and other Artificers come to live under your protection. So that it is become a place of great hopes, whence (if Mr. Cogans etc. relations may be Credited) you may acquire yearly very great quantities of Long Cloth for England, and Paintings and many other sortments of Stuffes and Cloathing vendible at Bantam and your other Residencies[2] subordinate to that Presidency. The

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[1] *Admired*, wondered at.

[2] Jambee, Macassar, Japara, etc.

other Conveniencies and proffits that may from this Fort accrue to you, intimated in the Agent etc. letters, are in probability acquirable, and will deserve your consideration and owning, And should we thinke Encline you to improve them yet more to your advantage by furnishing in ample manner meanes to theire acquiry.

'And thus we have cursorily expressed the story of your Forts foundation and erection. If you are pleased to read the severall Circumstances more particularly described, the letters passant twixt us and your Agent etc. wryt in the Moneths of June, July and August,[1] will plainely and fully declare them; and yet among them you will not find that we positively ordered the building of that Fort, as the Agent etc. in theire letter to you (herewith sent) falsely intimate.' (*O.C.*, No. 1764, 29th Dec., 1640.)

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'In the meane time wee returne to the Coast Agent, etc., unto whom having furthered your Worshipps letter, and with it Copy of what you were pleas'd to inscribe to us, They have lately replyed thereto, which together with the Agents particular, in answer to what hee stands accused [of, we now send]. Wherein, because hee pretends that the foundation of the ffort St. George was laid by our order, wee must necessarily contradict him from his own letters which it seemes have bine received also by your Worships. If not, as last yeare, wee are againe ready to prove what peradventure (the first Projector of it) ffra. Day (being at home with you) will vouch. That they first pretended the Naigue promised to build a ffort for Us at his owne charge; which, when advized us, wee wondred more at then wee trusted in such without example kindnes. But then, sundry pretences being framed to make it appeare more probable, wee consented to suffer the Naigue doe what he pleased with and on his owne ground, since it could not then hurt, [and] might somewhat have helped your Affaires if hee would have made good his promises.

'However, wee prescribed the most of Caution and urged, even in the same words, what your Worships have bine pleased to say of it, That Armagon was not deserted with intent to raise out of its Ruine a new charge unto you. But ere our letters arrived, The worke was begun by ffra. Day and paid for from your Cash. Which when wee blamed in the Agent and put him in mind of the Naigues specious promises, Hee answered That hee had said as much to the Naigue, who (as well hee might) derided him for thinking so much folly as that hee, without any obligation to, would build a ffort for us. In a word, the fault was laid upon Mr. Daies misunderstanding the Naigue. And so the Walls were raysed, which, rather then the Worke should Cease, Day offered we know not what Contribution towards it. Now the greatest part of them are finished, and may happily[2] stand to doe you good service; for, without such defensible places, your goods and Servants among such treacherous people are in Continuall hazard. The just feare whereof hath induced the Portugalls, Dutch and Danes to frame unto themselves more safe habitations; and such, questionlesse, will be wanting unto you, although considering the subsistance

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[1] These letters are, unfortunately, not extant. They doubtless contained details which would now be invaluable.

[2] *Happily*, haply.

of your present affaires and the meane trade you drive on that Coast, This ffort St. George is in its erection unseasonable in its being over Chargeable. However, hitherto we have heard a faire report of it. The worst is its over neare Vicinity to the Portugalls of St. Thome, not in respect of any hurt they can doe the ffort, but because of the many idlers, both men and weomen, who frequent the ffort so much That divers of the English Souldiers are (as Mr. Cogan saith) married ; which, hee pretends, must necessarily bee tolerated, or the Hotshots will take liberty otherwise to Coole themselves—Strange Tenents to bee receaved for truth.

'How forward the worke is, wee desire you heare read from its Founders letters; for more then there is done, if they will heare us, shall not bee added untill wee or they receave answer to what was thereof writ by the Crispiana, although much inconvenience [and] some danger may attend this desistence from prosecuting the worke to perfection. In those parts abundance of good and good cheape Cloth is said to be procurable, And wee find the experiment thereof in the large Investment the Dutch yearly make thereabouts. So that if you Could resolve to inlarge your Trade, wee conceave by what wee have heard of it that the ffort is Conveniently enough Scited, and may serve you to many good purposes. And therefore, since you have bine pleased to referr its maintenance or dissolution to our doome, we have seriously Considered of it, and at last resolved to let it stand till your next yeares Battery. By which time also, becoming better acquainted with that People, wee shall better know how to determine it. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1787, 27th Jan., 164½.)

CHAPTER III

1641—1642

FORT ST. GEORGE BECOMES THE AGENCY—THE CAPUCHIN MISSION

FORT ST. GEORGE BECOMES THE AGENCY.

DURING Day's absence in England, Cogan transferred the seat of Agency from Masulipatam to Fort St. George. From the 24th September, 1641, Madras became the chief factory on the Coast. The principal events which occurred at the settlement during the succeeding twelve months are reported in a letter despatched to Bantam in September, 1642,[1] by Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill, and John Browne. Cogan was then desirous of resigning the Agency to Day,[2] and proceeding to Bantam prior to retirement from the Company's service:—

Fort St. George to Bantam.

(*O.C.*, No. 1791, 20th Sept., 1642.)

'Nor can wee dispose the Advice towards you till some time in January; when then, or if wee cann sooner dispose of her, if God blesse Mr. Day in healthe, Andrew Cogan makes accompt to come for Bantam; for by the Postscript of the Company's letter wee doe gather that Mr. Day is the man appoynted to succeed; and your selves know that it is very necessary, as said before, that Andrew Cogan continue on[e] yeare at Bantam to purge himself of what may be asserted against him, and then his time will be more then expired with the Company. . . .

[Enclosure] '*Passages on this Coast from the primo 7ber,* 1641, *to the primo September,* 1642.

'The Reformation being dispeeded, and the Companies affairs at Mesulapatam settled, where Mr. Thomas Peniston was left cheife, the 15th 7ber

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[1] The earliest letter extant from 'Forte St. George' is dated 17th July, 1642. It is signed by Andrew Cogan and Henry Greenhill.

[2] Day returned to the Coast in July, 1642.

Andrew Cogan imbarqued himself uppon the Advice for Madraspatam where the 24th he arrived, and the 26th the Advice was again dispeeded for Massilupatam. . . .

'A few days after Andrew Cogan his arrival as aforesaid, a Murther[1] was Committed in our Towne . . . the discovery of which Murther is not unworthy your knowledge. . . .

'The Woeman had byn wanting many dayes, and none but the Murtherers could say where she was. At length somewhat was seene to floate upp and downe the River, when the partie that murthered her, being amongst divers others, made proffer, and did swime of to see what it was and bring it ashore. When the Corps was ashoare, no wound was perceived, and therefore conceived that she might drowne herselfe; whereuppon order was given for her buriall. When then the party that swam of aforesaid was very importunate to have some satisfaction for his pains; but one of the Standers by tould him that he had no reason of all men to require any such thing, for that she had mainteyned him and his consort for a long time together. Uppon which words, every mans eye was uppon him, when one amongst that many discover'd uppon the cloath he wore some blood, and being asked how that came, he presently made answere how. But within less then half an hower that tale of his was proved a ly, and in the interim wee found that the cloath that he wore and that upon the dead corps had byn on[e] intire peice. When then wee layed the Murther to his charge; but he denying it, wee sent, searched his house, and there found all her Jewels and Cloaths, not any one wanting. So then, when all things appeared so plaine, he confessed the Murther, but his Consort was gone 2 or 3 dayes before; nevertheless he had not the power to goe out of our Command.

'So wee apprehended him likewise, and notified all the passages to our Naigue, who gave us an express command to doe justice uppon the Homicides according to the Lawes of England; but if wee would not, then he woold according to the Custome of Karnatte; for, said he in his Olio,[2] if justice be not done, who woold come and trade here, espetially when it shall be reported it was a place of theevs and Murtherers. Which being so, and unwilling to give a way our [authority] to those who are too readie to take it, wee did justice on them and hanged them on a Gybbet, where they hung till it was the 11th of Xber; when then, because the great Naique cam to visit us for a present, they were cut downe.

'The 21 do. our greate Naique went on boord our shipp, having never till then byn on salt water. Wee enterteyned him and all his followers, both on boord and ashoare, in the best manner wee coold, but not as he expected, for he made accompt of a far larger pishcash, and the rather because he added to our privilidges the Custome free of all his Country. Here he continued upwards of a month, not only a burthen to us, but to the whole Country.

'The primo Xber wee dispeeded overland to Porta Nova Mr. John Browne and Nathaniel ffoaster for the imbaleing of such cloath as he had bought of Sesadra Chittě. The said Browne, having finished his busines there, retourned hither againe about the latter end of ffebruary. . . .

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[1] Of a native woman.

[2] *Olio*, a written order, from Tam. *olai*, Mal. *ola*, a palm-leaf prepared for writing on with a stylus.

'The 6th of July shippe Hopewell arrived with us from England, Commanded by Mr. Andrew Trumball, and Merchant of hir Mr. Francis Day.[1] . . .

'The 11th of August 3 Portugall Soldiers belonging to the Armada, 11 small ffrigotts sent for the Releife of St. Thoma with 270 Soldiers, came to our Towne, and in a base Arack house fell to drinking with a Dane, and at length together by the ears. In fine, the 3 Portugalls with their Rapiers made uppon him, and wounded him in 7 places. Notice of which being given us, wee sent two soldiers to part them, who no sooner entred within the yard and Commanded them to desist, but on[e] of the three aforesaid soldiers, by name Anthony Myrando, ran the one[2] of our 2 soldiers into the right Pappe, that instantly he dyed without speaking one word. So soone as they perceived what they had done, they all 3 fledd, but within lesse then half an hower were all three taken. And being truly informed which was the Homicide, wee kept him, and suffered the others to departe for St. Thoma, from whence wee received many Letters to release him, for that he was a phydalgo. But what thorough our Naique[s] importunitie,[3] togither with our owne people, wee cold not repreive him till advized to Surrat, but were even forced to execute him the 13th do. the morning. And because he pretended to be a Gentleman as aforesaid, wee shott him to death before our Corps du guard.[4] Since when wee have byn wonderfull at ease in respect of the Portugalls, for till then wee were dayly troubled with one or other.

'And now in this place it will not be imperninent, before wee conclude, to say some what of St. Thoma where, from the time the Armada arrived, which was in May last, to the time they parted, which was the 20th of August, it is not to be spoken what a many murthers and other crimes, which in any part of Christendome deserved death, were committed by the Soldiers; yet no one man suffered for it among them. This Homicide Myrando, about the primo of August, kild a man in St. Thoma, and rann hither for sanctuary; and being wee woold not protect him, he not having made his peace, he vou'd in some of our hearing to be the death of some English man ere he left the Coast. The said Myrando further confessed, ere he suffered, that this was the 7th Murther he had Committed. But now, say the Portugalls of St. Thoma, or rather the Captain More[5] (for all the Citizens rejoice at what wee did), the peace is broke, and they expect order from the Vice roy to fall on us: which were it so (or wee faile much in our Judgements), St. Thoma woold not continue a month more in the hands of the Portugalls.

'The Naigue of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his Country, it being possest, part by the Kinge of Golquondah people, and the Major part by Raylawar.[6] The moores have encamped themselves, or rather seated them-

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1 According to Day, she arrived on the 5th. (*O.C.*, No. 1797, 3rd Nov., 1642.)

2 James Jaques by name.

3 According to another account, 'the Naique instantly sent 4 or 500 Soldiers to Lye in the towne (not knowing what the Portugalls might attempt to gett theire man), and Order that out of hand he shoold be put to Death.' (*O.C.*, No. 1792, 20th Sept., 1642.)

4 *Corps du guard*, the Main Guard.

5 *Captain More*, from Port. *Capitão môr*, Captain-general; literally, Captain-major.

6 *Raylawar*: The termination *war* = *vāru*, people, though a plural form, was generally used by the English in a singular sense. The *Dagh Register* for 1642 shows that *Raylawar* was the Naik of 'Caleteura' (probably Kistnapatam). There is reason

selves for the Warr, at a place called Cowle Geldancke,[1] the Cheife place in all that Country; and Raylawar hath a strong Garrison in Vinquatagery and Armagon. Indeed wee are of opinion that the Moores will have all this country ere many years; for what with the Kinge of Vizapore on one side, and the Kinge of Golquondah on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, It is even impossible their country cann continue. And thus, having performed our promise, wee conclude.

'ANDR. COGAN.
'HENRY GREENHILL.
'JOHN BROWNE.'

The *Hopewell* seems to have brought out a letter in which the Company censured Cogan for establishing the new settlement, and for the loss sustained through the wreck of the *Eagle*. The Agent's reply bears the same date as his communication to Bantam above quoted:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 1792, 20th Sept., 1642.[2])

'When wee doe, as that wee doe often, fall into Consideration how much your worshipps are displeased with us for proceeding on this worke, it even breaks some of our hearts. 'Tis now too late to wish it undone, and yet wee may not but tell you that, if so be your worshipps will follow this Coast Trade (or rather the Karnatt), this place may prove as good as the best; but all things must have its growth and time. But, on the contrary, if your worshipps will not continue it, you may do it a way to profit, and not hazard the losse of a man. It may with ease be effected unlesse the Moores conquer the Country before.

'Our vicinitie with St. Thoma is no impediment at least to us, for only the towne of St. Thoma belongs to the Naigue of Tanjour, and round about, even to their very dores, is our Naigues, who keeps them in such awe that they must eat and drinke uppon the matter when he please. What time may worke our Naigue to, wee cannot devine, but hitherto wee have found him still as good as his word, onely in the Forts erection (the Mayne thing of all); but in that thing he excuseth himself, and did excuse himself ere Mr. Day left this place, for he professed never to promise Mr. Day any such thing; which caused Mr. Day to profer freely to pay the Interest of all the monies that shoold be expended till the Forte was finished, and so much was written to Surrat before Mr. Day went thither, and when he went; but your worshipps will not allow of any Charge at all, neyther in building or payeing of Garrison, but will that all the Charge be bourne by the Naique that invited us thither;

to believe that this Naik is identical with Srī Ranga Rāyalu, who became Rajah of Vijayanagar in October, 1642.

[1] *Cowle Geldancke:* M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari suggests that Koil Addanki is indicated. Addanki, near Ongole, in the Nellore District, possessed a fort and temple (*koil*), and must have been a place of some importance. Near Chandragiri there is a village named Gedanki.

[2] Another copy is found in *O.C.*, No. 1799, with a postscript dated 9th Nov., 1642.

for to answer which clause, if wee doe appeare too prolix, doe hope your worshipps will excuse us.

'In the first place, it is our opinion, in reguard the Moores and Gentues are false and not to be trusted, and that at all times you may Command your owne uppon all the Coast, 'tis very necessarie you have a place to retire to under your owne Command. 'Tis not only our opinions, but the Opinions of your Presidents of Bantam and Surrat, for from the first it hath byn written hither, tis not good to Leave on[e] place till possest of another. Then from Surrat twas said, Build, when you build, no such Mocke Forte as was Armagon. The Dutch saw the necessitie of it 30 years since, which made them proceed upon Pullicatt, to their unreasonable expence in moneys, besides losse of men ere brought to perfection. . . .

'But wee beseech you, if these people build us a forte and pay the Garrison, in what securitie is your Estate and our lives? Suerly in none at all, for it is farr more freedome to Live without a Forte than within, unless the Forte be at its owne devotion. But this Forte of yours, if your worshipps did butt followe this trade as it might be followed, or that you had but two or three small vessells to voyage it to and againe to draw trade hither, all your Charges woold bee bourne with advantage. But if your worshipps are resolved absolutely to leave this trade of Karnatt, advise us, and you shall not be a pice[1] Looser for what worke is done and monies disbursed: which being so, and that your worshipps conclude of one of the two wayes, wee hope to heare of noe More of the Forte. . . .

'When wee said Armagon was not a fitt place for the Cheife residency, it was in respect of the seat of the Forte, and the small defence it coold eyther make by sea or Land; if which be not Motive Sufficient (or however) wee referre our selves to your better Judgement.

'Wee now are and have byn a twelvemonth constant resident at Maddaras,[2] and have made that the Cheife place for your other Factories to account to. What condition hath been made with the Naique long since hath byn sent you by severall conveyances, and therefore forbeare them at present.

'Wee have in a foregoeing clause shewed you that St. Thoma belongs to the Naigue of Tanjour, who putts in almost monthly (to him that will give most) a new Governor, unto whom even the Portugalls themselves pay Custome. How then shoold wee expect to live there free? Noe, these Naigues, although they abound in wealth, yet will they not part with a Cash[3] but uppon a certeinty or mighty great hopes to have ten for it. Again, had it byn otherwise, and that wee had imbraced theire proffer to reside in that cittie, you must have sought out for such servants to doe your busines as were both stick free and shot fre, and such as cood disgest poizon, for this is their dayly practice in St. Thoma, and no Justice, as wee shall shew you after more at Large. . . .

'In the next place or part of yours, your worshipps are pleased to acquaint us with the receipt of the transcript of 3 of ours to Bantam, and thereuppon you even feare our neighbourhood with the Portugalls will occasion many brables[4] etc., concerning which we conceive wee have said to sufficiency in another clause.

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[1] *A pice*, a small copper coin, equivalent to three pies, or a quarter of an anna.
[2] As the seat of the Agency.
[3] *Cash*, a coin of account representing the smallest subdivision of the pagoda.
[4] *Brables, brabbles*, noisy quarrels.

'Your worshipps, wee perceive, have never beene truly informed with the Goverment of Karnatt, for our Naique hath no more to doe, or is more cared for where the Eagle was wrackt then is the Pope of Roome, or is that nauge respected here. For your worshipps may please to understand that every naique is a king in his owne Country, and will attend the greate Kinge[1] at their pleasure; which will be the losse of this country. And according to the custome of Karnatt, what ever Vessell doe but touch the shoare, er a Coule[2] being granted, is absolutely lost. But had it been the pleasure of God, wee wish (being she the Eagle is wrackt) that she had stranded within our Naigs Comand, for then we shoold at most the Hull; for it is one article in our Cowle that if any our shipping (as God forbidd) shoold be cast ashoare in his Country, all that cann be saved is to be restored; the like is to be done with those who shall come to trade with us. . . .

'Your worshipps say furthest, now its come to pass what you feared, brawles and blowes with the Portugalls. That which then past was nothing; and since that untill very lately (the 11th Last August[3]) wee lived as freindly as brothers; for wee have still binn helpfull unto them on all occassions. Nay, since the 11th aforesaid, it hath bin better in respect of them then in all our time heretofore, as wee shall show you in an after clause, for our ayme is to reply to each clause of yours ere wee treate of what hath happned with us.

'Wee, as said formerly, have hitherto found our Naigue and his people very faire conditioned and indifferent honest. As for your Forte, which is better then half finished, 'tis of such force with the few wee have that wee feare not what any can doe against us, espetially so long as wee have our Naigue to our freind, or the sea open to furnish us with food.

'What Ordnance have been recovered out of the Lost or wrackt Eagle hath byn long since shewed you from Surrat and Bantam. From the latter, more are promised us,[4] which, if your worshipps please to continue this place, will be usefull hereafter; but if not, then here is to many already, and the President will dispose of them some where else.

'But now againe to the fforte. Because your worshipps are doubtfull that wee may Collect, by what is aforesaid, that you approve of what is done, your worshipps explaine your selves in a more plaine way; and your worshipps apply your selves hoely to Andrew Cogan, as if so be that he had no Councell, or that all were done of his owne braine. Hitherto it hath not beene so, for all matters of consequence and novell hath byn first maturely considered of in Consultation. But if such consultations shoold, as too often they have, provd ill, contrary to expectation, who ought, or ought any to be blamed? Tis granted that Andrew Cogan had your order, or rather the President etc. of Surrat, for the dismantling of Armagon, for to that President etc. your worshipps made us subordinate, and so consequently to be ordered and directed, for they writt us in this manner concerning Armagon. . . .

'ANDREW COGAN.
'HENRY GREENHILL.
'JOHN BROWNE.'

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[1] *The greate Kinge*, the Rajah of Vijayanagar.

[2] *Coule, cowle*, from Ar. *kaul*, a grant.

[3] The date of Mirando's crime.

[4] Aaron Baker, President at Bantam, had promised to send eleven guns to Fort St. George. (*O.C.*, No. 1790, 25th July, 1642.)

The remainder of the letter is occupied with a synopsis, already quoted, of the correspondence which passed between Masulipatam and Surat regarding the proposed settlement at Madraspatam, and with an account of the disposal of the two murder cases described on a previous page.

THE CAPUCHIN MISSION.

When Andrew Cogan described the chief events of the twelve months preceding September, 1642, he omitted to mention the establishment of the Capuchin Mission of Madraspatam. Although the spiritual needs of the Protestant English were neglected until the Rev. William Isaacson was appointed chaplain in 1646, the Portuguese residents obtained the services of a worthy pastor four years earlier. A French friar named Ephraim de Nevers, destined for work in Pegu, arrived from Europe at Surat in 1641. Thence he proceeded to Rājāpur, and so overland to Masulipatam and Madras. At Rāybāg, near Rājāpur, he met Leonard Woodman, a factor belonging to the Courten Association,[1] who gave him the following letter of recommendation,[2] addressed to the Association's merchants in the Far East :—

Leonard Woodman to the English Factors at Pegu or Acheen.

(*Capuchin Archives*, 30th Nov., 1641.)

'Worthy and kind friends, or whomsoever deputed by the Agent to negotiate in his absence the Honorable affairs of the Right Worshipful Sir William Courten Esquire and Company in Achin or Pegu.

'The bearer hereof, Father Ephraim, a Friar of the Capuchin Order, presuming that my recommendations will not a little stead him if, in his travels towards Pegu or Achin, as he pretends, his occasions shall want your furtherance and friendly assistance, hath prevailed with me to dispence these few lines to bespeak so much charity. That he is a Christian, and one of the most

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[1] A licence to trade in the East was granted to Sir William Courten in 1635. He died in the following year, but his son carried on the trade, and in 1638 opened a factory at Karwar, on the Malabar coast. The Surat Council wrote in 1640: 'Mr. Curtyns Peoples proceedings are thus expressed: his Merchant Leonard Woodman having procured leave of the Rajapore Governour to land and trade there, brought on shoare and thence carried with him to Beejapore 60 peeces Broad Cloth,' etc. (*O.C.*, No. 1740, 28th Jan., 16$\frac{39}{40}$.) Woodman's trading at 'Rawbaag' is mentioned in *O.C.*, No. 1743, 5th Feb., 16$\frac{39}{40}$.

[2] The original letter is, or was, among the Capuchin archives in Armenian Street, Madras. It was quoted by Dr. John Fenelly in the *Madras Catholic Directory*, 1867. Search has recently been made for the document, but without success.

strict retired penitentiaries, his profession, habit, dyet and conversation witness for him : let these testify that he meriteth your Charity and relief, let me assure you, who, for the comfort you afford him (besides the reward which such good works carry with them), promise to be accomptable to you in such measure and manner as you shall think fit to command.

'Your Loving friend,

'LEONARD WOODMAN.

'*Rabag, the 30th November*, 1641.'

This letter was never delivered, for Father Ephraim's journey terminated at Fort St. George. No sooner did he arrive than the Portuguese residents besought Agent Cogan to order him to remain and minister to their wants. The request of the inhabitants and the orders of the Council, both dated 8th June, 1642, are not found in the Government records, but they have been handed down by the Rev. Father Norbert,[1] who wrote voluminously on the disputes which arose in later years between the Capuchins and the Jesuits :—

'*Requestes des Habitans de Madrast pour avoir des Capucins.*'

'A Monsieur le très sage Gouverneur, &c.

'Monsieur, tous les soussignés qui comme Chrêtiens sont sous la protection de l'honorable Compagnie d'Angleterre, suplient très-instamment vôtre Seigneurie de leur accorder la grace que le R. P. Efrem, Capucin François, Missionnaire Apostolique, soit reçu dans cette Ville en qualite de Curé et de Pasteur de la Chrêtienté qui s'y trouve : sur quoi nous vous demandons avec beaucoup d'ardeur que vous vous incliniez favorablement a ce que ledit Pére ne se transporte point ailleurs. Vous êtes bien instruit, Monsieur, que les Péres de St. Thomè ne nous rendent aucun service sans en exiger de grands interêts, et nous qui sommes tous fort pauvres, il nous est impossible d'y satisfaire. Nous n'avons point d'autre esperance qu'en Dieu et en vôtre bonté: vous ne pouvez nous accorder une faveur qui nous soit plus consolante.

'(Signés), LUIGI DA COSTA, GIO PERREIRA, LUIGI DE MIRANDA, CUSTODIO BARETTO, ANTONIO BARETTO, MICHEL DE SUZA, SEBASTIANO ROIZ, BERNARDO LEITÃO, MATTHEO VIERA, ANOTONIO CORREA, PIETRO MARQUEZ, &c.'

The allusion to the services hitherto rendered by the Portuguese priests of San Thomé is noteworthy. The Council referred to Father Ephraim the letter of the inhabitants, and received the following reply :—

'Pour obéir aux ordres qui m'ont été signifié de la part de Mr. le Président, je dis que ma volonté est de passer au Pégû, et je prie qu'on m'en accorde la

[1] *Mémoires Utiles et Nécessaires*, Norbert, 1742.

permission : cependant, pour me conformer aux ordres de Mr. le Président, je ferai ce qu'il me commandera.

'F. EPHREM DE NEVERS.'

Ephraim was probably willing enough to stay, but desired to avert the blame of his superiors by showing that compulsion was exercised. The Council's order is thus translated by Norbert:—

'Ayant égard à la Requête des Chrêtiens Catholiques Romains qui resident dans cette Forteresse de St. Georges &c, Je commande et j'ordonne, après avoir entendu la réponse du R. P. Efrem qui veut bien s'engager à rester dans cette Forteresse, pour le profit et la consolation de cette Chretienté : je veux et ordonne que l'on bâtisse une Eglise dans un lieu convenable.

'ANDRÉ COGAN.
'THOMAS VINTER.[1]
'HENRY GRENIL.[2]

'*A Madraspatam, le* 8 *Juin*, 1642.'

The site selected for the church was adjacent to the Fort and on the north side of it. Fryer's plan shows it a small structure with pent roof, probably a timber shed. It was replaced by a permanent building in 1675.

The pastor's character is described in a letter from Father Manuel, Superior of the Franciscans on the Coromandel Coast, who had been Rector of the Luz Church at San Thomé when Ephraim first came to Madraspatam. The document, which is quoted by Manucci,[3] was written from Goa on the 23rd September, 1650. Father Manuel certifies that Ephraim 'built a church dedicated to the Apostle St. Andrew,' which was attended not only by the Catholics of Fort St. George, but by many from San Thomé. The pastor accepted no fees for baptism, wedding or burial, nor would he receive any pecuniary offering, though he 'took gifts made to him of a little rice or other things necessary to sustain life. . . . He kept up in his dwelling a public school for children, several of whom were English.' He was a polished linguist, and besides French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, was conversant with Persian, Arabic, and other oriental languages. He translated the gospels into Portuguese in the form of a catechism for the use of his pupils. His success in establishing an independent mission, and his reputation for sanctity, roused the

1 *Thomas Vinter*, Thomas Winter, brother of Edward Winter.
2 *Grenil*, Greenhill.
3 *Storia do Mogor*, edited by William Irvine, late B.C.S.

jealousy of the secular priests of San Thomé, the lives of many of whom seem to have been far from immaculate. Father Manuel states that Ephraim acted the part of peacemaker in all the disputes which arose between Fort St. George and San Thomé; and he cites his behaviour towards a Portuguese who was sentenced to immediate death at Madraspatam for slaying an English soldier in a drunken brawl[1]:—

'The Père Ephraim succeeded in obtaining from the Agent, in teeth of his council's opposition, a respite of three days in order that the man might prepare himself worthily for confession, and set his conscience at rest. During these three days the father lived continuously in the prison, consoling the guilty man both day and night. He accompanied him to his execution with a crucifix in his hand, and never abandoned the man until his last sigh; and this he did against the will of the English' (R. P. Manuel, 23rd Sept., 1650).

[1] *Storia do Mogor*, iii. 477, edited by W. Irvine, late B.C.S. The case alluded to is evidently that of Antonio Mirando.

CHAPTER IV

1642—1645

COGAN AND DAY—GOVERNMENT OF FRANCIS DAY—GOVERNMENT OF THOMAS IVIE

Cogan and Day.

Leaving Surat in the *Crispiana* at the end of December, 1640, Francis Day reached England in the following July. No serious fault could have been found with him by the Company, for he was re-engaged as merchant or supercargo of the *Hopewell*, Capt. Andrew Trumball, to voyage to Madraspatam, the Bay, Persia, the Coast, and back to England.[1] He was accompanied by his son, Francis Day, junior, in the capacity of writer and accountant.[2] Day arrived at Madraspatam on the 5th July, 1642, and thence proceeded to Balasore. At the end of the year he was again at Fort St. George, where he sat as Second of Council prior to continuing his voyage to Persia. In the middle of 1643, Day, with several of the ship's company, among whom were Thomas Clarke and Richard Cogan, preferred charges of tyranny and violence against the commander, a truculent mariner, who was consequently suspended. During the investigation which ensued, Trumball accused Day of inebriety. He said, 'Tis noe strange thinge for Mr. Day to be drunke. . . . Drinkeinge with the Moores and Persians at Ballisara, hee soe disguised himselfe in theire presence that they sent him away in a Pallankeene, out of which hee fell by the way. Att Persia, hee fell out with the Dutch and abused them soe when hee was Drunke that hee had like to sett the English and Dutch by the yeares. . . . And another tyme hee made himselfe soe Drunke at Persia, hee Rann

[1] *Ct. Min.*, 1640-43. Day's appointment as Agent at Fort St. George was not ordered by the Court of Committees until the 4th Jan., 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

[2] *Min. of Ct. of Committees*, 19th Nov., 1641.

into the Sea, and like to have drowned himselfe.'[1] Day denied these charges. Trumball was reinstated to carry the ship to Bantam, but on arriving there he was superseded in the command.

A year later Trumball prepared an indictment of Day and other factors for submission to the Company. As an *ex parte* statement, it must be read with reserve, but since the document throws some light on the manners of the Company's servants, an extract is made. Trumball alleged that Day sailed the *Hopewell* to Tranquebar, and sent her back laden with private cargo, together with another small vessel used for 'another kinde of private trade':—

'*Declaration of Andrew Trumball.*

'There is one Captaine Sampson belonging to the Danes who was gone for them upon some employment to Maccassar; but his wife and two wayting gentlewomen were brought upon that vessell from Trinckumbar[2] to Madraspatan for the perticuler account of Mr. Day; for whose residence there I beleive Mr. Day must build a house equall to that shee lived in at Trinckumbar. Neverthelesse, I am of opinion the Company must pay for it, for his condition is to make what benefitt he can of others, and keepe that hee calls his owne fast. The aforesaid Sampson is the cheifest and richest seaman the Danes have in all India, whose wife and servants and jewells, and what els portable, Mr. Day hath now at Madraspatan; whereby it is thought, if there bee not a generall quarrell betweene the Danes and English, yet a private betweene Captaine Sampson and Mr. Day will hardly bee avoided. . . .

'Mr. Thomas Penniston, another of your factors on the Coast, is by estimacion worth 80,000 ryalls. Hee hath marryed two gentlewomen to two souldiers, and a third is resident with him. . . . Mr. Thomas Winter, another of your factors on the Coast, is by estimation worth 20,000 ryalls, besides in adventure upon the Hopewell in goods sent to Persia 10,000. Hee hath marryed his gentlewoman to a souldier; by whome hee had two children, one of which came to England in the Mary. And Mr. Day and hee are very well versed in gameing, and noe day comes amisse to them for that exercise. Mr. Henry Greenhill, another of your factors on the Coast, is by estimacion worth 12,000 ryalls. Hee keepeth a gentlewoman, by whome hee hath two children. . . . At the christening of his second childe there was shott off 300 brasse bases,[3] with three vollyes of small shott of all the souldiers in the castle, and 13 gunns from the fort; but the powder was paid for by him. Hee hath built for this gentlewoman (who was formerly belonging to Mr. Day) a very faire house, with orchard and garden, in which house hee himselfe lodgeth every night.

'These foure gentlemen are all sworne brothers; and when they perceive

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1824, 14th June to 16th Aug., 1643.

[2] *Trinckumbar*, Tranquebar.

[3] *Base*, the smallest kind of artillery used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The gun had a calibre of 1¼ inches, and carried a ½-pound ball.

they may benefitt themselves in any project, they passe an oath one to another to prosecute their intendments, and not dissent one from another untill their ends bee obteyned. And one principall cause of raysing these men to that heigth of pride and riches which they now possesse is the keeping of such mighty stockes of money which they call their owne, and with which they buy upp all cloths and paintings that are vendible either in the South Seas or in England at certaine tymes and seasons; and when your shipps come to the Coast in June or July, they must have 50 per cent. proffitt. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1784, 18th Sept., 1644.)

Cogan, finding himself blamed by the Company for establishing the settlement at Madraspatam, was desirous, as already stated, of resigning the Agency to Day and proceeding to Bantam:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*O.C.*, No. 1804, 29th Dec., 1642.)

'The present Agent, haveing long since taken a resolution . . . to resigne the Government of this Coast and proceed for Bantam by the first opportune conveyance thither, for divers reasons mentioned in the said letters thus abstracted, vizt., Our Maisters displeased with him. . . .

'The Warrs and broyls increasing in this Countrey, and now by reason of our Great Naiques imprisonment drawing nere to us, wee latelie raised a third Bulwarke of turfe;[1] and wanting Gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the Advice shall spare us foure Minion[2] for that purpose, because there is noe danger of enemie in her way to Bantam, and when shee comes there she may be againe supplyed.

'AND. COGAN.
'FRA. DAY.
'HENRY GREENHILL.'

The Carnatic was in a melancholy condition of anarchy, due to domestic discord combined with foreign aggression. Rajah Venkaṭapati of Vijayanagar died in October, 1642, and was succeeded by his nephew, Srī Ranga Rāyal.[3] The new sovereign was not acceptable to some of the local chieftains, and the imprisonment of Dāmarla Venkaṭappa, mentioned in the above extract, was due to that naik's refusal to acknowledge Srī Ranga:—

Fort St. George to Bantam.

(*O.C.*, No. 1805, 4th Jan., 164$\frac{2}{3}$.)

'This Countrie being all in Broiles, the old Kinge of Karnatt being dead; soe is the Naique of Armagon, whose Countrie is all in the handes of the Moores,

[1] Cogan appears to have cased this bastion with stone before he left India in 1643.
[2] *Minion*, a 3-inch, 4-pounder gun, from Fr. *mignon*, a pet.
[3] *Dagh Register*, 1643-44, p. 244.

and whoe will ere long by all likelyhood bee Maisters of all this Countrie. For our Naique, not findeing the Respect from the new Kinge as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moores; but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'twas discovered, [and] he apprehended by the Kinge, who hath seazd a greate parte of his Countrie. But wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and release him, for our Naiques brother and kindsmen ar levying an Armie for his rescue, whoe, with the helpe of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayes Journey of each other), will force his libertie or ruine the whole Kingdome.

'The warr draweing soe nere, as aforesaid, hath caused us to take ashoare, out of the Advice 4 small peice of Ordnance which, with others of the like demention, may be re-shipped for the service of small Shipping when you shall be pleased to send us Bigger. . . .

'ANDREW COGAN.
'HENRY GREENHILL.
'JOHN BROWNE.'

Like the Dutch, the Fort St. George Agency employed a native broker to effect their investment. They allude in the above letter to 'Our Merchant Sesadry Chittie,'[1] and mention that the Hollanders, 'by the hands of their Merchant Molleya, alies Chinana Chitty,' have sent a present to the new Rajah, and another to the King of Golconda.

Cogan had consented, though unwillingly, to prolong his stay at Fort St. George, but in the quarrel between Day and Trumball he found an opportunity of resigning. Handing over charge to Day on the 27th August, 1643, he sailed in the *Hopewell* for Bantam, and thence to England at the end of the year in 'the good Shipp Royall Marie,'[2] Capt. William Mynors. For Day, however, the Agency, carrying though it did the substantial salary of £200 a year, had no charms, and he at once applied to England to be relieved.[3] He served as Agent until the following year, when Thomas Ivie was appointed from Bantam to succeed. Cogan was the bearer to England of the following letter from the Presidency:—

[1] Elsewhere called 'Sesadra Nague.' He was employed as Company's Merchant from 1640.

[2] The *Royal Marie* carried a ship's company of 135 men, comprising the Commander, 4 mates, purser and mate, surgeon and 2 mates, steward and mate, gunner and 4 mates, boatswain and 4 mates, carpenter and 6 mates, caulker, 8 quartermasters, cook and 2 mates, shifter, cooper and mate, 2 trumpeters, drummer, armourer, coxswain, lamplighter, and 85 seamen (*O.C.*, No. 1968, 29th Dec., 1645).

[3] *O.C.*, No. 1834, Francis Day to the Company, 30th Aug., 1643.

Bantam to the Honble. Company.

'As, in a fore goeing Section, wee acknowledge the Receipt of the Chest of Monies now sent us out per the Marie, so doe wee now allsoe for what else came Invoyced in her . . . giveing your Worships hearty thanks for supplieing with soe good and able a man as is Mr. Ivie to helpe mannage your Affaires in theise parts, but especiallie at the Coast of Choromandell, where his presence is wanting, and wether wee intend hee shall goe some time in May or June next; for they are there (now) in obscuritie, being destitute of a ligh[t] to direct them, notwithstanding they have Day there all the day long.

'And heere wee suppose its not amiss to lett your Worships understand that Mr. ffrancis Day was the first projecture and Contriver of that Forte or Castle in Madrasspatan which another, with a greite deale of discontent, laboure and paines hath now brought to some good pass, being a place of securitie on that Coast as the onelie place of secured saiftie with that Title of honoure (Castle) that ever our nation enjoyed in East India, and therefore in our opinions to bee highlie esteemed. And for its cost, it's certaine that if your Worships continew the Indian Trade, in few yeares it will not onelie quitt its owne Charge, but allsoe produce benefitt and put monies into your Purses by bringeing a Trade thither, raiseing a Custome there, paying of duties by the Inhabitants neere adjoyning, and being replenisht with Merchants [and] Weavers, whereby you may have all things necessarie and convenient for you under your owne Command; and happy and glad will manie bee, (wherein you will find the benefitt), to come and live under our nation and bee protected by them. Thus much by the way. . . .

'With Mr. Andrew Cogan, who taketh his Passage for England in the Marie (as is mentioned in a fore goeing Clause), wee have had some serious discourse touching the forte in Madrasspatan, which certainlie was at first projected by Mr. ffrancis Day, and doubtless Mr. Cogan would never have erected it without greate Incoureagement thereto by some that might then best doe it; and notwithstanding the cost bestowed thereon, (which considering its building and strength will not appeare too much), three yeares time questionless (If your Worships continue this Indian Trade) will facylelie regaine what hath been expended thereon, as hath beene allreadie said; and for the future greite hopes of benefitt and Incoureagement. Theirto is an Iland scituated in the River, under the Comand of the Castle, whereon is likelie to bee made a greate quantitie of Salt yearelie, which is one of the Constantest Comodities in all theise Easterne Parts, and much monies are gotten thereby every where. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1847, 9th Dec., 1643.)

On arriving in England, Cogan was required by the Company to justify, before a Committee, his action at Madraspatam. The following is his defence:—

Mr. Cogan's Defence.

'Right Worshippfull etc., Before I aunswere to the severall charges delivered me, I most humbly desire your worshipps to cast an eye on the Comissions given the Presidents, for in them youle plainely see what they are in India, and how farr theire comands extend: ffor, as I understand, they have not only

power to comannd Accons from theire severall subordinate factories, but they have power to punishe eyther body or purse of any delinquent. And unles my memory much fails me, the Company from tyme to tyme have inordered them that all disputes and differences growinge in India should there be ended, to avoide your trouble at home; which beinge soe, the Company have noe reason to put your worshipps and myselfe to this presente trouble. However, I repine not at that, in regard so many worthie men are to judge the buisnes, and therefore in obedience I aunswere as followeth.

'1. To aunswere the buildinge of the ffort St. George, the charge whereof hath cost from the first March 1639 to the 30th June 1643 the Sume of pagodas new 9250.[1]

'That aboute July 1639 when the Co[a]st was subordinate to Bantam (Mr. Ivy being the Chief on the Coast), Mr. Fra. Day was imploied to treate with the Naique of Madraspatam for a plott of grounde within his country to fortifie upon; which being graunted, and Articles drawen betweene the Naique and Day in the Companies name, he, the said Day, returnes to Mesulipatnam, and acquaintes Mr. Ivy, etc. how farr he had proceeded. Thereupon a Consultation was called, and in that Consultation yt was resolved that Mr. Day should returne to Armagon and from thence houlde faire and good correspondencye with ditto Naique until we had advized to Bantam and from thence have order to proceede upon that worke. In September '39, by Conveyance of the Danes, wee dispeeded to Bantam the articles of Agreement and also Mr. Days relacon of the place. In October '39 the Coast, by the companies order, became subordinate to Surratt, from whence (and not from Bantam) wee daily expect order what to doe. For notwithstanding the Companies positive order to dismantell Armagon, yet, Say the President and Councill of Surratt, before you doe yt, let us know the conveniencye or inconveniencye of that place, and alsoe let us know the monethlye charge of yt, and how yt is in repaire, etc. Unto which (after wee had by letter conferred with Mr. Day), wee aunswered in November '39 that the Fort of Armagon was much oute of repaire, and would require some thousands of rialls to make yt only habitable. Alsoe wee tould them that Mr. Ivy some moneths since had imploied Mr. Day to treate with the Naique of Madraspatam as aforesaied; sent them the articles of agreement and Mr. Dayes relacon of the place, and concluded that if they approved of the buisnes wee would proceede upon the worke. Which letter and relacon beinge receaved in Surratt, drew from the President and Councill the followinge lines (dated the 8th January, and receaved the 6th February 1639 [1640]): "Touchinge the dismantlinge of Armagon. . . ."[2]

'2. To give acompt whither the fort be finished, or how farr yt is proceeded with.

'Three bulwarcks and the Tower (or house) in the midst is finished, and 34 peeces of Ordnance mounted er I came from thence,[3] and some parte of the Materialls provided to goe on with the rest. But for your better informacon I heerewith present your Worships with a Mapp or Draught of

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[1] *Pagodas new:* the 'new pagoda,' coined at Fort St. George, was worth about 9s.
[2] Already quoted from *O.C.*, No. 1792, 20th Sept., 1642.
[3] On the 27th August, 1643. It appears that the earthen bastion, built in 1642, had been cased with stone by the middle of 1643.

the Fortt[1] as yt was at first intended, and by which you may more plainely see whats done and whats to doe. But whereas yt is saied yt hath alreadye cost 9250 pagodas; if so, your bookes will make yt appeare, to which I refer myselfe; yet doe beleeve, uppon better viewinge the accompts, that Some will be much lessned, unles [you include] your accompt on Charges merchandize, Charges shippinge, Charges Dyett, Servants Wages and Interest etc.; which if you doe, then yt may amounte to such a summ, els not; for as for the charges above saied, yt cannot be denyed but Charge of dyett woulde have appeared whither the Fortt had gone on or no; so would Charge shippinge, Charge merchandize (if goods had beene bought), and servants wages. And for the Interest, twas promised to be paied by Mr. Day, because the Naique (as he pretends) falcified his promise; which being advised of to Surrat (the 15th June 1640) this aunswere is returned :—

'"However unjust your Naique hath ben, we finde Mr. Day [had] a respective compassion of the Companies sufferinges in his readye and kinde proffer of paying interest of such Moneyes as shalbe expended untill the buildinge of the Forte be finished. Wee for our partes, unles wee shoulde approve ourselves lesse desirous of the companies welfare, doe accept his curteous offer, and doe require the Agent to receave yt and bringe yt to the Companies accompt; that so, they findinge to whome they are behouldinge, may themselves speake theire thanckfulnes."

'But, before any interest of moneyes was due, that power of charginge and receavinge interest of or from Mr. Day was taken from us; for in a Letter dated [12th] February 1640 [1641], they, the President, etc., say, "The promised Interest on Use of so much money as will be expended upon the Fort until it be finished, wee have uppon his earnest intreatye remitted; although his unadvisednes in matters of such importance should have been punished more severely, to teach others more caution in their severall treaties with such perfidious false people. . . ."

'By which, and what is saied in the foregoeinge lynes, tis plaine the President and Councell of Surratt did enorder the building Ditto Fort; and I ought not to be blamed had yt cost far more than yt hath.

'3. To aunswere what the charge of the souldiers is monethlye to mayntaine the Fortt, as well for wages, victuall and otherwise.

'That haveinge exactlye viewed the Accompts, I finde there hath not beene spent, one moneth with another, above 50 pagodas besides the wages due to the Englishe on theire accompts from the Company heere at home.

'4. To give an accompt what paintings, &c., have beene yearlye bought at Madraspatam.

'The accompts yearelye sent home will shewe you that, since our first comminge to Madraspatam, there hath beene bought and shipt away upwards of 30,000 pagodas worth of goods . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1751, 13th Jan., 164$\frac{4}{5}$.)

On the 13th May, 1645, the Committee exonerated Cogan in the following terms :—

'A very indiscreete action to goe about the building of such a Fort when the Companies stocke was soe small, yett if ever the Companie have a plentifull

[1] This plan, which would have been invaluable, has not been preserved.

stocke, it may bee very comodious and advantagious for them; and since it was the joynt act of all the factors there, and not soly or perticulerly of Mr. Cogans, and if it should not proove so advantagious for the Companie heereafter, it can bee charged upon noe man more justly then on Mr. Day: and this Committee were joyntly of opinion to cleare Mr. Cogan of this charge.'

Cogan, who had served the Company about twenty-eight years, did not return to India. He purchased Crowley House at Greenwich,[1] and took an active part in the civil war on the Royalist side. He was knighted at some time between 1645 and 1650. The ultimate success of the Parliamentarians drove him into exile, and his estates were confiscated. He remained abroad until the Restoration. In 1657 he was created a Baronet of Ulster, and he died three years later, when the baronetcy became extinct. Sir Andrew Cogan left two daughters,[2] one of whom became the wife of Christopher Musgrave. From them is descended the present Sir Richard Musgrave, Bt., of Eden Hall, Cumberland.

As pointed out by Mr. Foster,[3] Cogan has not hitherto received adequate credit for his share in the founding of Fort St. George. It is true that Day projected the new settlement, conducted the preliminary negotiations, chose the site, and obtained the Naik's grant; but Cogan, his superior officer, was present from the beginning of the occupation, and was mainly responsible for the erection of the Fort and the colonization of the place.

Government of Francis Day.

Day took charge of the Agency on the 27th August, 1643, and ruled for twelve months. The civil establishment at Fort St. George consisted of three factors, Francis Day, on £200 per annum; Henry Greenhill, £50; and John Browne, £24; with

[1] The following details, communicated by Mr. William Foster, are derived from Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage*, *The Visitation of London* (1633-35), *Calendars of State Papers*, and other sources.

[2] A son, Richard Cogan, probably the offspring of an irregular union, came to Fort St. George in the *Hopewell* in 1642. He is mentioned in 1675-76 as being in the service of the King of Golconda; 'One Coggins (whose father built Fort St. George) is now chief gunner in the Roome of Mr. Mingham, deceased' (*Masulipatam Records*, vol. xii.). Manucci, who met Richard Cogan at Golconda in 1686, states that he ended his life in great poverty (*Storia do Mogor*, iii. 97).

[3] *The Founding of Fort St. George*, William Foster, 1902.

one assistant, William Mynn, on £12.[1] The period of Day's government was marked by continued disturbance in the Carnatic, and the steady advancement of Dutch interests. Naik Dāmarla Venkaṭappa or Venkaṭādri was finally disgraced, and his authority conferred by Rajah Srī Ranga on Mallai, otherwise called Chenāna Cheṭṭi, the native merchant who acted for the Dutch. This appointment occasioned grave anxiety at Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George to Bantam.

(*O.C.*, No. 1859, 28th Jan., 164$\frac{4}{5}$.)

'Such a storme is prepareing for us that 'tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch have bine long a projecting, and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their Merchant, is Like to be as Powerfull with the King[2] as the Serkayle[3] is att Gulcandah. And to ingratiate him throughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and Gunns for the subdueing of Castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their owne use; by which meanes our Nague is Casherd and hee substituted, and is allso made his Treasurer, and dus even in a manner Command all. And 'tis very probable that hee will governe all the Seaports even to the very verges of Cealon; and whatt this may come to in a short time is noe hard matter to Judge of. Beleive itt, 'tis not for naught that the Dutch assist him in this manner, for their ayme is to have the sole Trade of the Coaste; and if you doe not sett to the helping hand, and that suddenly, adue to all; but of this more at Large in an after Clause. . . .

'For our Competitors the Dutch dus dayly draw many advantages by our Long and tedious vacations, for, beleive it, they ayme att the sole trade, thereof never being such possibillities as at present. For the Portugalls, they play Least in sight; nay, 'tis to bee Dubitated whether they will have any abideing place in these parts within this few months, for the Dutch gives itt out that they intend to take St. Thomay at the returne of their Fleete from Goa: and as for the Danes, hee is in as bad or worse Condition. And 'tis very probable wee may bee in the same predicament in a short time, being soe far removed and estranged from our Masters and your good opinions that all that goes from hence meets with disrespects and scorne. . . .

'Wee have in a former Clause made Nomination of Mollay. Wee are sorry wee have occasion to treate of him farther. Some few daies sence hee made demande to have the Govermentt of this place and all the profetts to himselfe,

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1841, Sept., 1643. The civil establishment under the Presidency of Bantam numbered at this time 45, of whom 14 were at Bantam, 11 at other eastern stations, 4 at Fort St. George, 6 at Masulipatam, and 8 on the Company's ships in southern seas. The President, Mr. Ralph Cartwright, enjoyed a salary of £300.

[2] *The King* (of Karnatt)—*i.e.*, the Rajah of Vijayanagar.

[3] Mīr Muḥammad, afterwards known as Mīr Jumlah. In 1651 the Council wrote of 'the Gulcandah Nabob, alias Meir Mamud Syed' (*O.C.*, No. 2200, 18th Jan., 165$\frac{1}{2}$).

which is Contrary to those Cowles of the former King[1] and our Nagues, for by those the Goverment is given to us, with halfe its Proffitt. Which if wee should yeeld thereto, by Surrendering our previledge, the Towne would bee suddenly Ruinated by the Raiseing of the Customes, for therein they [the Dutch] ground their pollice to worke us mischeife. But wee Intend not soe Easily to part with our emunities; and if hee shall any way mollest us, if opportunity presents for a retalliation, wee shall make the Best use thereof. And indeed wee beleive there may bee such a Course taken that may fright Mollay for entertay[n]einge such thoughts. This wee conceive facill if wee had some more hands to reinforce our Garrison, and a small vessell of a resonable force to attend, if occasion should require, some of his vessells; boath which should not bee alltogeather unproffitable, but should serve for many other uses and well merritt their charge. . . .

'Francis Day, Thomas Peniston, and Henry Greenhill and some others doe resolve to voyage it for Europe the next yeare, god blessing them with there Lives and health, and doubt not of your Lycence, having served our Masters many yeares in these Partes more than was Covenanted, and have received but small Encouragement. . . .

'The 8th Currant here happened a most unfortunate accident, made soe by the Success and nott the Intent; for soe wee gather by Circumstances which, in regaurd that all other proofs sleep, wee have nought else to direct us but probabillities and Likelyhood; Our Sergeant, Jeffery Broadford, being the unfortunate man and theame for this inlargement, by killing of one of these natives. Hee haveing licence to lye at his house,[2] found a man at a most unseasonable tyme hid there. Hee, by accident finding of him hid so, and in the Darke seizing on him, and the other strugling for an escape; which the Sargant doubting, drew out his Knife, not haveing his Sword about him, and cutt him over the Arme, soe for to give him a Marke for to Discover and knowe him the next day. And indeed itt proved soe that the man was easily to bee found, for what with timerousness and neglect to have his blood stinched, hee proved a Corpes. Wee, having notice of the Disaster the next morning, and being dubious that our Masters might suffer somewhat, first sent our Chirurgeon to see what wounds; which was fruitless, for his Parents had Intered him early in the morning, being ashamed of the act, for such were his words. And not onely then, but [at] a Generall Conventing of our Selves and the most substantiallest merchants and Committees[3] of this place, the father did there Confess that his Sonn received a Just Guerdon for his offence, which was aver'd and Confermed by the above said Marchants and Committees that such was the Law and Custome of the Country, of which the father hath given under his hand, and testified by the said Merchants &c. Notwithstanding, wee intended his mission to you, and would soe, if wee could by any meanes have found in one weake and disordered Company, a fitt man to have seated in his office. But tis our unhappiness that wee are totally unprovided of such, as will allwaes bee in that manner soe Longe as wee are to bee supplyed by the discretion of Masters of Shippes.

'Wee have allready said that the Success and not the intent made it unfor-

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[1] No record has been preserved of this confirmation by Rajah Venkaṭapati of the Naik's grant. The confirmation must have been prior to October, 1642, when the Rajah died.

[2] Outside the fort.

[3] *Committees*, Komatis, a caste of Hindus.

tunate, for itt tis Confest, una vose,[1] by the Inhabitants of the Towne that saw him eare his interring that hee had noe other wound but onely on the armes, which confirmes that there was noe intent to take his Life; for if such had binn, the poynt by all likelihood would have made a quicker dispatch, which hee did not use. Wee have not proceeded soe farr as yett to Draw a consultation, but shall refferr that some short time to see if there will bee any further question thereon, but wee verily beleive there will not. However, in a few Daies that Common Arbitrator, time, will make Discovery: then at Mr. Greenhills returne,[2] when wee are somewhat fuller, wee shall formerly[3] Draw both Consultation and atestation, and dispeed them by first opportunitie. Our gunner hath undertaken, body for body, that the Serjant shall not make any escape; and if you shall order his mission to you, wee doe earnestly desire you to Supply us with some man of Goverment to Substitute in his place. . . . Your observant Lov. ffreinds,

'FFRA. DAY.
'GEO. TRAVELL.'

A later document gives a few details of Sergeant Bradford's service, and shows that he had been at Fort St. George from the first establishment of the place:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Jeffery Bradford, who was shipped out Corprall of the Discoverie, 1632, at 25s. per month, and taken ashore at Armagon the same yeare, hath Liv'd there or here since as Serjant of the Souldiers. Upon his pettition unto us for his returne home or Augmentation of wagis in regard of his long Service and good deserts, wee have thought fitting after his Long staye to alowe him anually here, for to buy his apparrell, 40 Rialls of 8[t] per Annum gratuetie towards his maintenance in apparrell as beseeming his function.' (*O.C.*, No. 1885, 8th Sept., 1644.)

A month before the close of Day's term of office, the Company's ship *Endeavour*, Capt. Robert Bowen,[4] arrived at Madraspatam from England. She brought the master and other survivors of the Courten ship *William*,[5] bound for Acheen, which had been lost near the Cape. The master, Thomas Cox, besought the Agent to receive, as an interest-bearing loan, a sum of £4,500

[1] *Una vose*, for *unâ voce*.
[2] Greenhill had gone on a voyage to Tranquebar.
[3] *Formerly*, formally.
[4] Capt. Bowen took a proper pride in his ship. He wrote to Surat that he left Madraspatam on the 10th July, and reached Masulipatam on the 12th, 'from whence wee are Consigned for Gingerly and into Bengala for a fraight for Persia, whence I hope to bring you the bravest Ship of hir Burthen as ever came to Surratt, for shee sayleth better then any Dutch ship that ever wee mett, which doth anger them much, and workes very well.' (*O.C.*, No. 1876, 13th July, 1644.)
[5] Burden, 140 tons.

saved from the wreck. In declining the terms proposed, Day and Greenhill wrote :—

Francis Day, etc., to Thomas Cox.

(*O.C.*, No. 1874, 5th July, 1644.)

'We acknowledge the receipt of your Gould and, since our possession thereof, have often and dōe now againe offer its redelivery to you, for wee dare not Continue it longer in our Custody; neither will wee on such Conditions as promiseing payment of Principall or proffitt by your[1] honble Employers at the Returne of their shipping for Europe, which you so desire. Wee could nominate many Reasons that induces our non acceptance on such Termes. Yourselves are not Ignorant of the great Troubles and broyles of theis parts, both homebred and fforreigne, and how our neighbours the Dutch are beseeged in their Castle of Pollicatt by the Moores; and for any thing wee knowe, wee may bee in the same predicament in few dayes. More wee could insert, but this wee consider satisfactorie.

'FFRAN. DAY.
'HENRY GREENHILL.'

On the 4th August, 1644, Day was relieved by Thomas Ivie, and on the 7th of the following month he sailed in the *Swan* for Bantam via Masulipatam. Little is known of Francis Day's subsequent career. He was in England in 1646, when the Company fined him £500 for private trading, and six years later he gave evidence in a case before a Court of Committees.[2] At this point he sinks into an oblivion which is nowhere more absolute than in the great city whose site he selected and whose foundations he helped to establish. Neither Cogan nor Day is kept in memory by statue, portrait, or place-name. Not even does the secretariat building in the Fort, the successor of the old factory-house, bear a tablet to commemorate the achievements of the joint founders of Madras.

GOVERNMENT OF THOMAS IVIE.

Thomas Ivie's previous service had been rendered mainly at Bantam. For a short period in 1639 he was Agent at Masulipatam, until superseded by Cogan; and in January, 1643, when in England, he received the Company's orders to return to Bantam in view to eventually taking up the Coast Agency at Fort St. George. On the 4th August, 1644, Ivie arrived at Madraspatam in the *Swan* from Bantam, and relieved Day. The

[1] *Your*, an error for *our*.
[2] Communicated by Mr. William Foster.

prominent features of his four years' rule were the strained relations which arose between Fort St. George and Pulicat; a mission to the Rajah of Vijayanagar, resulting in the issue of a fresh grant to the British; a severe famine; hostilities with San Thomé; the troubled state of the country consequent on internal dissension and foreign aggression, ending in the expulsion of the Rajah and the absorption of the Carnatic by the King of Golconda; and the confirmation by the new monarch of British rights and privileges in Madraspatam. These transactions are described in the following pages.

The civil establishment at Fort St. George consisted of five factors and two writers, and Ivie appears to have exercised control over the other Coast factories and the small establishment in Bengal:—

'Out of the Agents Letter Dated in Fort St. George primo Octobris, 1645, subscribed by Thomas Ivie.

'The ffactors at the Coast are; in fort St. George, Thomas Ivie, Henrie Greenehill, George Travell, William Mynn and Thomas Jermyn, factors; Martyn Bradgate and Walter Robins, writers; with 37 others of souldiers and other professions.

'In Mesulipatam, Thomas Peniston and Thomas Winter, factors.

'In Verashroone,[1] Richard Hudson.

'In Pettipoolee,[2] William Methwold, William Gurnie, Edmund Styles and Christopher Yardly, factors; Hercules Heywood and Edward Winter, writers.

'In Bengalla, Henrie Olton and William Netlam; so that they saie they are better provided with factors then meanes to imploye them.

'And yet they have now increased the wage of 4 of them, vizt. Henrie Greenhill for 3 yeres from 60*l*. unto 100*l*. per annum; he has bin accomptant at the Coast 4 yeres and much commended. William Mynn and Thomas Jermyn at 40*l*. per annum for 3 yeres. Walter Robins at 20*l*. per annum for 3 yeres. This they have done for their incouragement. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1884, 1st Oct., 1645.)

Finding the country in a disturbed state, Ivie's first step was to urge on the Company the need for greater outlay on the Fort and garrison:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Fort St. George hath allready cost in building 2294*l*. 17*s*. 2½*d*., as by the abstract[3] of the charges which accompanieth this appeareth; and to finish the

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[1] *Verashroone*, Vīravāsaram, a small factory under Masulipatam.

[2] *Pettipoolee*, Peddapalli, afterwards Nizāmpatam, a few miles west of Masulipatam.

[3] Not preserved.

Rest and to Compleate it according to the worke begun, with ware house Roome, lodging for factors and Souldiers, with other needfull additions of Building, and soe fortified as fame reporteth it is (though not soe), it cannot Cost less then 2000*l.* more, notwithstanding three of the foure Quadrangle points bee finished, yett the other point with the three[1] walls betweene the three points which are finished, with lodging and ware house Roome, will cost full as much as the Sume aforementioned.

'And the monthly Charge which wee are at now for fiftie men is 54*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, as by the Abstract[2] of the particulars of mens names and wages appeareth; soe that when it is Compleated there cannot be less than 100 Souldiers, which will double the charge. What ammunitions, ettc., is at present in the ffort, the particuler list hereinclosed will appeare, which is as much as nothing for the defence of such a place, the Gunns Excepted; but when it is finished, and 100 Souldiers for the defence of it, wee need not feare any inland Enemy neare unto us in these parts. . . .

'The Moores but 5 weekes past had advanced with ther armes within three Myles of Pullicatt, and sent unto the Duch Governour to Surrender up there Castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after, the Jentues came downe with a greate power, gave the Moores Battle, routed there Armie and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon, where they are now a gathering a head againe; soe the dainger that we live in is yet unknowne.' (*O.C.*, No. 1885, 8th Sept., 1644.)

No record has been traced of the building of the fourth bastion, but it was probably not long delayed. A considerable interval elapsed, however, before the curtains between the bastions were completed.[3] In a letter to Surat, written twelve months after the one last quoted, Ivie reported that Mallai, the Rajah's local representative, had quarrelled with his former masters the Dutch, seized one of their merchants near Trivatore, by Madras, and defeated a military force sent from Pulicat to rescue the captive:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Wee have formerly advised you of the great difference betwixt the Dutch and Molay, which now is fallen into open warrs. . . . Soe that it is come to such a passe through Molayes meanes, who is in such favour with the King that he ruleth both King and Contry, and hath prevaled soe farr with the King to send his Mandates to all his Governours throughout his kingdome to seaze upon all the goods which is in any Jentue Marchants hands belonginge unto the Dutch, and whosoever shalbe found to deny any of their goods, that party to be seazed upon and all his estate forfitted unto the Kinge. . . . And most parte of the said goods are allready gott together by the Kings officers to a greatt Towne[4] some t[w]elve miles from our Fort, where all the other goods

[1] *Three* seems to be a slip for *two*. [2] Not preserved.

[3] A reference of 1654 (*O.C.*, No. 2542), which will be quoted later, shows that Ivie commenced, if he did not complete, an outer rampart of earth round the town.

[4] Probably Poonamallee.

must be brought, and there sould by the Kings Bramine and officers to those Marchants that hath mony to buy them. Soe that what goods is already sould is Bought by our Marchants which are indebted unto our Company, which they have brought into our fort for parte satisfaction of their debts. . . .

'We must beseech you and the President of Bantam to provide us with shippinge and monyes for the mainteininge of our Creditte, which now lyeth att stake with our Merchants; for, if we now fayle them, they wilbe utterly disparaged and we shamfully disgraced, even to the Losse of the Companies trade in this King's dominions, which is proferred wholly to us, and that the Dutch shall never trade here againe . . . ; and we are Confident that our Merchants will not fayle us in what they promise, in reguard the Cheife of them[1] is Molay his bosome freind, whome he endeavoreth to make sole Marchant in this King's Dominions, as himselfe was in a Manner when he was with the Dutch. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1945, 8th Sept., 1645.)

The acceptance by the English of confiscated Dutch goods caused irritation at Pulicat, and reprisals were threatened. At the same time the hostility subsisting between Mallai and the Hollanders served to develop closer relations between Fort St. George and Vijayanagar, and resulted in the despatch of Mr. Greenhill on a visit to the Rajah, who was then at Vellore:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The difference betwixt the Dutch and Mollay, their quondom great merchant, is now fallen out into open warrs, and ever since the 13th August Mollay, by order and leave of the Kinge, hath beseiged Pullecatt. . . . It is credibly reported that the Kinge is sending downe great Ordinance and more power against Pullecatt to Burne the Towne and beate down the Fort. The former may be done, but for the latter they will finde a hard Taske to performe. . . .

'Wee have bin often tymes sollicted by this Kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessors since our first arivall heere, which is now 7 yeares allmost; soe if wee any longer deny his reasonable request, wee may suddainely Expect his Just displeasure, and peradventure have a Seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defence, who hath twenty for one more then wee; soe that if the like should happen unto us, what can you expect of fifty well and sicke men to defend your estate and Fort against the king's power; . . . soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civill Comportment and respect to the kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders Potencie, and at present are in such esteeme with the king and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Honble English East India Company. And for the mayntenance of the same and the kings favour wee are . . . resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry

[1] The British Company's Chief Merchant was Seshādri Chetti, alias Seshādri Nāyak.

Greenhill, with foure other english souldiers for his attendance, for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the great Nague under whose protection formerly wee liv'd ; but now the kinge hath taken his power and this Cuntry from him, soe that his power and protection is of noe longer vallue. Soe now findeing a fitting opportunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the Addition of a great many more, by this now Reigneing king which hath brought all his great Lords unto his Comand, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before : this by Mollayes Assistance wee make noe question to obtayne. . . .

'This Instant wee received a letter from the King by two of our owne Servants whome wee sent to him for that purpose. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 1952, 1st Oct., 1645.)

This letter[1] from '*Z*ree Seringo Raylo' at 'Arlour'[2] announced that the Rajah had declared war on the Dutch. He directed the British to assist his commander Chenāna Cheṭṭi[3] with munitions of war, and expressed pleasure at the prospect of receiving 'a man of quality,' such as was Ivie's senior councillor.

[1] *O.C.*, No. 1948, 25th Sept., 1645. It is endorsed: 'The King of Bissnageree letter to the Agent in Madrasapatam.'

[2] *Arlour*, probably Vellore.

[3] *Chenāna Cheṭṭi*, alias Mallai.

CHAPTER V

1645—1647

RAJAH SRĪ RANGA'S GRANT—WAR AND FAMINE—DIFFERENCES WITH SAN THOMÉ

RAJAH SRĪ RANGA'S GRANT.

GREENHILL accordingly paid a visit to the Rajah, either at Vellore or Chandragiri, and obtained a cowle, securing 'our old privalidge, with some addition, neiw confirmed by this King . . . under the Kings owne hand.'[1] These words imply a previous confirmation of the original or Naik's grant, and indeed *O.C.*, No. 1859, already quoted, expressly mentions 'those Cowles of the former King and our Nague.' While no copy of Rajah Venkaṭapati's grant exists, there are three contemporary copies of Rajah Srī Ranga's cowle.[2]

Rajah Srī Ranga's Grant.

(*O.C.*, Nos. 1696, 1697, Oct.-Nov., 1645.)

'In the yeare Parteewa, the month Cartida, the Moone in the wane,[3] the King over all Kings the holiest, and amongst all Cavalliers the greatest, Zree Renga Raya, the Mighty King God, gives this Coule unto Agent Thomas Ivie, cheif Captaine of the English, and the Company of that Nation.

'ffor as much as you have left Armagon, and are come to Zera Renga Rayapatam my towne, at first but of small esteeme, and have there built a ffort and brought trade to that Port; therefore, that you may be the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the towne which bears our name, we do freely release you of all Customes or duties uppon whatsoever goods

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1974, Fort St. George to Surat, 21st Jan., 1646.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 1696 (original series), *O.C.*, No. 1696 (duplicate series), and *O.C.*, No. 1697.

[3] Mr. Robert Sewell, late M.C.S., finds that the date indicated lies between the 26th October and the 9th November, 1645. The year *Parthiva* corresponded to 1645; *Karttika* was the eighth month, counting from the 18th March, and in that month the moon began to wane on the 26th October.

bought or sould, in that place, appertaining unto your Company. Allsoe wee grant unto your Company halfe of all the Customes or duties which shall be received at that Port, and the rents of the ground about the Village of Madrasapatam, as allsoe the Jaccall ground wee give you towards your charges by way of piscash.

'Moreover, for the better Manageing your business, wee surrender the government and justice of the towne into your hands; and if any of your Neighbors of Pundamolee shall injure you, wee promise you our ready assistance; and for what provissions shall be brought out of that Countrey, wee will that no Junnkan[1] be taken thereon.

'If it fortune that any of your Companys shipps shall, by accident of weather or otherwise, be driven asheare at that Port, whatsoever can be saved shall remaine your owne; and the like touching all Merchants that trade at that Port, if the owner comes to demand it; but if the owner be not to bee found, then our officers shall seize the same to our behoofe.

'Wee allso promise still to retaine the towne in our protection, and not subject it to the government of Pundamolee or any other Nague, and whatsoever Merchandizes of youres that shall pass through the countrey of Pundamolee to pay but halfe Custome.

'In Confidence of this our Coule you may cheerfully proceed in your affaires, wherein if any of our people shall Molest you, we give you our faith to take your Cause into our owne hands, to doe you right and assist you against them; and that this Port and this our Coule may stand firme as long as the Sunn and Moone Endureth.

'ZREE RAMA.'[2]

How far this grant differed from Rajah Venkaṭapati's cowle can be only conjectured, but *O.C.*, No. 1974, shows that the later document conferred additional privileges. It seems probable that the earlier cowle was a simple confirmation of Naik Dāmarla Venkaṭappa's preliminary grant. If so, the new privileges accorded by Rajah Srī Ranga embraced authority to administer justice, and the assignment of additional territory in the shape of the 'Jaccall ground.' The proceedings in the murder trial of September, 1641,[3] show that the British, though exercising the 'government of the towne,' had not at that time authority to dispense justice, at least not in capital cases. On the other hand, no allusion is made by the Rajah to that power to coin money which was conveyed by the Naik.

The exemption from customs dues, which is confirmed by the

[1] *Junnkan*, from Tel. *sunkam*, customs duty (*vide Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, 14th Oct., 1640, 'Jonkan or Customes of Armagon').

[2] This transcript is derived from *O.C.*, Nos. 1696 and 1697. The first is endorsed, 'Coppie. Kings Cowle given to the Agent Concerning the privilidges reconfirm'd'; and the second is marked, 'Translate of the Kings Coule given the Agent. Copia.'

[3] Recorded in *O.C.*, No. 1791, 20th Sept., 1642.

Rajah's grant, applied, of course, to customs which might ordinarily be claimed by the suzerain. Later records[1] show that an *ad valorem* duty of 4½ per cent. was levied at Madraspatam on all imports and exports irrespective of ownership. The whole receipts were credited to the Fort St. George revenues, save only half of such amount as was received from traders who were not inhabitants of the place. That half was payable to the native government.

Among the documents delivered by Governor Elihu Yale in 1687 to his successor, William Gyfford, were[2]:—

> 'One Gold Cowle, plated, from Damurla Yencraputty Nauidu.
> 'One Gold Cowle, plated, from Yencraputty Raywolly.'

These were the grants of Naik Dāmarla Venkaṭappa or Venkaṭapati and Rajah Venkaṭapati Rāyulu respectively, but the cowle of Rajah Srī Ranga, which, like the others, was probably inscribed on a gold plate, is not mentioned. None of the plates is now extant. The Fort St. George consultation of the 22nd March, 1690, shows that 'two of our most favourable Phyrmaunds' were sent in original to Bīdar for the inspection of the Mogul, and no subsequent mention is made of them. Shortly afterwards, one of the gold plates was lost at sea in passage from Surat, whither it had been sent by order of Sir John Child, then 'Generall of India.' Writing to England in 1693, the President and Council of Surat said, 'We built two Sloops for your Honours' servise in the River for Bengall, one of which most unhappily was lost in her passage to Madrass, near Cochin, in which was lost the Gold Phirmaund for Madrass.'[3]

Copies of the grants which were preserved at Fort St. George were sent to Bengal about 1711, probably in connexion with Mr. John Surman's mission to the Mogul. They were transcribed at Calcutta, and transmitted to England in a volume of *Letters Sent from Fort William* 1713-14. This volume has disappeared, but a copy made about 1789 contains the following version of Rajah Srī Ranga's Cowle:—

[1] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. xx., 15th Aug., 1649, and *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxvi., 10th Nov., 1670, which will be quoted in due course.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 30th July, 1687.
[3] Surat to England, 31st Oct., 1693.

Version of Rajah Srī Ranga's Cowle.

'Translation of a Cowle given by Steeranga Railo to Agent Ivie, dated 15th November 1643.[1]

'You have left the Place called Armagon, and are come now to one of my new Towns called Steeranga Rayapatnam, where you are making a Fort and Bulwarks, and to do your Merchandize and Trade; to which purpose I give you this Cowle with the following Contents, vizt. :—

'Touching your Company's merchandize : they shall pay no Custom, neither for importing nor exporting any of their Goods. And all what shall come in for Custom of the said Town, the half shall be for your Company and the other half for the Divan.[2] And besides this, I do freely give to the Company the Town called Madrassapatam, and all the Ground [that] belongeth to it, at their disposure; and all the Government and Justice of the said Town shall be exercised by you. And if any person should wrong you in any part of my Country, or in the said Town, in your Merchandize or in any other matters, I shall take care to do you justice and right. Also, no people belonging to the Governor of Pundamallee, nor of its Country, shall come, nor have any thing to do in your Town; neither shall you pay any Juncan for what provisions shall be brought for your Fort's use. If any of your Ships should be cast ashore, you shall take all the things that shall be saved; and if any other Ships belonging to any other Strangers should [be] cast ashore, if there be no Owners for it, then all them things that shall be saved shall be for the Divan's account. And besides, the said Town shall never be under the Government of Pundamalle's Country, nor shall be given to any other Government, but shall remain clear under the Divan. Seeing I have given you the like Cowle concerning the said Town and Merchandize, I shall take care that you shall in no ways be molested by no person; to which you may trust to my faith, and do your Merchandize without any kind of fear.' (*Fac. Rec. Misc.*, vol. ix.)

This translation was probably made in the first instance at Fort St. George by 'Paupah Braminy' the elder.[3] Its variation from the translation of 1645 tends to show that the original cowle was not before the translator.

On the fall of Madras in 1746 the French carried the Fort St. George records to Pondicherry. Among them were one or more gold-plate cowles, which were not returned with the bulk of

[1] This must be an error for 1645. In 1643 Ivie, to whom the grant is made, had not become Agent. Moreover, the cowle of October-November, 1645, was the outcome of Greenhill's visit, and was in all probability the first issued by Rajah Srī Ranga.

[2] *Divan*, from Ar. *dīwān*, the Chief Minister of State. The word is here used in the sense of the native government.

[3] The office of Translator was vested in this man's family for half a century. Pāpaiya Brāhman the elder was Dubash and Translator from 1697, or earlier, until his death in 1727. He was succeeded by his brother, but in 1734 his son, Pāpaiya Brāhman the younger, became Translator, holding office until the loss of Madras in 1746. (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxxi.)

the records when the place was restored. In 1749 such old grants as remained were collected. Translations were made by Paupah Braminy the younger, and sent to England, together with a memorandum of the contents of missing cowles. The note contains the following:—

Paupah Braminy's Memorandum.

'*Rajah Sasanum*, or Royal License, cut upon a Gold Leaf after the shape of a Cadjan,[1] Granted by Sriranga Royalloo, a Gentue sovereign, to the English Company for the perpetual Enjoyments of a Town called Chinapatam, in consideration of the Payment of the Rent of Pagodas 1200 per Annum into the Royal Treasury, and also empowering them to Coin Pagodas there with the stamp of the three following images, vizt. China Cassawa Sevanumy[2] and the two Goddesses.

'The condition of the Grant strictly enjoin'd and recommended to take care that all Priviledges of Deva Doyam and Bramma Doyam[3] may for ever be maintain'd or allow'd in a regular Manner, and that the place may always be Generally esteem'd and Look'd upon as a Gentue town.

'*Dimmattu*, or strengthning Commission,[4] from Damarla Moodu Venkalapa Naiek, Son of Damarla Chenama Naiek, the Grand Visier of the foresaid sovereign and Lord General of Carnatica, to the English Company, for the purpose before mentioned.' (*Treaties*, vol. vi.)

These notes were apparently made from memory, and cannot be regarded as authoritative. The *Rajah Sasanum* was clearly a grant by Rajah Srī Ranga, but the alleged contents not only differ widely from the cowle of 1645, but are in some respects inherently improbable. In the first place, the Rajah would scarcely designate as 'Chinapatam' a settlement which he resolved should be named after himself. Secondly, the authentic grant of 1645 makes no mention of power to coin money. Thirdly, the 'Town Rent' of Pags. 1,200, was first fixed by Neknām Khān's grant of 1672. In Srī Ranga's time the contribution was half the customs paid by strangers, and it was not until 1658 that a composition was made for a fixed payment of Pags. 380 per annum. On these grounds it is concluded that Pāpaiya Brāhman's memory was at fault, and that he confused the details of several grants. The *Dimmattu* evidently relates to the original cowle by the Naik. The errors

[1] *Cadjan*, from Jav. *kājāng*, a strip of palm-leaf prepared for writing on.

[2] *China Cassawa Sevanumy*, Chennai Kesava Swāmi.

[3] *Deva Doyam* and *Bramma Doyam*, duties collected for the benefit of the temples and Brahmans respectively.

[4] *Dimmattu*, a preliminary grant made, subject to confirmation by superior authority.

in the names of Venkaṭappa and his father, Chennappa, may have crept in during successive transcriptions of the memorandum.

The once powerful house of Vijayanagar is now represented by the Rajah of Anagundi. The following list of the sovereigns and their later representatives in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is abstracted from a paper entitled *History of the Kings of Beejanagur and Anagoondy*, which was drawn up by order of Captain Colin Mackenzie in 1801,[1] when the Rajah was claiming compensation for the recent alienation of the lands of Anagundi:—

'Venkataputty Rayaloo	1587-1615
Rama Rayaloo	1615-1632
Venkata Rayaloo	1632-1644[2]
Streeranga Rayaloo	1644-1672
Venkataputty Rayaloo	1672-1692[3]
Chinna Rayaloo	1692-1703
Dasa Rayaloo	1703-1720
Chicka Dasa Rayaloo	1720-1733
Rama Rayaloo	1733-1756
Tirumal Rayaloo...	1756'[4]

War and Famine.

The establishment at Fort St. George was increasing gradually. A commissioned military officer and a surgeon appear to have come down from Armagon in 1640, but it was not until Ivie's time that a chaplain was appointed. The person referred to as Jeremy Roote in the following extract appears to have been the Gunner of the Fort, an office to which engineering duties were attached:—

Fort St. George to Bantam.

'Wee have by yure appointment made Bridgman purser of the Advice, and retourned him to Bantam with William Browne, one of master Douells accusors; and should likewise have sent Jeremy roote, had hee not been at deaths dore at the departure of the shipp: which if wee had sent him Aboard, wee must have hazzarded his life, as per attestation here enclosed under the Chirurgions

1 *Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., vol. x., Nos. 9 and 10.

2 An error for 1642.

3 'Alamgīr (Aurangzeb) absorbed the territories of Anagundi, Penukonda, and Chandragiri, leaving the Rajah the town of Anagundi and a few villages.

4 Still living in 1801.

hand. And if it please god to restore him to health, hee shall take his passage for Bantam upon the next shipp. . . .

'Att the sealeing upp heerof we were presented with a petition from the souldiers for the desireing of a minnister to be heere with them for the maintainance of their soules health, which petition goeth heerewith, beseeching your wisdomes devote consideration therein. THOMAS IVIE, HENRY GREENHILL, GEORGE TRAVELL, WILLIAM MYNNE.' (*O.C.*, No. 1953, 1st. Oct., 1645.)

The following letter reports the success of Greenhill's mission, and the progress of the siege of Pulicat by the Rajah :—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Our last unto you was the prymo 8ber,[1] coppie where of goeth here with, to which please to be referred. In our foregoeing we advised you of our intention in Sending of Mr. Grinhill to the King, who is returned againe, and hath well effected what he went for, which was to have our old privalidge, with some addition, neiw confirmed by this King, and his letter for the avouchment of the warre betwixt him and the hollanders, and to maintaine us in the buying of such goods as was taken in the warre ; all which we have obtained under the Kings owne hand. Coppies thereof, translated out of Jentue into English, goeth here with for your perusall. . . .

'Wee cannot denie your godly motion in sinding of us a Minnister heither to assist us in our prayers for better Succese. Soe haiving to our knowlege given answere unto your Letter and transcripts for as much as Concerneth the Companies busines, shall in a word or too accquante you how the warres stand betwixt the King of Vi[s]nagar and the Hollanders, and soe conclude.

'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the King hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore, and in Civell wares with three of his great Nagues ; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a Considerable foorse aginst Pullacatt, more then 4,000 souldiers that lay before it to Stopp the wayes, that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his Generall, Meir Gumlack,[2] with a great Armie to appose this King, who is advance[d] to the Jentues Cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got togeather 50,000 souldiers, as reporte saith, whereof 3000 he sent for from Pullacatt to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry. Soe their is now remainning before Pullacatt but one thousand, of which the Dutch made noe esteeme of. . . . THOMAS IVIE, HENRY GREENHILL, GEORGE TRAVELL.' (*O.C.*, No. 1974, 21 Jan., 164$\frac{5}{6}$.)

The chaplain selected for Fort St. George was the Rev. William Isaacson. He reached Madraspatam in 1646, but found the post uncongenial. He left for Surat in December, 1648, and was replaced early in 1650 by the Rev. Robert Winchester. Seven years later, however, Isaacson again did duty at Fort St. George :—

1 *O.C.*, No. 1951, 1st Oct., 1645.

2 *Meir Gumlack*, Mīr Jumlah.

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'Mr. Isaackson, the John's Minister, took his passage that passed year upon the ffalcon to Mocha, and from thence voiaged in her to Madraspatam where, according to your orders, he is now resident; and will, we doubt not, by his Doctrine and Example (being of a very civill and fair deportment), work a reformation in that disordered place, or at least perfect what your Agent therein had left undone.' (*O.C.*, No. 2023, 25th Jan., 164$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'Mr. Isaackson, as you have already understood, is resident at ffort St. George, whither hee was sent in hopes hee might have wrought some reformation amongst those debast soldiars; but wee beleeve hee is of two mylde a disposition to worke Upon such rugged natures; for which Cause, or some other reason knowne to himselfe, hee earnestly desires to leave the place. . . .

'Touching the Coast affaires, wee have already, and still doe referr you unto the Agents, Etc., letters, wherein you will find Molloy againe returned unto the Dutch, and by them kindly entertained, though we beleeve att present but of little Use unto them in regard of the greate alteration and present poverty of those parts.' (*O.C.*, No. 2062, 6th Jan., 164$\frac{7}{8}$.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We cannot but express our sorrow for your Worships order in your letter to the President and Councell in Bantam touching the retourne of our Minister Mr. Isaacson to Surrat, not having been pleased to supply his roome with another, . . . since such a Civill and well governed man is as much if not more necessary, and importing the religion, order and reputation of this place, where you have so many servants and other Christians, liveing under your command and wanting instructions, as any other your Factories in India whatsoever. . . . Therefore wee beseech your Worships to approve of his stay here untill you please to send out such another (although none for comportment and language can fitt this place better than Mr. Isaacson). . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2085, 23rd Sept., 1648.)

In 1647 Southern India was visited by a famine of unusual severity:—

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Loveing ffreind Mr. Winter,[1] Etc., Yours of the 15th last passed we have received. . . . Your said letter importeth no more then answear of our last, wherein wee have sufficiently communicated our desires and necessities unto you, of which wee desire you to take Especiall notice, and to comply with our requirie in Every particuler thereof. Moreover we likewise desire you, if possible to be procured, to send us per the Seaflower 100 good Hogs or Pigs, for here is not any provisions of fflesh to be gott for money; so that if you Supply us not from Messulipatam by all Conveighances, as our drinke is only water, so must our Dyett be only rice. To this miserable Pass are wee and

[1] Thomas Winter, elder brother of Edward Winter.

this country brought unto. . . . THOMAS IVIE, GEORGE TRAVELL, WILLIAM GURNEY.'[1] (*O.C.*, No. 2015, 4th Jan., 164$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Fort St. George to Surat.

'The Famine is so great in this Kingdome that wee beleive it will bee the Destruction thereof, for there hath not fallen any rayne this yeare for the increase of any graine to releive the people; and now the season of the Raynes are past, so that, if the Allmighty doe not send supply from other parts, the Country will be so Dispopulated that it will be unpossible to recover it selfe againe in five yeares time. Therefore we Earnestly beseech you to send us, by the shipping you intend hither in Aprill or May next, 100 or two Tuns ordinary Rice to preserve the lives of those few Painters, Weavers and Washers which remaine aboute us. . . . Likewise we would intreate you to supply us with tenn Englishmen to serve here as soldyers, for Mortallity and the Moores Campp hath taken all away to 25 persons,[2] whereof 4 or 5 are Continually sick with the misserie of the times; for we have not, nor is here any thing to bee bought, to relive any sick person, unless hee will Eate Carryon beife, which wee procure out of the Moores Campp, which we obtaine by much favour. This is our missery, yet our Freinds at Messulapatam will not bee sensible of this, notwithstanding our many and earnest requests unto them to send us some provissions from there to releive us. Wee are now driven to that pass that we are forced to goe to Lowance of Rice, and are not able to subsist longer then 5 or 8 daies. Our wants are such that we are ashamd to make it knowne. Wee also intreat you to send us twentie Baggs of wheate for our howse Expence, wherein you will much ingage your Worships loving freinds to Command, THOMAS IVIE, etc.' (*O.C.*, No. 2019, 11th Jan., 164$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'How violent the famine hath bine here, 'tis not to bee Credited; for out of the Towne of Madraspatam died in five months tyme 4,000 per[sons]; out of Pullicatte 15,000 in as little tyme, and out of St. Th[ome] no less then out of Pullicatte. So that heere is not above one third of the Weavers, Painters and Wasshers livinge of what were formerly, which causeth cloth in these parts to bee 15 per cent dearer then formerly, and little or none at all to be procur'd. . . .

'Here hath (God bee thanked) fallen of late plentie of Rayne, beside 1,500 tonns Graine which hath arrived here in this few dayes, so that now Rice is cent per cent Cheaper then it was six weekes hence. . . . THOMAS IVIE, WILLIAM GURNEY.' (*O.C.*, No. 2046, 9th Oct., 1647.)

The light of the house of Vijayanagar, which had long been flickering, was now finally extinguished. Beaten by the forces of the King of Golconda, the Rajah fled to Mysore. Before the end of the year 1647 the Moslem sovereign was not only in possession of the Carnatic, but had confirmed to the British their rights and

[1] Greenhill had been transferred to Bantam.

[2] The remainder, including the Gunner, had been lent to Nawab Mīr Jumlah, who was besieging San Thomé.

privileges in Madras. The next two extracts describe the subversion of the ancient Hindu dynasty in its progress and accomplishment:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'This Countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores [1] Armie is come into this Cuntry on the one side, and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings Castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this Kingdome; where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumla, uppon Compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free. But how hee will be received by the King, we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday; and how wee are like to doe in this troublesome Cuntrey that hath neither shipp nor boate to secure the Companies estate, wee leave you to judge. . . . THOMAS IVIE, HENRY GREENHILL, GEORGE TRAVELL.' (*O.C.*, No. 1975, 10th Feb., 164$\frac{5}{6}$.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We had allmost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the Coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the king of Gulcondahs Generall,[2] who hath allmost conquer'd this Kingdome, and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob.[3] This 16,000 rials hee lent us for one twelve month gratis; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell.* So, in requitall of the Annabobs Curtezie, wee gave him one of the two Brass Guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which he would not bee denied of whither hee had lent us this money or no; otherwise hee would not have confirmed our old privilidges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So, upon the deliveringe of this Gunn, hee gave it us here under his hand that he received the Gunn in full and Contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire any thing elce for the same; and withall confirm'd, under the King of Gulcondahs great seale, all our former privilidges in ample manner as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King. Soe by this means the Gun hath saved you three tymes the vallue of it by accomplishing two good Acts at once. . . . THOMAS IVIE, WILLIAM GURNEY.' (*O.C.*, No. 2046, 9th Oct., 1647.)

DIFFERENCES WITH SAN THOMÉ.

Realizing that the dominion of the Carnatic must inevitably pass from Vijayanagar to Golconda, Ivie hastened to make interest with

[1] *Vizapoore*, Bījāpur.

[2] Mīr Jumlah, first Nawab of the Carnatic. The loan is further mentioned in *O.C.*, No. 2085, 23rd Sept., 1648.

[3] *Nabob*, for *nawab*, plural of Ar. *nayab*, a deputy. The word is applied (in a singular sense) to a viceroy or governor. *Annabob, al-nawab*, has the definite article prefixed.

the stronger power. In 1646, when Mīr Jumlah formed a camp in the vicinity of Madras for the siege or blockade of San Thomé, Ivie lent the Nawab his Gunner and several of his best soldiers, and assisted the Moslem in other ways. His action was naturally resented by the Portuguese, and a breach of the peace ensued:—

Fort St. George to San Thomé.

'To the Generall, etc. Councell belonging to the City of St. Thomay, wee the Agent, etc. Councell belonging to the Honble English East India Company and now resident in ffort St. George upon the Coast of Choromandell, Send Greeting.

'By reason of thos many Injuries and great Damages and Losses which wee have Suffered by the Inhabitants belonging to their jurisdiction (which are well knowne to all), as allso very lately (noe longer agoe then ffryday last) being by a publique Cryer in their City proclaimed their enemies (though unjustly); and the day following some of the inhabitants belonging to our Jurisdiccon being deteyned and most inhumanely beaten by some of their Souldiers, and the very same day many of their[s] lyeing in weight to apprehend our Inhabitants, as is sufficiently knowne and proved: For thes reasons (according to the Custome of Christians), first, wee require Satisfaccon of you the pre-mentioned Generall and Councell belonging to the City of St. Thomay peaceably and freindly; which, if you shall refuse to grant, lett no man wonder if, according to the law of Nations, wee seek itt by force of Armes. Wee expect their answear and determination by twelve of the Clock. farewell. THOMAS IVIE, GEORGE TRAVELL, WILLIAM GURNEY.' (*O.C.*, Nos. 2005, 2006, 27th Oct., 1646.)

[Enclosure] 'The Demands of the Worshipfull Agent, etc. Councell of Coast Choromandell, in the behalfe of the Honble English East India Company, to the Generall of St. Thome, Manuell Mascharinhas de Almada, vizt.

'Primo, Wee demand plenary Satisfaccon of Don Lewis de Mello, the quondam Generall of St. Thome, for what injuries committed by him to the Honble Company, which were Specifyed in a list sent to the Vice Roy.

'2do, Wee demand the render of Jaga and his Complices, or sufficient Satisfaccon for the Injuries done by the aforesaid Jaga and his Complices to the Honble Company and Inhabitants of Madraspatam, whose particulers are here mentioned in the following Seccons, vizt.

> '1mo, ffor deteyning of our cheife Merchant Sesadras Cloths and allso our Mombalon[1] painters Goods, which were deeply Engaged to the Company, under Covert of new takes and impositions, which debarrment hath not only been the Cause of the Loosing of the Sale of thos Comodities, but likewise the Endamageing of the better part of 400 pieces Long Cloth rotted by the raines in the tyme of their detention; which impositions are contrary to the Legue made with the King of Karnatt, and priviledges granted to the Honble Company by the aforesaid King.

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[1] *Mombalon*, Māmbalam, a village on the Adyar River, west of San Thomé. A bridge which crosses the stream near the village is now known as the Marmalong Bridge.

'2do, Whereas the Vice Roy hath enordered a respective and mutuall correspondence betweene Portugalls and English Nation, Especially thes of the inhabitants of St. Thome and Madraspatam, the f[ormer] have, contrary to that Order, proclaimed us their Enemies by sound of Drum, and manifested it by imprisoning our people in St. Thome, and deteyning the provisions belonging to the Honble Company, as allso and Cheifly by Councelling the aforesaid Jaga and his Complices to block up all the Avennues of our Towne with the nombre of 4 or 500 Souldiers.

'3°, Wee demand Satisfaccon for the lives of our English men which were slaine by the aforesaid Souldiers, and occasioned by the following accident: The Worshipfull Agent, etc., considering thes abuses, sent a Captaine of ar[ms] and a Corporall with a few of our peons[1] to see whether they could bring in any of that theevish Crew, as allso to be ascertained whether they did belong to thos of St. Thome, as we were informed; which complyed to our Expectations by the bringing of 5 Souldiers which belonged to the aforesaid Jaga, etc. Complices; upon whose apprehension they Sallyed upon our people, pursued within Comand of our ffort, pillaged our Suburbs, and Carryed our Inhabitants prisoners. Which affront occasioned the Agent and Leiftenant,[2] with 20 English Musquetoirs and the Companys peons, to Sally out for their rescue; who were encountered by the Souldiers of Meliapoor,[3] and in our retreat shott us with their missive Weapons, and killed us 3 Englishmen; in revenge of which the Agent, etc. Councell drew an Assistant party, which hath cost the Company to the amount of 3000 Reals ⅛. Which abuses, Loss of our Englishmen, Cost and Charges which hath accrewed upon thes accidents, Wee doe require you the Generall and all of St. Thome to see us Satisfyed in all and each of these perticulers and just greivances, the Complyance of which shall Cause a Strict Amity, whereas the Contrary will produce an Open Enmity. THOMAS IVIE, GEORGE TRAVELL, WILLIAM GURNEY.'

This statement, which is endorsed 'The Agent and Councell their demands from the Captaine More, etc. of St. Thomay,' shows that the Fort St. George garrison was commanded in 1646 by a commissioned officer, and that it comprised native as well as European troops.[4] The position of affairs at San Thomé is elucidated by a letter to Surat written from Colombo by one Maximilian Bowman, who was on a voyage from Goa to Acheen:—

Maximilian Bowman to Surat.

'Worshippful and much Honoured ffreinds . . . The newes heare stireing be pleased to partisipate. This day arrived a small Vessell from Santomay with certaine Portugall merchants belonging to this citty, whom report there is

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[1] *Peon*, a foot-soldier, an orderly; from Port. *peão*.

[2] Probably Lieutenant Jermin. This is the first specific mention of a commissioned officer at Fort St. George.

[3] *Meliapoor*, Mylapore, the native suburb of the Portuguese town of San Thomé.

[4] The *Dagh Register* shows that the garrison contained native troops in 1641-42.

an extraordinary dearth in Santomay of all provissions; that a Candy[1] of rice is there worth 200 Zerapheeas,[2] and all other eatable Commodities accordingly scarse; which dearth hath caused many of the Portugall women to leave their husbands and families to runn to the English in Madraspatam ffor releife, which hath occasioned notable quarrells betweene the English and Portugalls there. The Moores haveing beseeged Santomay with 8,000 ffoot and 3,000 horse, the English, the Companys servants, tooke an occasion to assist the moores in their assault against Santomay, where 14 English, with many moores, lost their lifes in attempt. But a new Generall being sent thether from Goa, the matter was taken up betweene the English and Portugalls, and made ffriends; but the Citty is still beseeched by the moores. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2009, 26th Nov., 1646.)

Although a peace was patched up between the British and Portuguese, friction continued to subsist:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

(*O.C.*, No. 2066, 17th Jan., 164⅞.)

'Cogan[3] is Runn away to St. Thome, and there is turned Papist rouge and goeth every day to Mass with his wife. Reporte telleth us that the Viz Roy hath written unto the Generall of St. Thome to protect him from us; but whither it bee soe or noe, wee are sure they will not returne him unto Us, notwithstanding wee did send Mr. Thomas Breton to require him of the Generall in as freindly a way as might bee, not supposing they durst to keepe Cogan from us, in regard hee is the Companys servant, which wee made appeare unto them of St. Thome. And as wee have troubled you with other differences betwixt us and St. Thome, but yett received noe sattisfaction, Soe wee likewise beseech you to advise the Viz Roy concerninge there detaineing of Cogan at St. Thome; and please to Consider whither it bee not an Unjust act of them to keepe one of the Companys servant[s] from them.

'The warrs doth yett continue in these parts, butt, God be thanked, the famine is much abated. . . .

'THOMAS IVIE.'

The next extract relates to the succession to the Agency, and the establishment at Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2046, 9th Oct., 1647.)

'Thomas Ivie, to fulfill the Companys desires, is willing to stay here some tyme Longer then his Covenanted tyme, though to his freinds great greefe in England.

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[1] *Candy*, a measure of weight corresponding to about 500 lb.

[2] *Zerapheea*: the xerafin of Goa was equivalent to about 1s. 6d.

[3] This was Andrew Cogan's unsatisfactory son Richard. Acknowledging himself 'an enormous delinquent,' he was afterwards restored to the service, subject to the Company's approval. (*O.C.*, No. 2172, 23rd Sept., 1650.)

'Mr. Thomas Winter, whome we find worthy of this Agency, and per the President of Bantam confirm'd therein after Thomas Ivies departure, and hath accepted the same; but now discouraged by your Letter per Pinnace Farewell, wherein you say you will in due time send one out of England to take charge of this Agency, which hath caused Mr. Winter to desire his passage for Bantam by the Pinnace Advice, which by us could not bee graunted in regard of the small Number of Factors now remaineing upon the Coast, as you will perceave by our list in a followinge clause. And Thomas Ivie intends, God willing, in May next to take his passage for Bantam upon your Pinnace Farewell, but not to Leave any of your quick Stocke behinde him; and for your dead Stocke, he will leave it in the hands of livinge, able, honnest men in Sending Mr. Winter to take charge thereof, being so inordered from Bantam; but if he denieth the same, hee must staye where hee is,[1] and Mr. Gurney must undertake that taske, who wanteth not abillity nor honnesty to performe the same.

'You are not over charged now with Factors upon the Coast, for you have no more here at Madraspatam then Thomas Ivie, William Gurney and Martin Bradgate: at Masulipatam and Vereshroone, Thomas Winter, Christopher Yeardley, Thomas Chambers and Edward Winter: in Bengalah, Richard Hudson and William Netlam, being in all nine Factors here in your Factories; and Mr. Ivie intendeth, God willing, to take his passage to Bantam on your Farewell in May next, and Mr. Winter, whose covenanted tyme is expired, desireth likewise license for his returne to his Cuntrye; so please to take it into consideration for the Supplyinge this Coast with four or six able and honnest men to assist the few remaineing Number here.

'Our Number of Souldiers are no more than 33, which is too few by 17 in this troublesome and destracted Cuntrye, and what the Names of the foresaid men are, the inclosed List will make appeare unto you. . . .

'THOMAS IVIE.
'WILLIAM GURNEY.'

Ivie remained at Fort St. George until the 23rd September, 1648, when he resigned office to Henry Greenhill, and took passage in the *Seaflower* for Bantam *en route* to England. Ivie was a man of great ability, who successfully guided the ship of state through a troublous period of war and famine. He maintained good terms with the Rajah of Vijayanagar to the last, yet was *persona grata* to Mīr Jumlah, the King of Golconda's powerful viceroy, from the first; and he carried Madraspatam unscathed through a revolution which transferred the Carnatic not only to another dynasty, but to another race.

[1] At Masulipatam.

CHAPTER VI

1646—1648

MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY AND NOMENCLATURE—THE MADRAS TEMPLE

Madras Topography and Nomenclature.

Owing to the absence of early plans, uncertainty has long existed regarding the topography of Old Madras. The probable extent of the land originally granted, as deduced from the village boundaries of the map of 1733, has been indicated on a previous page; but neither that map nor its predecessor of about 1710 admits of the determination of the position and names of the hamlets which appear to have occupied the territory. Under Rajah Srī Ranga's cowle, an addition was made to the land assigned by the Naik in 1639; but, before reference is made to this acquisition, it will be convenient to describe the subdivision of the province in which Madraspatam was situated.[1] That province, known as Tondamandalam,[2] comprised the area embraced between the Penner River of Nellore and the Pennār River of South Arcot. These streams, rising almost together, flow at first north and south respectively, and afterwards eastward to the sea. The province had Conjeveram as its capital, and was divided into twenty-four *cottams*,[3] each of which contained a central stronghold. The cottams, or districts, were divided into seventy-nine *nādus*, analogous to taluks, there being from one to five nādus in each cottam. The nādus again were split up into

[1] *Vide* (*a*) Bandla Ramaswami Nayudu's *Memoir on the Internal Revenue System*, written in 1820, and published fifty years later in *Selections from the Records of the South Arcot District*; and (*b*) a report on *Mirasi Right*, written in 1817 by Mr. Francis Ellis, Collector of Madras.

[2] *Tondamandalam*, so called from its founder, Tondaman Chakravarti. This prince of Cholamandalam is said to have wrested the new territory from a pastoral race inhabiting a region to the north of his dominions.

[3] *Cottam*, from Tam. *koṭṭai*, a fort.

townships called *nattams*, of which there were nineteen hundred in the province. Madraspatam lay in the Nāyar nādu of a cottam named Puzhel or Pullel, the fort of which was situated in the village of Pallī at the Redhills. This cottam contained five nādus named Nāyar, Ambattūr, Āgudi, Attūr and Eghumūr.[1] The Nāyar nādu appears to have comprehended several hamlets besides Madraspatam. In documents of the eighteenth century reference is made to Comerpett, Muthialpett and Attapollam, all parts of existing Georgetown, as well as to Irunkunnam, north-east of Vepery. All these hamlets, except perhaps the last, must, if they existed in 1639, have lain within the limits of the Naik's grant. Their names, however, save that of Muthialpett, are unknown to modern Madras. Outside the bounds of Madraspatam was a group of villages, comprising Tandore on the north, Perambore to the north-west, Vepery and Pursewaukum on the west, Egmore and Nungumbaukum to the south-west, and Triplicane on the south. These, with others, are now included in the urban area, but they were not acquired by the British until after the time of which we are writing. In all the villages except Triplicane and the adjacent hamlet of Poodoopauk, which were *shrotriem*[2] villages, *mirāsī* right[3] existed. The shrotriem village of Chintadripetta, west of the Island, was not founded until the eighteenth century.

The additional territory presented by Rajah Srī Ranga is called the 'Jaccall ground' in the translation of the cowle. Mr. R. B. Swinton, late M.C.S., has pointed out that the expression is a literal rendering of the place-name *Nārīmedu*, signifying high ground of the jackal.[4] In a confirmation of privileges by Nawab Neknām K͟hān in 1672, it is provided that 'the English shall enjoy from this day forward the same ancient privileges as well of the Ground belonging to the Place called Madrassapatam as Narimedo, and all other priviledges which they have hitherto enjoyed from the time that the Town of Chinapatam

[1] *Eghumūr*, Egmore, called also Eghambūr and Elambūr.

[2] *Shrotriem*, an assignment to a Brahman of land or revenue, which, however, confers no right of interference with tenants who pay the prescribed rent.

[3] *Mirāsī right*, from Ar. *mirās*, inheritance, is the right to hereditary possession or occupation of land (often exercised jointly by several persons), combined with certain privileges, such as a preferential claim to waste land, to fees from members of the village community, and to succession to certain village offices.

[4] *Nārīmedu*, from Tel. *nārī*, a jackal, and *medu*, high ground.

was first situated.'[1] The locality of Nārīmedu has not been certainly identified, but as the highest ground about Madraspatam was the northern bank of the Elambore River, afterwards known as Hoghill,[2] there is some reason for surmising that Nārīmedu occupied a position near the present General Hospital.

It will not escape notice that the Rajah discriminates between 'the Village of Madrasapatam' and the new town growing up around the Fort, which he calls '*Zera* Renga Rayapatam, my towne.' Neknām Khān distinguishes 'the Place called Madrassapatam' from 'the Fort and Town of Chinapatam.' From these allusions it may be inferred that Zera Renga Rayapatam and Chinapatam are different names for the new town, while Madrasapatam is the separate, though probably contiguous, old town. Had the designation Zera Renga Rayapatam remained permanent, the British settlement would doubtless have become known as Seringapatam. The name gave way, however, to Chennaipattanam, or Chinapatam, which at the present day is applied by natives to the modern city.

The origin of the name Chinapatam is explained in a paper entitled *A Relation of Severall Passages since the Founding of the Towne of Madrassapatam*, which was sent, about the year 1660, from Fort St. George to Bengal by Agent Chamber. According to this document, which will be transcribed in its proper place, Aiyappa Naik, brother of Dāmarla Venkaṭappa, wrote to Francis Day at Armagon in 1639, expressing a desire to found a town in the name of his father, Chennappa Naik, and offering liberal privileges if the English would come and settle in it. The rejection of the designation Zera Renga Rayapatam conferred in 1645 by the Rajah points to the probability that the name Chinapatam[3] was then in use, and it so far tends to confirm Chamber's explanation. On the other hand, the site on which the Fort was erected must have borne some original name, and that name would have been displaced with difficulty. Chinapatam may therefore have

[1] *Treaties*, vol. iii., 23rd Feb., 167½.

[2] Hoghill was levelled in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

[3] Yule and Burnell quote a curious extract from Mendoza's *China*, a work published in 1585, and translated by R. Parke in 1588: 'There is a great memory of them [the Chinese] . . . on the cost of Coromande . . . whereas is a town called unto this day the Soile of the Chinos, for that they did reedifie and make the same.' (*Hobson-Jobson*, article 'Chinapatam.')

been that original name, the assigned derivation from Chennappa being evolved later.[1] The first appearance of the name in the records occurs in 1652,[2] but as the term was officially employed only in communications with natives, its absence from the earlier consultations signifies little. The designation is found, however, in a grant purporting to date from 1646, which relates to the endowment of the *Chennai Kesava Perumāl* temple at Madras. Written *Chennaipattanam*,[3] the name is now applied by Indians to the modern city, which has spread far north of the Fort.

The following facts are considered to be definitely established by official records :—

1. That the village called Madraspatam existed under that name prior to the settlement by Cogan and Day.

2. That within a few years of the founding of Fort St. George, the new town which had grown up around the Fort was commonly known to the natives as Chinapatam, either in deference to the Naik's wishes, or because the site had originally borne that name.

3. That the place Madraspatam was recognized by Vijayanagar in 1645, and by Golconda in 1672, as distinct from the new town.

4. That while the official centre of the settlement was designated Fort St. George, the British applied the name Madraspatam to the combined towns.

On the basis of these facts, supplemented by information derived from later documents, it is inferred :—

(*a*) That the site of Chinapatam was that of modern Fort St. George.

(*b*) That the original village of Madraspatam lay north of and proximate to Chinapatam. The earliest existing plan of the Fort, which was published by Dr. Fryer after his visit in 1673, shows

[1] The late Mr. A. T. Pringle considered that natives of South India are prone to devise derivations of place-names. Assuming that in 1640 a hamlet bearing the name of *Chenai* prefixed to *pattanam* (town) came into prominence, Mr. Pringle held that the Naik of the district, son of one Chennappa, would seek to connect the place-name with his father's name, while the next generation would asseverate that the former designation had been derived from the latter.

[2] Award of the 5th Nov., 1652, quoted in *P.C.*, vols. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 30th Oct., 1707.

[3] The *Madras Manual of Administration*, however, gives the vernacular equivalent of Madras as *Chennapattanam*, not *Chennaipattanam*.

'Madirass, the Indian Town with flat houses,' immediately to the north of the European walled town. Hence the site of the village of Madraspatam is probably to be found on the northern esplanade of modern Fort St. George.

(*c*) That the interval of space between Chinapatam and Madraspatam was rapidly built over, so that the two places became virtually one town.

(*d*) That a single designation being required for the united towns, the English preferred *Madraspatam*, with which they had from the first been familiar, while the Indians elected to adopt *Chinapatam*.

To the square bastioned work which was lined out to enclose the factory-house the British gave the name Fort St. George. Conjecture has attributed to the appellation a connexion with St. George's Day, the 23rd April; but that date in 1640 was too late for the commencement of the work, and far too early for the completion of any substantial part of it. Dedication to the patron saint of England was, however, sufficiently appropriate, apart from any question of date. The earliest letter extant, written from the new settlement, is dated 'Forte St. George, the 17th July, at night, 1642,'[1] but the name occurs in a communication from Surat six months earlier,[2] and it is even employed in the Dutch records of September, 1641.[3] Hence there is good reason for supposing that the designation was conferred on the Fort from the beginning.

The settlement which grew up round the Fort was deemed by the British, from the first, as part of Madraspatam.[4] The European quarter nearest the Fort became merged in a native quarter to the northward, and the settlement appears to have existed for nearly twenty years before a dividing wall was built. In 1661 the earliest mention is made of 'the Christian Town' as distinct from the native quarter.[5] In due course the Christian Town was completely walled, and early in the eighteenth century, as appears from Thomas Pitt's map, it is called *White Town*, while

[1] *O.C.*, No. 1789, 17th July, 1642, Fort St. George to Bantam.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 1787, 27th Jan., 164½, Surat to the Company.

[3] *Dagh Register*, 1641-42, p. 266.

[4] Thus in *O.C.*, No. 1763, 27th Nov., 1640, the Masulipatam factors allude to a chest of medicines, 'put ashour in Madraspatam, where till then was not so much as a playster.' Here the new settlement is obviously referred to.

[5] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Nov., 1661.

the native city to the north of it is designated *Black Town*. The name *Fort St. George* was still applied, as at first, to the square fort or citadel occupying the centre of the White Town. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that designation had been transferred to the whole of the walled area constituting the White Town. Black Town, which lay between this larger Fort St. George and the Georgetown of the present day, has since wholly disappeared.

The origin of the name Madraspatam has been the subject of speculation based on the unsound premise that the word sprang into existence at the time of the British immigration. The name occurs in many forms, such as Medraspatam, Madrapatam, and Maddaraspatan (all of 1639), Madrazpatam (1640), Madrespatnam (*Dagh Register*, 1641), Maddaras (1642),[1] Madrasspatam (1643), Madrassapatam (1646), Madras (1653), Madrespatan (Tavernier, 1654), Madrastapatan (Navarette, 1646-1672), Madrispatnam (Schouten, 1658-1665), Madrespatan (Baldaeus, 1672), Maderas and Madirass (Fryer, 1673).

Writing in 1820, B. Ramaswami Nayudu, in a *Memoir on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency*,[2] alludes to a family tradition that his ancestor, Beri Timmappa, acted as intermediary in procuring the grant of territory made to Francis Day. He says:—

> 'The Gentleman who was Agent at that time, Mr. Day, undertook to erect a Factory on the spot where there was a Fisherman's *Coopum*, the head man of which was a Christian named Madarasen, who having thrown some obstacle in allowing the piece of ground he was in possession of, which was his plaintain garden, Berry Timmapa had by his influence obtained that spot, promising him that he would cause the factory which was about to be erected to be called after his name as Madaresenpatam, or commonly Madraspatam.'

No weight can be attached to this tradition, partly because the story implies that the name was given subsequent to the transfer of the site of the Fort, and partly because Ramaswami Nayudu is demonstrably inaccurate in other parts of his relation.

Yule and Burnell[3] are inclined to favour a derivation from the Hindustani word *madrāsa*, a college. Starting with the assumption that Triplicane was a Muhammadan village, they mention

[1] The word occurs at the end of a line, and bears a mark of contraction.
[2] Published in *Selections from the Records of the South Arcot District*, 1870.
[3] *Hobson-Jobson*, Yule and Burnell.

Charles Lockyer's allusion[1] to an 'old College' which existed at Fort St. George early in the eighteenth century, and surmise that the domed factory-house depicted in Fryer's plan may have been that institution. It is highly improbable that such a structure with such a name could have arisen under Vijayanagar rule; and, moreover, as will be shown later, Lockyer's 'College' was built by the British as a hospital, and afterwards converted into a *collegium*, or common residence for the junior civil servants of the Company.

A suggested derivation from *Manda-rājya*, the abode of the benighted, belongs to the category of *post hoc non propter hoc* etymologies. Another, from *Madre de Deus*, may be rejected in the absence of evidence of the founding of a church at Madras prior to 1640 by the Portuguese of San Thomé. The analogy of the form Madrazpatam to Sadraspatam[2] and Dugarazpatam,[3] names of adjacent coast-towns, also tells against this last derivation. Further pursuit of the subject seems unprofitable, but the conjecture is hazarded that Mada Rāzu or Rāju may have been some local ruler of the district in the forgotten past.[4]

Valuable particulars of the trade, revenue, and population of Madras are afforded by the Court Minutes of 1649.[5] In that year the question was mooted of raising a new joint stock, and transferring to it the remains of the old stock at a valuation:—

Proceedings of a General Court.

(*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xx., 15th Aug., 1649.)

'Mr. Governour [William Cokayne] further declared unto the Generallity that hee had caused a collection to bee made of what shipping, Customes, howses, &c., the old Stocke had in India, with an estimate of their value, which was to this effect. . . .

'At Madraspatan a ffort called St. George with its houses, provisions and stores - - - - - - - - 5,000*l.*

'The Customes there, the Companys, upon importacon of 20,000*l.* yearely and exportation of the like sum̃e at

[1] *Account of the Trade in India*, Lockyer, 1711.

[2] Sanson's map of 1652 has 'Sadrapatam,' but Madras is ignored. Later maps give 'Sandraspatnam,' 'Sanderes Patnam,' and 'Sadaranga-patnam' (square town).

[3] *Dugarazpatam*, the town of Duga Rāju, is an alternative name for Armagon.

[4] The *Madras Manual of Administration* suggests derivation from '*Mandaradzu*, name of local Telugu Royer,' or ruler.

[5] Communicated by Mr. William Foster.

4½ per Cent. inwards and outwards, 1,800*l.* per Annum, worth at 5 yeares purchase - - - - - - 9,000*l.*

'Strangers tradeing thether, their Customes worth 400*l.* per Annum, whereof the King[1] hath one halfe and the Company the other, valued at 5 yeares purchase - - - 1,000*l.*[2]

The question was referred to a meeting of Committees, which Aaron Baker, lately returned from Bantam, was summoned to attend. It was pointed out at the meeting that the old stock could not claim prospective revenue as part of its assets, and that the items relating to customs dues must therefore be eliminated from the valuation :—

Proceedings of a Meeting of Committees.

'Mr. Deputy [William Methwold] lastly intymated to this Comittee that the Joynt Stock had a stronge ffort at Madraspatan Called St. Georges ffort which, with the Customes, &c., was vallued at 15,000*l.* ; which Castle hath the comaund of the Towne and 4 miles round, and as it is mannaged at present there is 15,000 people or there abouts which make clothing, &c., in that towne.

'But it was generally Conceived that there was a mistake in this valuation, the ffort being valued at 5000*l.*, Customes there, the Companys, valued at 9000*l.*, And strangers Customes 1000*l.*, for that if the stocke desires[3] the Trade, the benefitt of the Customes, etc., did of necessity fall away ; and Mr. Baker, late President at Bantam, being demaunded what hee Conceived it [the Fort] might bee worth, he made answere 6000*l.* with all appurtenances to it.

'After Consideration hereof, severall sumes were propounded to value the ffort at, as 5, 6 and 7000*l.*, which being severally put to the question, This Comittee did by a generall erecc͞on of hands thinke fitt to value ffort St. George at Madraspatan with all appurtenances at 6000*l.*' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xxii., 21st Aug., 1649.)

The statement that the Castle commanded the ground for four miles round is an exaggeration, whether the word 'command' be used in its ordinary or technical sense. As already shown, the dimensions of the strip of territory in British possession could not have exceeded three and a quarter miles from north to south, and about one mile from east to west. The Fort was situated at the southern extremity of the strip, and therefore commanded the town, and land extending about three miles in one direction—viz., northward.

The estimate of 15,000 people 'which make clothing, &c., in that

[1] The King of Golconda.

[2] Five years' purchase of the Company's share of £200. The total trade, it will be observed, is estimated at somewhat under £50,000 per annum.

[3] Perhaps the words [to leave] should be inserted here.

towne,' is taken to apply to the whole population, as the number seems too high for weavers alone. The total revenue (for at this period customs were the only form of taxation) was £2,200 per annum. Now, in 1639, when the Naik's grant was made, the revenue was estimated at Pags. 2,000, or say £1,000. Assuming the population to be proportionate to the revenue, the number of inhabitants when the British took possession would have been under 7,000. Within seven years it must have increased to at least 19,000, for the famine of 1647 carried off 4,000 persons.[1] The simultaneous losses of Pulicat and San Thomé by famine tend to show that Madraspatam had about one-fourth the population of each of those towns.

Among the Mackenzie manuscripts preserved at the India Office is a paper enumerating the successive acquisitions of territory at Madras between 1639 and 1763.[2] A note on the manuscript, apparently by Capt. Mackenzie, runs:—'This Paper was communicated by one of the Maratta Bramins employed in a respectable Office in the Accountants or Canoongoe Department of the Revenue under the Arcot Circar. I have reason to believe it was compiled or Abstracted from Official Documents.' It is conjectured that the Brahman author of the paper had access to district records, for the names and revenues of the villages comprised in grants subsequent to 1693 agree approximately with the particulars derived from the Fort St. George archives, though they are not identical with them. The account given of the earliest period contains, however, several demonstrable errors, and, for this reason, the details given of that period of the British settlement cannot be unreservedly accepted. The first portion of the document is here transcribed:—

'*Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras or Chinna-patam, from a Mharatta Paper MS. translated by C. V. Boria in* 1802.

'The Raja Streeranga Rayaloo reigned for the space 6 Years and 2 Months from the Fusly[3] 1049 (A.D. 1639)[4] up to the Month of Avanee of 1056 (A.D. 1646).

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 2046, 9th Oct., 1647.

[2] *Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., vol. xi., No. 1. There is a duplicate in vol. ix., No. 2, and a somewhat similar account in vol. xxvii., No. 1.

[3] *Fusly*, Hind. *faṣlī*, the harvest year.

[4] There is an error here. Rajah Srī Ranga succeeded Rajah Venkaṭapati in 1642.

In this year Poonamelle was under the Management and in the possession of the *Polligar* of the *Damarla* family (the Family of the present Calistry Rajah).

'At this period the Merchants of the English Company who resided at *Visakapatam*,[1] proposing to build a *Cotee*[2] to carry on their commerce on the Sea Coast, made proposals to the *Damarla* family seeking their consent and permission to form their Establishment in some convenient part of the Coast, under their protection. The *Polligars*, agreeing to their request, ceded the four undermentioned Villages together with[3] *Madras Coopom*, on condition of paying them Annually the Sum of 1200 *Madras* Pagodas,[4] besides the Additional Expence of supporting the Holy Pagodas.[5]

'The Grant and Conditions were engraved upon a Gold Plate (for preservation as a Record), which they delivered to them with Authority to establish a *Daroolzarib*[6] or Mint house for Coining *Carak*[7] or Madras Pagodas.

'The four Villages then granted were, viz.

'1 Mounza.[8] *Madras Coopom.* They built a Cotee on the land of this Village which is named Madras.
'2 Mounza. *Chennaik Coopom.* On the land of this Village is situated now Mootaul and Pagdalpetta.
'3 Mounja. *Arkoopom.* This Village is still called by the same name.
'4 Mounja. *Maleput.* The Soil of this Village is made use of to make Salt.

'In the Fusly year 1056 [A.D. 1646] *Streeranga Rayaloo* was dethroned and his Dominions possessed by the Mussulmans. In the reign of *Sultan Abdool Hussain Jaanum Sooba*[9] the English Merchants having lately built a *Cotee* or House of Commerce, now wished to build a Fort. For this purpose they dispatched *Cossa Veerunna* as *Vakeel* or Ambassador[10] to the presence of the aforenamed *Jaanum Sooba.* On his Arrival, the *Sooba*, being informed by the address of the Ambassador of the wishes and expectations of the English

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[1] An error for Armagon.

[2] *Cotee*, from Tam. *koṭṭai*, a fort; Hind. *koṭh*, a building, treasury.

[3] *Together with*, including.

[4] The town rent of Pags. 1,200 was not fixed till 1672.

[5] Temples.

[6] *Daroolzarib*, from Hind. *dār-ul-ẓarab*, the house of striking (coin), the mint.

[7] *Carak*, *kārak*, customs paid by merchants.

[8] *Mounza*, *mounja*, Hind. *mānjhā*, intermediate or second quality land.

[9] There was a wide interval between Srī Ranga Rāyalu of Vijayanagar and Shāh Abū,l Ḥasan of Golconda. The latter succeeded Shāh 'Abdullah in 1672. The word *Sooba*, *ṣūbah*, meaning province, was commonly used in the sense of *ṣubahdār*, ruler of the province. M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari, guided by Wilson's *Glossary*, suggests that *Jaanum* may be *janma* (erroneously pronounced *janam* or *junum*), meaning birthright, the hereditary occupancy of land. Hence *Jaanum Sooba* would signify hereditary or permanent viceroy (of the Mogul).

[10] Cassa Verona (Kāsī Vīraṇṇa), the Company's Chief Merchant, is known to have been instrumental in procuring the *farmān* of the 23rd February, 1676, from Shāh Abū,l Ḥasan (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 29th Dec., 1692). The grant was mainly a confirmation of Nawab Neknām Khān's cowle of 1672, which contained no new provisions regarding fortifications. There is reason for believing that Verona had some connection also with the issue of the Nawab's cowle (*cf. P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 23rd April, 1696).

Merchants, . . . bestowed his Pervanna[1] granting the above 4 Villages as an *Enam*[2] to them, with permission to erect a Fort and to Establish a *Daroolzarib* (or Mint house to Stamp Gold Coins) on condition of their paying yearly into his Treasury the Sum of 1200 Madras Pagodas. He then gave leave to the *Vakeel*, dismissing him honorably with the privilege of Palanquin, Umbrella, &c. . . . Afterwards the English Merchants, agreeable to the permission of the *Jaanam Sooba*, began to build a Fort in the Fusly 1059 (A.D. 1649). At this time an Officer named *Podellee Lingapa*[3] had succeeded to the Office of *Soobadar*, and managed the Revenues of the Soobas of Seera, Cadapa, and Conchee.[4]

'In the forms of the *Mussalman* Management of Revenue, the term *Caumil*[5] is applied to the Amount of Revenues collected and accounted for to the Administrator for the time; but the above four Villages having been granted away in the time of the Rayaloo (the Kings of Beejanagur so called), and not attached to districts at this time, their Revenue was not included in the *Jumma Caumil*[6] of Podelee Lingapa. But *Trippalkanee*[7] was granted as a *Jageer*[8] under the Management of *Podelee Lingapa* under the Government of *Islaum*, and is therefore included in the *Jumma Caumil* or Rental: therefore this Village was enjoyed by the above *Vakeel*[9] during his life, and upon his death it was assumed by the English Company in the Fusly 1094 (A.D. 1684). . . .'

The most interesting portion of the above extract is that which enumerates the four villages alleged to have been comprised within the territory granted by the Naik. *Madras Coopom* is represented as forming the site of the fort. The statement is considered to be only approximately correct, as the original village of Madraspatam appears to have lain a few hundred yards farther north. The assertion that *Chennaik Coopom* embraced land afterwards occupied by Muthialpetta is at variance with the language of Neknām Khān's confirmation of 1672. The words 'fort and town of Chinapatam,' as distinguished from 'the Place called Madrassapatam,' are considered to prove that Chinapatam was the site of the fort. The statement in the manuscript must therefore be rejected. The Chennaipatnam of 1802, however, did include Muthialpetta, and the author of the manuscript may have assumed that it had always done so. The eastern strip of modern Georgetown is still called

[1] *Pervanna*, from Hind. *parwāna*, a written order, permit.

[2] *Enam*, Hind. *ina'ām*, a gift, a grant of land rent free.

[3] Lingappa became governor of the Poonamallee District about 1674.

[4] *Conchee*, Conjeveram.

[5] *Caumil*, Hind. *kāmil*, the revenue of a village or district, the fixed assessment.

[6] *Jumma Caumil*, the gross revenue; from Hind. *jam'a*, total.

[7] *Trippalkanee*, the village of Triplicane.

[8] *Jageer*, from Hind. *jāgīr*, a tenure under which the public revenue of a tract was assigned to an individual.

[9] Cassa Verona, who died in 1680.

Muthialpetta, meaning Pearl-Town, and the Brahman writer alludes to an adjacent village of Pagdalpetta, or Coral-Town. The allusion is supported by the existence of *Coral Merchants Street* in the northern portion of the present Muthialpetta.

The name of *Arkoopom* (from *aru*, a river, and *kuppam*, a sea-fishermen's hamlet), which is said to have been in vogue in 1802, has now been lost. The etymology suggests that the site may have been south of the fort, near the mouth of the river. A small boatmen's village, which is depicted both in Pitt's plan and the map of 1733, long existed on that spot. *Maleput*, signifying West-Town, bears a name now obsolete. The designation, however, coupled with the circumstance that salt was collected there, suggests identification with a position on the west bank of the Elambore River, marked 'Salt-pans' on the map of 1733. The position corresponds with the present 'Salt Cotaurs' at the north side of the People's Park.[1]

The Madras Temple.

At the time of the founding of Fort St. George, the adjacent village of Triplicane (*Tiruvallikkeni*) contained an ancient temple, now called Pārthasārathisvāmin, dating from the Pallava period.[2] Whether this edifice served the requirements of pre-British Madraspatam or not is uncertain. No Madras temple is explicitly mentioned in the records until 1652, but some unofficial evidence has been traced, to set forth which it will be convenient to work backwards from what is certain to what is only conjectural.

In Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710 several temples are marked, one called the 'Great Pagoda' in 'Black Town,' one to the north in the suburb of Muthialpetta, and two to the west in that of Peddanaikpetta. The first of these, judging from its name, situation, and the references to it in the records, was the most important. It was located on part of the site of the present Madras High Court. Occupying, according to Pitt's map, a square of 90 yards side, the Great Pagoda lasted until 1757, when it was demolished owing to military exigencies.[3] Its site area had

[1] The etymologies given above have been furnished by M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari.

[2] The temple contains a Pallava inscription, fragments of Chola records, and a few Vijayanagar inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii., 1906, 'Triplicane Inscription of Dantivarman,' by V. Venkayya).

[3] *Mil. Cons.*, vol. viii., 6th Oct. and 29th Nov., 1757.

by that time been reduced to 24,000 square feet, and in 1766 an equal area in Peddanaikpetta was assigned to the inhabitants,[1] who built thereon twin temples called *Chennai Kesava Perumāl* and *Chennai Mallikesvarar*, dedicated to Vishnu and Siva respectively. These structures, together known as the Town Temple, still exist.

The 'Great Pagoda' in Old Black Town was visited in 1673 by Dr. Fryer, who left the following account of it[2]:—

Fryer's Account.

'*Maderas* . . . enjoys . . . one *Pagod*, contained in a square Stone-wall; wherein are a number of Chappels (if they may be comprehended under that Classis, most of them resembling rather Monuments for the Dead than Places of Devotion for the Living), one for every Tribe; not under one Roof, but distinctly separate, though together they bear the name of one intire Pagoda. The work is inimitably durable, the biggest closed up with Arches continually shut, as where is supposed to be hid their Mammon of Unrighteousness, (they burying their Estates here when they dye, by the persuasion of their Priests towards their *viaticum* for another State), admitting neither Light nor Air more than what the Lamps, always burning, are by open Funnels above suffered to ventilate: By which Custom they seem to keep alive that Opinion of *Plato*, in such a Revolution to return into the World again, after their Transmigration, according to the Merits of their former living. Those of a minuter dimension were open, supported by slender straight and round Pillars, plain and uniform up to the top, where some Hieroglyphical Portraicture lends its assistance to the Roof, flat with Stones laid along like Planks upon our Rafters. On the Walls of good Sculpture were obscene Images, where *Aretine* might have furnished his Fancy for his Bawdy Postures: The Floor is stoned; they are of no great altitude; stinking most egregiously of the Oyl they waste in their Lamps. . . . Their outsides shew Workmanship and Cost enough, wrought round with monstrous Effigies; so that *oleum et operam perdere*, Pains and Cost to no purpose, may not improperly be applied to them. Their Gates are commonly the highest of the Work, the others concluding in shorter Piles.'[3]

In a collection of documents printed for the use of the defending vakeel in a Madras High Court civil suit of 1898 relating to the Town Temple, the following paper was found:—

'*Translation*. A Gift executed to Narrainappyer by Bari Thimmanen, who was employed as Native Head in the affairs of Moserinjour, an English agent

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[1] Notification by the Committee of Works, 22nd Nov., 1766.

[2] *New Account of East India and Persia*, Fryer, 1698.

[3] The late Mr. A. T. Pringle, usually minutely accurate, believed that Fryer visited the present Town Temple, which was not built till nearly a century after his inspection of its Black Town prototype (*vide* note in *Diary and Consultation Book* for 1684).

and Captain, residing in Chenna Puttanem, alias Nawyer Nattoo, attached to Pûlul Cottai of Sholuvalu Natoo under Thondamundalum, which had thereto been remarkably successful; dated Monday, Thriyodasee or the 13th (of either the bright or dark fortnight), the 28th of Chitri month in Sarvathari year of Salivahana era 1569.[1]

'(To say) Whereas at (this) Chennai Puttanem I have built the Chennai Casava Permaul Covil, and have endowed it with Manzum,[2] a piece of ground and other privileges, which all I do (hereby) transfer to you, and which you are to (hold and) enjoy, from son to grandson, as long as the duration of (both) the Sun and Moon; performing the divine Services to their utmost extent. Should any one act prejudicially towards the charity, he would incur the guilt of having mascred a black cow on the banks of the Ganges. It is the Gift to Narrainappyer by Bari Thimmanen through his Consent.

'(Signed) THIMMANEN.

'And, as dictated, written by Arnachellum, on the part of Gooroovaputtun, Carnum[3] of Chennai Puttanem.'

The apparent antiquity of the original document, and the puzzling nature of the name Moserinjour applied to the Agent, prompted search for the source of the printed copy.[4] All that could be discovered was a manuscript copy dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Accompanying it was a somewhat older paper in Tamil, which is translated[5] as follows:—

'Thursday, 15th of Avani in the year Vanja of the Sālivāhana era 1566,[6] constellation Uttīrāda, Tidhi Triyodāsi. In Chennapattanam,[7] Nāyar Nādu of Puzhal Kotta in the fertile province of Tondaimandalam of the victorious Kulottunga Cozha, Chennakēsava Perumāl, the gift of Nāgāpattannam the agent for the business of the English Captain Môr, the Agent in charge of the Fort. The gifts made to Nārāyanaiyar by a deed of gift shall, as long as the sun and moon may last, be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons and their descendants. And you shall discharge without failure all the services pertaining to the temple. Should any throw obstacles, let the sin of slaying a black cow on the banks of the Ganges befall me. Gifts made in these terms to Nāgapattannam by means of a written instrument with my full consent. This is Nāgapattan's signature.

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1 The equivalent of the 24th April, 1648 (O.S.).

2 *Manzum* for *mānyam*, a free grant of land.

3 *Carnum*, *karnam*, from Tel. *karanamu*, a village accountant. The word is equivalent to the Tam. *conicoply*.

4 The vakeel was dead, and the Temple authorities professed ignorance. With the help of Mr. A. R. Cumming, I.C.S., Collector of Madras, and the co-operation of Rao Sahib V. A. Parthsarthi Mudaliyar, Forest Assistant to the Board of Revenue, the papers mentioned in the text were found in the village of Kuḷattūr, in the Chingleput District.

5 By M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari, Superintendent of the Madras Record Office.

6 Corresponding to the 13th August, 1646 (O.S.).

7 This name, then, was in use as early as 1646.

'Attested by the Town accountant Arunāchalam in token of his having written this in the presence of both the parties who have indited this.

'[Signed, in Telugu] NĀGABATHUDU.'

The two documents transcribed above relate to endowments of the *Chennai Kesava Perumāl* temple, one by Nāga Paṭṭan in 1646 and the other by Beri Timmaṇṇa in 1648. Both are in favour of a Brahman named Nārāyana Aiyar or Nārāyanappa Aiyar. Though recent copies, there seems to be no reason for doubting their authenticity. The donors' names are mentioned in the records. Nāga Paṭṭan came down from Armagon with the English factors as the Company's gunpowder maker,[1] and Timmaṇṇa was employed as merchant or broker at a very early period. The latter's 'Pagod' is specifically mentioned in 1654, as well as his donations towards the maintenance of the Triplicane temple.[2] In both documents the cyclic year corresponds with the Sāka year, which is unusual.[3] B. Ramaswami Nayudu, the writer in 1820 of a *Memoir on the Revenue System of Madras*, claims an ancestor of his named Beri Timmappa,[4] as the builder of the temple of Madraspatam :—

'*Berry Timmapa* assisted in building a Town (which was accordingly called Chennapatnam[5]) in the north side of the factory, and in inviting people from different parts of the Country, by the aid of a *Cowle* from the Company's Agents to settle there, by allotting lands for both right and left hand castes separately. He also caused two Pagodas, one of *Vistnoo* and the other *Sheva* to be built there, calling the former *Chenna Casava Permal* and the latter *Chenna Malleswara*,[6] both after the same name, nearly one hundred and eighty years ago, or according to the Hamilton's Gazetteer, and that of the Fragments of Orme's Hindostan, it is in the year 1639.'

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 2441, 4th April, 1654.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 2441, 4th April, 1654. In *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 1st Aug., 1662, reference is made to 'Timane, the Companys Ancient Broker.'

[3] The ordinary practice was to quote the current cyclic year and the preceding Sāka year. Thus, in the year Vyaya, Sālivāhana era 1568 would signify the current year Vyaya, the Sāka year 1568 being expired (*vide Chronological Tables for Southern India*, R. B. Sewell). The equivalent dates, according to the Christian era, as given in the notes above, are assigned by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India, and confirmed by Dr. Kielhorn of Göttingen.

[4] In one place, however, Ramaswami calls him Timmanna.

[5] After the Naik's father. Ramaswami's account of the first grant of territory to the British contains such obvious errors that it is not here transcribed.

[6] If this account is authentic, the Great Pagoda in Old Black Town, like its modern successor, consisted of twin temples.

Of the two documents found at Kuḷattūr, that relating to 1646 throws light on the curious name applied to the Agent in that of 1648. By a not uncommon transposition of consonants, it is probable that Moserinjour has been written for Moresinjour. The word in the Tamil paper, transliterated, reads *Moru-yesan*, while *jour* (which is omitted in the older document) is considered to be a corruption of the honorific *dorai*. Thomas Ivie was Agent throughout the period, 4th August, 1644, to 23rd September, 1648, and there was certainly neither Agent nor Councillor named Morison or Moore. It is concluded that *yesan*, with the first letter of *dorai*, represents the sound of the word *agent*, and that the 'English Captain Moruyesan dorai' signifies the English Captain Môr, Agent. Now 'Capitão-Môr,' or Captain-major, was the title of the Portuguese Governor of San Thomé, and it is known that this title was sometimes given by natives to the Agent at Fort St. George.

Whether the 'Great Pagoda,' like the later Town Temple, comprised two structures is uncertain. B. Ramaswami Nayudu explicitly states that his ancestor Timmaṉṉa built a *Chennai Mallikesvarar* temple as well as a *Chennai Kesava Perumāl*, but Ramaswami is not a very trustworthy authority. The records make no mention of more than one temple. It is true that a document of 1655 contains a reference to the malice of one Venkaṭa, a Brahman, in connexion with 'Timanas Pagod, never remembring his owne that stands close by it,'[1] but contemporary papers prove that the Brahman's temple was a small shrine of recent origin, which was shortly afterwards removed.

There exists, however, a *Mallikesvarar* temple at the north end of Muthialpetta, which is sometimes called *Mallikārjunar*. It is perhaps this edifice which is referred to as 'Mally Carjuns old Pagoda' in a document embodying an award by President Baker in 1652. This paper will be quoted in its proper place.

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2442, 10th Jan., 165⅘.

CHAPTER VII

1648—1652

GOVERNMENT OF HENRY GREENHILL—AGREEMENT WITH SAN THOMÉ—FORT ST. GEORGE AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT—THE GARRISON

GOVERNMENT OF HENRY GREENHILL.

HENRY GREENHILL, who belonged to a Wiltshire family,[1] went to India in 1632, under the patronage of Captain Swanley of the Company's ship *Jonas*.[2] Landing at Masulipatam, he was employed at that factory and afterwards in Persia. In 1639 he was at Surat, whence he accompanied Andrew Cogan on his land journey across the peninsula. Greenhill was at Madraspatam in 1640, when he was sent down to take charge of the wrecked *Eagle*, and he certainly served as Second of Council and Accountant at Fort St. George from 1642 until he was transferred to Bantam four years later. In 1648 he returned to Madraspatam, and relieved Ivie on the 23rd September. The first letter signed by him is dated the same day, when, alluding to the loan of 16,000 rials of eight by Mīr Jumlah, and the gift of the brass gun, his Council wrote:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2085, 23rd Sept., 1648.)

'Moreover, you may please to take notice that, although none of these monies had bene lent by him, yet would hee have expected such a present as that whereunto wee are obliged for the priveledges at Metchlipatam, and his new favoure here in confirmeing the Firmaunds given by the Jentue King touching this Fort, under the King his Masters hands. To conclude, nothing

[1] John Greenhill (1644-1675), the portrait painter, a pupil of Lely, appears to have been a nephew of Henry Greenhill.

[2] *Let. Bk.*, vol. i., 29th Feb., 1636.

would please him but the abovesaid gunn; which, all thinges Considered, especially his freindship which, as experience tells us, is much to be valued here, could not bee denied him, in our opinion, with Conveniency and proffitt to the affaires and trade, upon the Coast.

'The Seaflower arrived hither from Bantam. . . . On her arrived Henry Greenhill, designed by the President and Councell to succeed and take charge of the Coast affairs after departure of the now Agent, Mr. Thomas Ivie, who had formerly made knowne his resulucons unto them of leaving this Agency, touching whose accons and Carrage therein wee shall make no appology, very well knowing they will recomend him better unto you then our pen can doe: only thus much by way of acknowledgement, that . . . hee hath left us in peace and amyty with all our neighbours, and this place in better termes than hee found it. . . .

'Cloth being very deare and scearse in these parts; the reason is multitude of buyers, scearcity of weavers and Painters, and ruine of the Country by War and famine, which, haveing lately a little refresht and recoverd it selfe by a respite from either, is like to be involved againe in the same or not much better condition; for little provizions hath arrived from abroad, and the body of this Kingdome is harried by two forreigne Nations who lye within two daies Journey one of another with powerfull Armies, watching all advantages upon each other; yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Gulcandah and Vizapoore Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receave noe pay but plunder what they can, whose incursions, roberies and devastacons hath brought a desolacon on a great part of the Country round about, especially the three prime Cloth Ports, Tevenapatam,[1] Porto novo[2] and Pullacherey,[3] of which the two last are in a manner ruind, the other hardly preserveing it selfe in a poore condition with continuall presents. . . .

'The Seaflower . . . being this day to sett saile from here for Metchlepatam, on her taketh passage our worthy good freind the Agent Thomas Ivie according to his former resolucons, and is intended from thence to Bantam and soe to England,[4] unto whose verball relacon, God arriveing him in safety, Wee intreate your worshipps to bee referrd if ought shalbe herein omited.

'HENRY GREENHILL.
'WILLIAM GURNEY.
'MARTIN BRADGATE.'

Mr. Isaacson, the chaplain, having returned to Surat, was replaced, after an interval, by the Rev. Robert Winchester. About the same time Dr. Edward Whiteinge was appointed surgeon, and arrived, it would appear, from Bantam[5]:—

[1] *Tevenapatam*, afterwards Fort St. David.

[2] *Porto Novo*, established by the Portuguese early in the seventeenth century. It was called *Parangi petta* by the Hindus, *Mahmud bandar* by the Moslems.

[3] *Pullacherey*, afterwards the French settlement of Pondicherry.

[4] Ivie sailed from Bantam in the *Dolphin* in January, 1649 (*O.C.*, No. 2103, 10th Jan., 164 8/9).

[5] Dr. Whiteinge was surgeon at Jambee in 1645 (*O.C.*, No. 1968, 29th Dec., 1645).

Fort St. George to the Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2200, 18th Jan., 165⅔.)

'As wee remaunded Mr. Isaackson, according to order, for Surrat, so hath the President and Councell since taken care to see us resupplied with Mr. Robert Winchester, a minister that came out in the Esquires service. . . .[1]

'It shall bee our care providently to dispose of both medicines and instruments in the Chirurgery Chest, rendering our humble thanks both for it and the surgeon Edward Whiteinge, at whose arriveall Nathaniell Lumly lay very sick, and the 7th October last departed this life without makeing any will in this place. . . .

'But for Jeremy Roote,[2] hee is at present with the Nabob of Gulcandah, who would not willingly part with him, where hee does us some good offices, and cannot without some prejudice to your affaires bee at this time recall'd. Hee had licence from the Campe to bee here before the ships arrivall, and in respect to your order supplied his place with another Gunner, which would not satisfye the said Nabob, who must have noe deniall to such easie requests, as he supposes them. . . .

'And for your owne people, we have often informed you that they are for the most part the refuse of ships, such whome neither good example, Instruction or Correction can reduce to Civill Conformity; yet is our whole Garrison so inconsiderable for number of souldiers, as per list appeares, that we know not how to spare any (though never so badd) untill wee know where or from whome to bee supplied. Your Worshipps only can cure this disease by sending out better quallified and more regular persons listed in England purposely for this Employment, and not to be accounted for any part of the ships Company in which they take passage, but to be directly consigned hither for the service of the Fort. . . .

The Portugalls of S. Tomey have lately, by order from the Viz Roy, tendered us much amyty for the time to come, but never a word of reparation for passed Injuries; nor may wee, Notwithstanding their faire promises, expect better Correspondency then in former times, seeing there is no Government but must be much Injustice. . . .

'HENRY GREENHILL.
'ROBERT DOUGHTY.'[3]

In the same letter the Council announced that they had deputed to the camp[4] of 'the Gulcandah Nabob (alias Meir Mamud Syed[5]),

[1] The Courten Association.

[2] Gunner of Fort St. George, a post he had held 'for many years' (*Ct. Min.*, 3rd Dec., 1647).

[3] Six new factors had lately been sent to the Coast: Robert Doughty, William Fairfax, and William Johnson were stationed at Fort St. George; John Leigh, Paul Waldegrave, and Thomas Symonds at Masulipatam.

[4] The camp was 'at Gundicota (an almost impregnable Castle neere 300 miles of[f], subdued by his resolution, against the opinion of all men, last spring).' The fort, which is mentioned by Tavernier, lies 40 m. N.W. of Cuddapah in the district of that name.

[5] Mir Jumlah, whose real name was Muhammad, was born at Ispahan. Apprenticed to a diamond merchant, he established himself at Golconda, amassed great

. . . our Bramine with a horse, six yards of skarlet, 24 yards of Gold and silver lace, with some other toys for presents, which mett with a courteous reception.' Mīr Jumlah proposed to subscribe to the Company's stock, and to share in the profits. Greenhill referred the offer to England, but deprecated its adoption. At the same time he responded to the Nawab's desire for closer intercourse by sending up the native agent again, together with 'Master Littleton, whome for his civill comportment, language and experience (though none of your servants[1]), finding more apt for this business then any of our owne people, wee imployed with our Bramine.' Littleton came back much impressed with what he had seen. He drew up a report for submission to the Company, from which the following is extracted:—

'*Walter Littleton and Vincate Bramines declaration to the Company concerning the Nabob.*

(*O.C.*, No. 2199, 17th Jan., $165\frac{0}{1}$.)

'Right Worshipfull William Cockaine, Governor, William Methald, Deputie, And the rest of the Worshipfull Adventurers of the Honnorable East India Companie; The Worshipfull Henry Greenhill, Agent, haveing been pleased to Imploy mee, with the Brammeny belonginge to your fforte, About your Affaires to the Naubob, We have thought Convenient and necessary to declare Something concerning his Power and Greatnes in this Country, with his Correspondence And Traffick in waye of Merchandize to Severall places.

'The Naubobs power hath such A vast Extent As the Whole Kingdome of Gulcundah is governed by him, of whome the People stand in ffeare And Subjection unto as to the Kinge him selfe. The Revenewes that hee yearly brings the King in Amounts unto twentye hundred thousand Pagodaes. Alsoe he hath Conquered And Subjugated the Major parte of the Kingdome of the Carnatta. . . . The revenew that he hath taken from the Jentue in the aforesayd Countrye Is to the somme of fortie hundred thousand pegodas per Annum. Hee hath of his proper owne ffoure thousand Horse, three hundred Elophants, ffoure or five hundred Cammels, And Tenn Thousand Oxen which transporteth his goods up into severall Countryes, as Gulcundah, Vizapore, And into dyvers partes of the Great Moguls Country, with whome hee is very much in favoure, the Great Mogull himselfe Esteeming And respecting him as A very neer man unto him; in all which places he hath allwaies his Factors And Merchants. Concerning Forran Negotiation hee hath trade to Pegue, Tenassaree, Acheen, Rackan, Persia, Bengalla, Moka, Peruck, Maldeevaes And Macassar: hee hath Tenn vessells of his owne, And Intends to Augment them, makeing much preparatyon ffor building of more.

'Wee weare Courtiousely received when wee went to visite him, And cannot

wealth, and eventually entered the royal service. His advancement was rapid, and he ultimately became Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

[1] Littleton appears to have belonged to the Courten Association.

perceave otherwayes by all Cyrcumstance then that hee beares a reall affection to the English. Therefore desyres to be united with your honnorable Soeciety, not onely ffor any short Tyme, ffor hee Exprest him self soe fully nobley that this league of freindship should be Continued by his Children after his dissease; nor Can we Conceive or beleive that hee hath any reach or Circumventing Intention; but on the Contrary to make your busines In this Country a fflorishing busines; ffreely profering to Assist you upon any needfull occasion with 50 or 60,000 pegodas without looking for any Recompence More then love and Amitie. . . .

'Itt is our opinion as well wishers to your Affayres, which bee pleased ffavorabley to Accept of, that this Busines will Redound much proffite to your Honnorable Imployment, And prove a fflorishing and Prosperouse trade for the ffuture.

'WALTER LITTLETON.
'VINCATE BRAMMINE.'

AGREEMENT WITH SAN THOMÉ.

In 1649 a religious element was imported into the disputes subsisting between Fort St. George and San Thomé, and a cleric was kidnapped on either side. According to Manucci,[1] the Capuchin friar Ephraim wrote to Manuel Mascarenhas, Governor of San Thomé, in regard to ecclesiastical abuses prevailing in the Portuguese town. Personal discussion was invited, but Ephraim, on proceeding to San Thomé, was seized near the Luz church, while he was still in native territory, and dragged through the streets to the Jesuit College, where he was heavily ironed. After an interval, he was put on board ship, still fettered, and taken to Goa to be tried by the Inquisition on charges of heresy. There he remained in confinement until November, 1651. Greenhill, having in vain remonstrated against this high-handed action, retaliated by arresting and confining in Fort St. George the chief ecclesiastic of San Thomé.[2]

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'In the time of the Late Viz Roy, Don Phillippo Masqurinho, and since the Alteration of Government, wee had some contending with them touching Injuries and affrounts done to the Agencie of Madraspatam occasioned by the Insolency and trechery of the friars of Santomay, who seazed, Kept prisoner a long time, and afterwards sent him to the Inquisition of Goa where hee was also detayned prisoner, one ffriar Ephraim who was pastor or Curate unto the Mestezaes of Madraspatam. This unjust seazure and imprisonment (at the request of your Agent, etc.) wee oftentimes complained of to the late Viz Roy

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[1] *Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii., pp. 428-480, ed. by W. Irvine, late B.C.S.
[2] Hieronimo de Saa was the priest administering the bishopric.

in espetiall, and to the new Governors[1] at their first enterance into Authority, and solicited his enfranchisement; but being long delayed, the Agent, Etc., seazed on the Padree Governour or cheife of the Convent of ffriars at Santomay, after which wee treated with them in more earnest manner for preventing a breach betweene them and us, argueing things with them as if wee stood on equall Basis. . . . About which time [June 1651] the friar of Santomay made his escape, and soe we were almost in despare of ffriar Ephraims infranchisement; though neverthelesse, some few weekes after their receipt of our letters, and after they had the Knowledge of our prisoners escape, they sett the other at liberty, and advertized us thereof as an extraordinary favor, and out of their due respect unto the conservation of peace, unto which they pretend to stand sincerely affected. This breife story wee are confident you will heare more largely from the Coast, as a busines wherein they were most interessed, and therefore wee have toucht it but in breife, and have advised the Agent rather to sufferance then the attempting of any Action whereby the peace betwixt us may be broaken, for they are too strong for us in India.' (*O.C.*, No. 2228, 10th Jan., 165½.)

The Agency furnished some additional particulars:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'To requite the Portugalls affront in betraying the French Fryer to their bloody inquisition, wee in Februarie last made seizure of their Padree Governor, resolveing to detain him untill the other were sett at liberty; but about 4 months after, Vizt. the 11th of June, in the dead of a darke night, hee was conveyed over our walls with the laceing of a cott and treachery of one Richard Bradbury, our Drummer, who for that present had the round and charge of the watch; and soe they escaped both to St. Thomey, noe oppertunity since presenting [of] a reprisall, keepeing themselves close within their walls. However, our pursuance in vindication of this injury, supported with the assistance of the President and Councell in Surrat, and approved of by the other President and Councell in Bantam, hath effected the said Fryers liberty, as wee have bin lately advised by letters under his owne hand, brought hither by one Sigr Francisco Vera, an eminent Fidalgoe of that Nation and knowne freind to ours in the South Seas, on whose ernest mediation for renewing a correspondencie with our Neighbours of St. Thomey, wee have condiscended to some Articles of Agreement (relateing to the Generall peace), that if possible wee may leive the more quietly with such insolent people. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2246, 14th Jan., 165½.)

The articles were as follow:—

'*Agreement between the Agent of Fort St. George and the Governor of St. Thome.*

(*O.C.*, No. 2238, 30th Dec., 1651.)

'It hapned during the tyme that the Citty of St. Thomey and the Fort St. George belonging to the Honble English Company, together with the

[1] On the death of Conde de Alvares, successor of Mascarenhas, a triumvirate was appointed to administer the government.

Inhabitants of each place, were at odds by reason of preceeding disagreements Caused by the imprizonment of the Reverend father Ephraim, as also the imprizonment of the Reverend Padre Governor, both which at this present freely enjoy their liberty,' That Franciscus Vera de Figueredo arrived at the aforesaid Citty of St. Thomey, who having some discourse with the Agent for the aforesaid Hoñble Company, Henry Greenhill, concerning union, from the consideration of that peace which in other parts flourished between the aforesaid Nations, hee effected that (seeing by reason of the Vicinity of the aforesaid Nations great causes might happen to the breach) It might be agreed upon, and Certaine heads or articles drawne and signed by either party for the stability and observation of a well grounded Peace and freindship which might continew for many ages betweene the Aforesaid Fort and Citty.

'*Articles* agreed upon betweene Henry Greenhill, Agent of the aforesaid Fort St. George, together with his Councell, and the Captain Generall of the aforesaid Citty, Gomez Frera Andrada, for the observation of peace and amity betweene the English and Portugal Nations, by reason of the Vicinity of Fort St. George belonging to the English Nation and the Citty of St. Thome, are these following:

'1° From the tyme of the signing of these Articles the abovesaid Agent and the Captain Generall shall be bound to restore every fugitive of either Party, whether slave or free, each from other, having been advised concerning their escape; which advise not being received, when afterwards it shall come to the notice that the fugitive of either party is Criminall or a slave, then the aforesaid Governors shalbe oblidged without any violation to secure him and restore him.

2ndly, Any one of the aforesaid Quality who hath fledd from the Fort St. George to the Citty of St. Thome, or from St. Thome to the Fort St. George, before the signing of these Articles, shall enjoy his liberty, soe that hee may if hee please retourne to his owne dwelling; nor shall hee be demaunded of either party.

'3rdly, That if any married woman shall fly from the one place to the other contrary to the will of her husband, upon the request of her husband she shalbe restored; which restitution is not understood concerning a woman which at that time doth not live with her husband absent from his proper dwelling.

'4thly, Every Slave which at any time shalbe found of his Master in the place from which hee hath fledd may bee reassumed, it being made apparant that hee doth properly belong to him, for hee is part of his goods, the right and property whereof flight cannot take from him. . . . So also, if any person of either Party by reason of debt hath betaken himselfe from one part to the other, hee is not to goe away without the safe conduct of him in whose power it is to give the same. . . .

'And so either party doth promise for himselfe and his successors the Conservation and firme observation of the aforesaid Articles, least a desireable peace and freindship betweene each Nation, by reason of some disagreement, bee discontinewed. And whatever disagreement or Injury hath heretofore hapned betweene the Fort St. George And the Citty of St. Thome shall bee buried in perpetuall silence as if there had never beene any; and they shall truely, firmely and faithfully continew sincere love and Amity, and shall firmely keepe all the abovesaid perticulers, and from the time of signment hereof accompt them firme and valid. And for the greater stability, they have signed two writeings of the same tenour. The aforesaid Agent and his Councell have subscribed to the one, which shall be in the keeping of the Captain General

of St. Thomey; and the foresaid Captain Generall, the Padre Governor,[1] Etc. Citty, and Captain Franciscus Vera de Figueredo have subscribed the other, which shalbe in the keepeing of the aforesaid Agent for the Honble English Company of Fort St. George.

'HENRY GREENHILL.
'WILLIAM GURNEY.
'JAMES MARTIN.[2]

'*Dated Fort St. George, le 30th December*, 1651.
'Robert Winchester, Minister.'

Padre Ephraim returned to Madraspatam in April, 1652. Another Capuchin friar named Zenon de Baugé had, according to Dr. Fenelly,[3] accompanied Ephraim from France as far as Surat, where he remained. On hearing of Ephraim's arrest, Father Zenon proceeded to Goa and endeavoured to effect his release. Unsuccessful in this attempt, he came on to Madras, where he took up his residence, and where, after being joined by Ephraim, he ministered for many years.

FORT ST. GEORGE AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

The defences of Fort St. George were still incomplete. After Cogan's departure in 1643 work was suspended, but Agent Ivie appears to have built the fourth bastion and made some progress with the curtain-walls, besides beginning an earthen rampart round the town. The need for further expenditure was repeatedly urged, but the Company referred the matter to Bantam, and the Presidency was apathetic. At length Greenhill resolved to complete the fortress as originally designed, on his own responsibility, utilizing money which had been collected by the imposition of fines on the inhabitants:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'It greeves us much that, after soemany yeares, soe little care is taken for finishing the worke of this ffort, or at least your resolucõns are so slow, and with such circumstances, that we are never the better; for whereas you are pleased to referr this busines to such advises and orders as wee may receive from the President and Councell in Bantam, wee have not bin happyed with any hitherto in this perticuler, . . . yet could wish your possitive orders for execution in busines of this nature that soe mainely concernes your service.

[1] There was no Bishop of Mylapore at the time. The see remained vacant from the death of the third bishop, Dom Paulo d'Estrella, in 1637, until the year 1693, when Dom Gaspar Alvares was consecrated at Goa (*Mitras Lusitanas*, C. de Nazareth).

[2] James Martin was commandant of the troops in Fort St. George.

[3] *The Madras Catholic Directory* [Fenelly], 1867.

'And because necessity now enforceth us respecting the troubles of this Countrey, and in casequence the dangers incident to your estate and severall persons here resident, we, are resolved to builde up the fourth Curtaine of this Fort, and compleat the other two unfinished. To which end have provided materialls, and already layd the foundation that the worke appears above ground, hopeing you will not be displeased thereat; and the rather seeing it will put you to but little charge, for wee have lately raised certaine monies from the delinquincies of this townes people in relačon to former orders and constitution of Government concluded by our predecessors, which wee bring not to publicke Account, for preventing all pretenčons of the Nabobs ministers.[1] But of this wee shalbe better able to give a perticuler Account when we know what the charge will amount to, and have made a full composition, wherein wee shall not be to[o] vigorous, being the first forfitt or penalty yet exacted, but use soe much favour with Justice that noe just occasion of complaint bee given, nor the least disrepute to the Honble Company or Nation.' (*O.C.* No. 2246, 14th Jan., 165½.)

The following extract relating to the year 1653 may here be quoted:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee have yett one Curtaine of our Fort to seaward, the most part whereof is laid with Loose Bricks which a man may push downe with his hand; which although we are Loath to expend any of the Companys money in building, yet wee must bee forced to doe it Leest to save a penny wee Loose a pound; for untill that bee up we Cannot think ourselves safe in the place where we are, so long as we see such dayly broiles in our Towne. Would the Company but allow us a sufficient Garrison to doe it, these people would soon be reduced to better Government: till then it cannot bee done. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2311, 5th Feb., 165⅔.)

Thus the construction of the earliest fort occupied no less than fourteen years. The successive steps were these:—The first bastion—that at the south-east angle—was finished in 1640 at a cost of £375.[2] The second, probably the north-east, was built in 1641. The third was erected in earth in 1642, and stone-cased in the following year. On these works and the factory-house Cogan was charged with having expended about £4,150 down to the middle of 1643.[3] He showed, however, that this sum embraced all the outgoings of the settlement, including salaries, diet, merchandise, etc., in addition to building charges. In September, 1644, nothing having been done in the interval, Ivie reported that the expenditure on construction from the outset

[1] This statement tends to show that the Nawab was receiving a share of the Madraspatam revenues, and confirms the view already expressed that Pāpaiya Brāhman was mistaken in asserting that a fixed payment of Pags. 1,200 was made by the British to the Rajah of Vijayanagar.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 1763, 27th Nov., 1640.

[3] *O.C.*, No. 1751, 13th Jan., 164⅔.

had been within £2,300.[1] Between 1644 and 1652, and probably during the period of Ivie's rule, the fourth bastion and one curtain were finished and two other curtains begun. Greenhill completed these two curtains in 1652, and the fourth or eastern curtain was added in the following year.

The plan of the fort will be understood by reference to Thomas Pitt's map of Madras of about 1710. Four battlemented curtain-walls were disposed in a square whose sides were about 60 yards in length. At the angles were four large bastions, also battlemented, the salient points of which were about 100 yards apart. The western curtain was pierced by the *Fort Gate*, and there was a smaller opening in the east curtain giving access to the factory or *Fort House*. This building, which is shown on the map as a flat-roofed structure fronting the sea, seems to have replaced—if Fryer's account of 1673 can be trusted—an earlier domed edifice which was built diagonally to the square of the fort, so that its walls directly faced the gorges of the bastions, with the object probably of defending them. The centre of the fort was distant some 190 yards from the sea on the east, and 110 from the river on the west. The whole establishment, civil and military, lived within the fort, the former in the factory-house, the latter under the curtain-walls. Outside were the houses of the European town and the Capuchin church of St. Andrew. In later years the town was enclosed by four walls forming an irregular quadrilateral with bastions at the angular points. The original or Inner Fort, which thus became the citadel, survived until 1714, when it was rebuilt as the *Fort Square*.

At the beginning of 1652 the Fort St. George establishment consisted of the following members:—

'*A List of such Persons as serve the Honble English East India Company in Madrassapatam etc. Factories on Coast Chormandell and Pegu.*[2]

'*In Madraspatam.* Henry Greenhill, Agent; William Gurney, Accomptant; Thomas Stevenson, Purser; William Johnson, Godowne Keeper; Richard

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 1885, 8th Sept., 1644.

[2] Masulipatam had Christopher Yardley as Chief and seven others; Verasheroone, Edward Winter and three others; Pettapolee, John Leigh and two others; Balasore and Hugly, Paul Waldegrave and two others; Pegu, Richard Knipe and two others;

Minors; William Browne, Steward; Edward Whiting, Chirurgion; William Colthurst; Gustavus Denny; Daniell Denny; John Bridge, died the 12 January instant.

'Captaine James Martin,[1] Commander of the Soldiers; Jeffery Bradford, Serjant; John Morris, Gunners Mate; Thomas Howard, Richard Richards, Robert Spence, Henry Wakefield, Timothy Sutton, Thomas Trevors, Francis Debnam, Nicholas Smith, Edward Rolfe, ffrancis Wallis, Samuell Chapman, James Banister, Anthony Skinner, Robert Norman, Stephen Impet, John East.

'*In the Camp.*[2] Jeremy Root, Gunner; Hugh Dixon, Richard Emmerson, John Cowhill, Robert Bringbourne, Richard Hall, but not in the Companys books.

'*More soldiers in Madrassapatam but not in the Books.*[3] Sydney Barnes, Samuell Symcocke, Thomas Price, Deering Bowles, John Bennet, Bartholomew Curtis, William Merrit, George Collins.' (*O.C.* No. 2243, 14th Jan., 165½.)

The following letter, after alluding to certain members of the establishment, reports the continuance of war in the Carnatic:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2246, 14th Jan., 165½.)

'Why wee so amply furnished the said ffactory [Masulipatam] was . . . to make the larger provizions in those sorts of goods for Europe and Bantam, which for matter of white cloth could not with soe much safty and conveniency bee here acquired, not dareing to deliver out or hazard your monies abroad at any distance from our owne precincts in these troublesome times, sprung from new warrs and broyles betweene The Moores of Vizapoore and Gulcondah about shareing this miserable Kingdome, whose naturall inhabitants are forced to fly from one place to another for security of their lives and that little the conquerors have left them. . . .

'On this Pinace [the *Dove*][4] it pleased the President and Councell of Bantam to returne Mr. William Gurney to resume his former Imployment of keepeing the Accompts, with Captain James Martin for Comand of the Garrison. . . .

'Warrs being commenced betweene the Moores of Gulcondah and Vizapore, who, haveing shared this afflicted Kingdome, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poore Jentue, hopeing their mutuall destruction, watches oppertunity to breake of[f] his present miserable yoke. In the interim, many bickerings have bin within 2 daies Journey of this place, and tis reported that the Nabob with his whole Armey is beseiged among the hills of Gulcondah, whither hee retired for the more safty, by the Vizaporians, which hath soe distracted this Country that wee could not adventure your monies abroad without to[o] much hazard. . . .

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while Martin Bradgate and William Jearsey were journeying to the last-named port in the *Ruby*.

[1] Captain Martin arrived from Bantam in Sept., 1651.

[2] Lent to the Nawab.

[3] Lately arrived by the *Welcome*.

[4] The *Dove* had a risky voyage from Bantam, and was driven to 'Vizagapatam in Gingerlee,' where she arrived in June, 1651. Gurney and Martin reached Madras in September.

'Wee have already mencõned what fortune befallen such Assada Planters[1] as were sent us from Bantam: we had also four more brought us by the Aleppo Merchant, and eight entertained out of the Welcome here for Souldiers, which are all but one at present in health, though some few others have bin arrested by the grim Serjeant Death; and six more lent the Nabob are still in the Campe, amongst which is Jeremy Roote soe often writt for, whoe wee feare will not bee spared from that Imployment untill the warrs bee over without much disgust to the Nabob and a consequent Inconveniency to your affaires. By this you will perceive that, notwithstanding these supplyes, our Garrison is little increased, which considered with the warrs and troubles soe neere, urgeth us to the speedy raising of the premencõned defensive structure for the Security of our persons, the particuler names of whome, as of all other Residencies under this Agency wilbe found herewith enlisted, together with three young men, servants to Mr. Maurice Tompson, named Gustavus Denny, Daniell Denny and John Bridge. They were entertained here at 15*s*. per month and dyet. They have bin employed in copp[y]ing out of Bookes to enable their experience. The last is at present very sick and, in reference to man, his recovery is disputable.

'Our late Minister, Mr. Robert Winchester, drawne on by the indisposition of his body and Mr. Isaacksons designment hither from Surrat, is licensed to pass home upon ffrigott Welcome. Hee hath not here received any gratification from us, but humbly referrs himselfe to your Worships bounty, which wee shall hope will bee in the same proportion with others of his quallity shippt out in your service. His civill and godly conversation hath deserved it. . . .

'Such stores as wee . . . have received out of this ffrigott goe here inlisted, . . . whereunto wee could wish you would be pleased by the next to add . . . Armes and Amunition for the ffort; for Armour wee have not one shuite will ha[n]g well together, nor serviceable musketts butt some few bought of late yeares, and as bad furnished with swords except a few now fallen to our lott. . . .

'HENRY GREENHILL.
'WILLIAM GURNEY.'

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2257, 12th Feb., 165½.)

'Our last advised the troublesome condition of these parts arising from the quarrell betweene the Vizapore and Golcandah Moores; but lately peace is concluded betweene the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas, for which sume hee is againe restor'd to the entyre possession of his late Conquests, Part whereof had in this Bickering beene surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to bee in better health then for diverse passed yeares. . . .

'HENRY GREENHILL.
'WILLIAM GURNEY.'

Greenhill administered the settlement until the 1st September, 1652, when Fort St. George replaced Bantam as the Company's

[1] The Assada Planters of Madagascar were connected with the Courten Association.

eastern centre of government, and President Aaron Baker arrived from Java and assumed charge. Greenhill remained at Madraspatam, retaining the title of Agent throughout the period of Baker's rule.

THE GARRISON.

Fort St. George had been designed to accommodate a defensive force of a hundred men, but it was long before the British garrison attained that strength. The Dutch records aver that in 1642 it consisted of about thirty-five Englishmen and as many coloured troops. In 1644 there were fifty British soldiers, and in 1651 the Company decreed that the Fort should be 'manned constantly with 60 English souldyers.'[1] A year later, however, there were only thirty-three, including half a dozen absentees who had been lent to the Nawab to serve his artillery. The force was commanded by a Lieutenant, who was generally styled Captain, aided by a Sergeant. The following extracts from the Court Minutes of 1650 afford some information regarding the commanding officer:—

Court Minutes.

(*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xx., 13th and 15th March, $16\frac{49}{50}$.)

'Mr. Baker[2] acquainted the Court that one Jermin, who disciplined the Companies souldyers at Armagon, was dead, and that there was a necessity to have another in his roome to performe that service; and that hee conceived there was a Gentleman without, Mr. James Martin by name, quallifyed for that service. Who being called in, severall questions were demaunded of him, where hee had bin bred a souldyer, and in what quallity, and whether hee had not bin in armes on the late Kings side. To which hee declared that hee did commaund some Tennants of Mr's the Archbishop's in Yorkeshire, but that hee never was a Commission Officer. Upon which his answeare the Court did not thinke fitt to give him present enterteynment, but told him that if hee addressed himselfe to the Councell of State, and if they would permitt him to goe, that then they would give him fitting enterteynment.'

'*15th March* $16\frac{49}{50}$. The Court being of opinion at their last meeting to entertaine one Mr. James Martin to goe as a Captaine to commaund the Companies souldyers at Fort St. George; but then an objection being made against him by a Gentleman present, which putt off the businesse, hee now declared that hee was satisfyed concerning the said Mr. Martin, and that hee conceived they might employ him. The Court hereupon, being also satisfyed, were pleased to entertaine the said Mr. Martin to commaund their souldyers at the Coast at the yearely sallary of 40*l.* for 5 yeares tyme, to beginne at his arrivall

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[1] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. xx., 23rd Feb., $16\frac{51}{52}$.

[2] Mr. Aaron Baker, President at Bantam, who was in England in 1650.

at Bantam, and to cease at his comeing thence.[1] And they were pleased to bestowe 10*l.* upon him to buy fresh provisions, and likewise to lend him upon his accompt of wages 20*l.* to furnish him with necessaries fitting for a souldyer ; which being made knowne to the said Mr. Martin, hee returned his humble thanks to the Court for their favour.'

When the first of these extracts is read in conjunction with the allusion of 1646 to the operations of the Lieutenant at Fort St. George against San Thomé, it may be fairly conjectured that Jermin was a commissioned officer, that he brought the Armagon garrison down to Madraspatam, and that he continued in command until his death, which may have occurred about 1649. His successor, Captain Martin, though nominated in March, 1650, did not reach Fort St. George until September, 1651. Meanwhile, Greenhill appointed an officer named Richard Minors, who chanced to be at Madras, to the command of the garrison, pending the arrival of the Company's nominee. Lieutenant Minors was the eldest son of Richard Minors, draper, of London, and grandson of Richard Minors, of Hollingbury Hall, Uttoxeter. An ardent Royalist, the Lieutenant served with Sir William Compton's regiment at the siege of Colchester ; but, on the surrender of that place in 1648, he was taken prisoner and banished the country.[2] He appears to have come straight to India, probably with his uncle, William Minors, of the Company's marine service, and to have been appointed locally to the temporary command of the garrison in 1649.[3]

Captain Martin duly arrived at Bantam, and after a short stay pursued his journey. Between Bantam and the Coast he experienced a hazardous voyage, and was driven to 'Vizagapatam in Gingerlee,' whence he reached Madras in September, 1651, and displaced Minors. Martin, who was accorded a seat in Council, seems to have been unpopular. Within six months of his arrival various charges were framed against him and attested by several persons, including Surgeon Edward Whiting, Richard Minors, William Dawes, William Johnson, Walter Littleton, Thomas Stevenson, and Joseph Greenhill. In the absence of Martin's

[1] Martin was engaged for service at Fort St. George under the presidency of Bantam. Bantam is here mentioned, as it was the first eastern port of arrival and the last of departure.

[2] Communicated by Mr. William Foster from papers of the Minors family.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 31st March, 1655.

defence, the statements made must be read with reserve, but the light they throw on the manners of the time renders an extract permissible:—

'Captain Martins Abuses and Blasphemies.

'Imprimis, the said James Martin hath bitterly inveyed, within the yeares of 1651 and 1652, against Independente Presbiterians, Protestants and Papists, though Commonly with this conclusion, that if there were anie true Religion in the World, twas that of the Papists. . . .

'That the said James Martin hath likewise said the Building of this ffort signified nothing, and that it was a mere cheate unto the Company.

'That the said James Martin hath invied against Governor Cromwell in this manner, how that before these warrs begunne hee was a pore cowardly fellow, and would take a Cuff on the eare from any man. . . .

'That instead of Giving Example of a good life and Conversation to the Souldiers in the ffort, hee the said James Martin hath frequented Punch howses in Companie of the private Souldiers, not only in the day tyme, but at unseasonable houres in the night, and hath played with them at Cards. In perticuler with one Joseph Burford, whome hee Cheated, and (as himselfe hath confessed) did Winn, as can be proved, above 20 pagodaes. . . .

'And, as if it were not sufficient to vent his Malice against the Living, hee hath abused our late deseased Sergent,[1] saying that hee never drew sword in his life, nor knew how to keepe a Court of Guard; notwithstanding hee hath formerly coñended him for an honest able man and fitting to make a Major Generall. . . .

'That the aforesaid James Martin, contrary to orders sett downe for regulating and punishing of the Souldiers in fforte St. Georges, he hath given order to one James Marden, our new Serjent, on any quarrelling amoungst the Souldiers, to cutt them or run them through with his sword.

'The aforementioned premisses were attested and subscribed in the presence of Mr. William Gurney, one of the Councell in ffort St. George, the 29th Day of Aprill 1652.' (*O.C.*, No. 2269, 29th April, 1652.)

Then follow further charges relating to the month of May, but they are unattested. One of them contains a reference to that early Madras institution, the mercantile Exchange. The building or space allotted to the Exchange appears to have been in the Market Street or Great Bazar, which divided the European from the native town. Martin was alleged to have complained that, though he came out with as good a commission as the President at Bantam or the Agent at Fort St. George, yet 'my Companie hath been slighted above stayers,[2] that when I would pass away tyme with the Agent, hee is either writing, busy in talke with the

[1] Not Bradford, whose name appears in a list of 1654.

[2] Upstairs, in the higher grades of society. The Councillors used the upper part of the factory-house.

Countery Merchants, or Laying downe to sleepe; if I goe to Mr. Gurney, hee is either writing or goeing to sleepe, or the Agent hath sent for him; if I come here (a place called the Exchange where these words were uttered), before I have spoken 3 words, there is 24 Articles against mee. I am forbidden to keepe companey with the souldiers, though some of them bee as good as those whome the Agent hath made his greatest Companions.' Further, it was affirmed that 'James Martin hath not only in his Chamber, but also in a punch house before much Companie at the tyme of shipping, in a derogating and degrading manner said, What is Gurney but the sonne of a Taylors threed, or the Agent but the sonn of a greazed Butcher?'

Captain Martin died at Madras in 1654, and was succeeded, as he was preceded, by Richard Minors.

CHAPTER VIII

1652—1655

PRESIDENT AARON BAKER—CASTE DISPUTES

PRESIDENT AARON BAKER.

AARON BAKER, son of Aaron Baker of Alphington, Devon, was born in 1610. He was appointed factor by the East India Company in 1633, and for the first seven years of his service was employed at Golconda and Verasheroone.[1] He had been already three times President at Bantam during the period 1640 to 1652, which included two intervals in England, when the Company resolved to transfer the eastern centre of government to Fort St. George. Baker embarked in the *Roebuck*, and reached Madraspatam on the 1st September, 1652. His wife Elizabeth, *née* Brantyngham, died on the 5th August preceding, shortly after the commencement of the voyage.[2] A stone was erected to her memory in the old burial-ground in the native town,[3] where it remained for more than a century. Damaged during the French siege, its fragments were eventually brought to St. Mary's Church within the Garrison town, where they were laid as part of the pavement round the building. Constituting, as these fragments do, the oldest British tombstone preserved in Madras, the inscription[4] they bear is here recorded:—

'Memoriae sacrum dominae Elizabethae Baker domini Aaronis Baker (Anglorum hisce locis negotiantium praesid[is)] uxoris dilectissimae, quae marito ad Indos [naviga]nti relicto solo [patrio] sese jungebat [comite]m

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[1] Communicated by Mr. H. R. Popham Baker, through Mr. William Foster.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 2297, 17th Jan., $165\frac{2}{3}$.

[3] The site of the burial-ground is now occupied by the Madras Law College.

[4] Taken from the Rev. Canon Malden's *Hand-book to St. Mary's Church.* A slightly different conjectural reading is given in Mr. J. J. Cotton's *Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Madras.*

illumque proxime promon[to]r[io] Bonae Spei,[1] spei o[pt]im[ae] marino partu beabat, sed tandem post longas pelagi minas, insalubremque Javae aerem, quae libens una passa est, tristissimum pro coelis (pro quibus solis voluit) moriens relinquebat Augusti 5, Anno 1652.'

The Agent and Council of Bantam wrote as follows in appreciation of Baker's services :—

Bantam to Fort St. George.

'And now wee have noe less Cause to grieve as you to rejoice : wee for the absence of such a President, and you to bee glad that your Sometime despicable and unregarded place, as you terme it, is at last thought by the Company worthy of soe much honour as a Presidency and such a President, whome wee wish, and likewise all of you, as much hapinesse as to our selves, with the good Successe of our Masters affaires in all theire undertakings. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2284, 25th Sept., 1652.)

These golden opinions were not for long shared by Baker's Madras colleagues, Greenhill and Gurney. In fact, the whole period of Baker's rule was occupied by bitter dissensions in the Council. Two leading Brahmans preferred charges of private trade and other irregularities against the Councillors. The President, finding himself in opposition to his colleagues at the outset, summoned to his assistance Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter and John Leigh, Chiefs of Masulipatam, Verasheroone and Pettapolee respectively. Other duty prevented Yardley from responding, but Winter came down temporarily, and Leigh permanently. The last ranged himself with Greenhill and Gurney against the President. In September, 1653, Gurney died, and James Martin, Commander of the garrison, was again brought into Council. The parties then consisted of Baker and Martin on one side, and Greenhill and Leigh on the other. The President was further hampered in his administration by the first of those disputes between the so-called Right and Left hand castes, which afterwards recurred frequently and became the cause of much inconvenience and loss to Government. The events of this dispute, and of the dissensions in Council, will be related presently.

War having been declared between England and Holland, the

[1] From information contained in the papers of the Minors family, communicated by Mr. William Foster, it appears that the Bakers left England for Bantam in May, 1650. Aaron Baker wrote in his Bible : 'My son Aaron was born in Saldana Bay in the good shippe *William*, Captain William Minors, bound for Bantam, 1650.'

Company announced that their ships would proceed only to Goa, whither goods from the Coast must be sent overland. Fort St. George replied that, not only would the cost of such a measure be prohibitive, but merchandise could not safely be sent 'through a Country, with a great Caphila,[1] where no less then four or five severall Armyes lay dispersed, through most of which wee shalbee forced to passe, whyle in the meantime wee can hardly send a servant with a letter between this and Metchlepatam, but the Armies by the way examine him and search him to the very skinne.' They added:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Itt hath been no small miserie that this poore Heathen Country hath suffred any time these ten yeares almost, since the Moores of Vizapore on one side and those of Golcondah on the other side first made inroads upon it: and now, when wee hoped all would have been put in some good posture of Government, to continue still those miseries, or rather to adde a greater burthen to it, Our Nabob[2] is lately up in Armes against the King of Golcondah, his Master, whose commands hee slighteth, intending, soe farr as is conceived, to keepe what parte of the Country hee hath Conquered to himselfe, which if hee can accomplish, hee will soon bee as great a King as his Master, and his yearely Revenue little inferriour to it. What the issue of theis things wilbee, the Almightly onely knoweth. . . .

'Your Factories and Factours on this Coast are all reduced to Metchlepatam and this fforte, and soe have all been a long time, now upwards of 18 Months; onely Mr. Edward Winter remaineth yett in Verasharoone alone. . . .

'As to what concernes your Trade upon this Coast, wee have found noe great alterations since the dispeed of our former letters. . . . Our Forte (as we then advised your Worshipps) is reduced into a very good posture to defend it selfe against any ordinary Enemy, had wee but men of courage and resolution about us to keepe it. But for mater of Accomodation it [is] in as pore a Condition as may bee, having neither good roomes for intertaynment, nor good chambers for lodging in it; but for that wee hope in tyme to come some course wilbee thought on, as also for Erecting of wearehowses wherein to preserve your Goods, whereof there is a great want, wee can assure you. Wee have had a very unheathfull and sickely tyme amongst us ever since Christmas last: hardly a man that hath not beene visited more or lesse, some of us 4 or 5 tymes over. Wee have buried only 8 of our Souldiers, and their Captain James Martin, who after a long sickness left this world the 22th June[3] past. . . .

'When it shall please God to putt your Worshipps in a way of sending us out a ship for the Coast againe (which wee hope wilbee speedily), wee desire you wilbee pleased to remember us with a fresh supply of Chirurgery means, whereof wee are in extream want, having neither Purge, Cordiall, or any the least

[1] *Caphila*, a caravan, from Ar. *ḳafila*.
[2] Mīr Jumlah.
[3] According to Leigh, the 27th June.

thing elce left us in the Chest wee now have by us, what need soever may happen to us. As also with some good sack and beare, which it seemes was forgotten by the Love, and hath beene the cause that, for the most part ever since, the best of our Drinck hath been colde water, or at best such a portion of stincking Arracke that the porest Porter in London would hardly bee perswaded to drinke it. . . .

'Wee have not yett recovered one Cash of our means from Persia . . . : wee want the money Extreamly, and are at our witts end almost to thinke how wee shalbee able to pay your souldiers the thirds[1] of their sallary now due, and find Money to buy us victualls to put in our mouths. . . . AARON BAKER, HENRY GREENHILL, WILLIAM JOHNSON, JOHN LEIGH.' (*O.C.*, No. 2419, 18th Sept., 1654.)

Baker's statement that the Fort was in a good condition for defence was doubtless based on the circumstance of its completion in 1653 by the construction of a permanent fourth or east curtain; but it appears from the Dutch records that outworks were at the same time put in hand. In a letter from Director Laurens Pit, written from 'the Castle of Geldria' to Governor-General Jan Maetsuyker at Batavia, the following passage occurs:—

Pulicat to Batavia.

'It seems that the English think their Fort St. George may be attacked by us. At least . . . they have begun fortifying the Castle. They have raised a Bastion close to the sea from which they can fire at our ships, and where theirs can safely lie at anchor. The Nabob has quietly allowed this to be done. . . .' (*Hague Rec.*, 3rd Sept., 1653.)

Batavia to Amsterdam.

'President Baker has fortified the Fortress St. George at Madraspatam . . . and made a kind of Bastion towards the Sea flanked with a dozen cannons. The English greatly fear an attack on their Fortress, but the time is not yet ripe. . . .' (*Hague Rec.*, 19th Jan., 1654.)

The bastion alluded to must have been one of three which at a later period defended the sea face of the European quarter, or White Town. At the time of which we are writing, however, there seems to have been no distinction between the White and Black Towns. The records discriminate only between the 'Fort' and 'Town.' Probably the houses of Europeans were erected nearest the Fort, while the natives built their habitations to the northward; but no wall existed between the two quarters. Baker's allocation of the streets, which will be mentioned

[1] The soldiers received one-third of their pay at Fort St. George, the remainder being held in England as deferred pay, or for issue to the men's families.

presently, shows that the natives enjoyed free access to the Portuguese church and to the space before the west curtain of the Fort. Ivie's earthen rampart probably covered the north and west sides of the native quarter of the town, which would thus be sufficiently protected. An allusion to a 'West gate' helps to confirm this view. The likeliest position for an outwork by the sea would be near the middle point of the town's shore line, and it is accordingly surmised that Baker's bastion was the work which was afterwards known as Fishing Point or Gloucester Point, and which eventually marked the north-east angle of the White Town.

The following list of Company's servants on the Coast relates to Baker's final year of office, although the name of the President does not appear:—

List of Men resident on the Coast, 1654.

'Worshipfull Henry Greenhill, Agent; Robert Wynchester, Minister; Robert Doughty, Godoung keeper; William Broadbent, William Johnson, Assistants; Edward Whiteing, Chirurgeon; William Browne, Steward.

'*Belonging to the Garrison.* Richard Minors, leiftenant; Jeoffry Bradford, serjeant; Timothy Sutton, William Newbegin, William Colthurst, [and seventeen others].

'*At the Campe.* Jeremy Roote, Gunner; Hugh Dixon, Richard Emerson,

'*At Metchlepatam.* Mr. Yardley, cheife; Mr. Chamber, [and three others].

'*At Verasheroone.* Edward Winter, William Palmer.

'*At Pettapoley.* Mr. Lee [Leigh].

'*At Pegu.* Martyn Bradgate, William Jersy, [and four others].

'*At Hukely and Bengala.* James Bridgman, William Netlam (God knows where), William Blake, [and two others].

'*Gonne to Persia.* Powle Waldegrave.' (*O.C.*, No. 2,457, *anno* 1654.)

This list contains certain inconsistencies. Leigh appears as Chief of Pettapolee, although he had been transferred permanently to Fort St. George in 1653. The entry of Minors as Lieutenant of the Garrison shows that the list must be of later date than June, 1654, when his predecessor, Martin, died. On the other hand, Browne appears as steward, though Thomas Paine seems to have held office from March, 1654, or earlier. The names of free merchants and seafaring residents are unfortunately not shown, nor are the ladies deemed worthy of notice. Allusions in the records show that several of the English in Madraspatam had their wives with them. Reference is made to the wife and daughter of Richard Potter, the wife and daughter of Thomas

Paine, to Mrs. Gardener and Mrs. Newbegin, and to the wives of Richard Cogan, Thomas Bland, William Dawes and 'Jacob Fuddle, a freeman of this Towne,' and these were doubtless not the only female European or Eurasian residents of the place.

Caste Disputes.

The distinction between castes of the Right hand (*Vadangei*) and Left hand (*Idangei*) is recognized only in Southern India, and the origin of the appellations is obscure.[1] The Right claim authority to ride on horseback in processions, to bear certain standards, and to use twelve pillars for their marriage-booths. They deny these rights to the Left hand caste, who, they say, should erect only eleven pillars. The Left hand people claim these privileges. To the Right hand caste belong the Vellalars, Komatis, Accountants, Silk weavers, Leather-workers (women), Pallis (men) and Pariahs. Among the Left hand are the Chettis, Artisans, Oilmongers, Weavers, Leather-workers (men) and Pallis (women).

The first outbreak occurred shortly after Baker's arrival. A settlement was effected in November, for the details of which we are indebted to Governor Thomas Pitt, who, half a century later, recorded them as a guide for action in a caste quarrel which took place in his own time. According to a consultation of October, 1707, Pitt produced in Council 'a Paper in the Gentue Language signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill, and Mr. Gourly, dated in the year 1652, for composing the differences amongst the Right and Left hand Casts, which he had from the latter':—

Award in Caste Dispute of 1652.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 30th Oct., 1707.)

'In Fort St. George belonging to the Rt. Honble. English Company, before the Honble. President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney, were present Connaree Chittee and Sheshadreenaigue,[2] Inhabitants of Chinapatam.[3] There

[1] According to the *Madras Census Report* of 1871, the origin is unknown. A tradition regarding it will be found recorded below.

[2] Koneri Cheṭṭi and Seshādri Nāyak.

[3] *Chinapatam.* This is the earliest instance noticed of the use of this designation in a public document. The word appears, however, in the copy of the Temple endowment of 1646. Examples of the use of the term are generally confined to communications with natives.

having of late been severall Differences and Disputes between the Casts about their Streets, which this day is settled; and in case it be not observed by each Cast in regard to their weddings and Burialls, the first breaker of it shall forfeit a thousand Dollars.[1]

'The Right Hand Cast are to reside in the particular streets appointed for 'em, where are to live or come none of the Left hand Cast; and the same with the Left hand Cast, where are to be none of the Right hand Cast.

'The great street from before the Fort[2] as far as Taggapau Chittees Garden, and all the streets to the Westward of that Street, are allotted to the Right hand Cast; and the Great-street from Mr. Porters,[3] reaching to Mally Carjuns old Pagoda,[4] with the new Street[5] (being two street[s]) are allotted to the Left hand Cast.

'The market Street[6] opposite to the Choultry[7] as far as the Qommittees[8] Shops is appointed to the Right hand Cast, and as farr as the Chittees Shops in the same Street to the Left hand Cast, where either Cast may pass with their weddings or Burialls; but if either of the Casts act contrary to this Agreement, shall pay one thousand Dollars.

'The Patnawarrs and Cariallwarrs[9] are to pass with their weddings and Burialls from the back syde of Mr. [Po]rters House to the middle of the

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[1] *Dollars*, reals of eight.

[2] *The great street from before the Fort.* The west face of Cogan and Day's fort, which contained its principal gate, was regarded as the front. Reference to Thomas Pitt's map will show that the street mentioned is the north and south road on which the Choultry Gate was afterwards built. Whether Tiyāgappa Chetṭi's garden was at the north end of the town near the Burying-ground, or whether it was situated further north in the suburb of Muthialpetta, is uncertain.

[3] *The Great-street from Mr. Porters* is identified as 'Middle Gate Street,' running north through the town. 'Mr. Porter' was perhaps Richard Potter, who was engaged on voyages between Madras and Pegu. He died about 1653.

[4] *Mally Carjuns old Pagoda.* M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari has ascertained that the name Mallikārjunar is still occasionally applied to a temple commonly called Mallikesvarar, which is situated at the north end of Muthialpetta, between Tambu Chetṭi and Linga Chetṭi Streets. It has no connexion with the Chennai Mallikesvarar temple in Peddanaikpetta. The Mallikārjunar temple is said to be an ancient foundation, though the walls appear to be modern. Its Brahman *gurukhal*, or priest, alleges that his ancestors for ten generations have served the temple. The site is further north than we should have expected to find 'Mally Carjuns old Pagoda,' for it seems unlikely that Baker would have assigned land outside the town proper. There were probably houses, however, if not streets, in Muthialpetta, and the President may have deemed it desirable to make his ruling wide enough to obviate future difficulties.

[5] *The new Street* was probably the 'Chittee Street' of Thomas Pitt's map.

[6] *The Market Street* was the east and west thoroughfare separating the European from the native quarter of the town. It appears in Pitt's map as 'The Buzar or Market.'

[7] *The Choultry*, or office from which the town was administered, was in Market Street, opposite to the site on which the Choultry Gate was afterwards built.

[8] *Qommittees*, the caste of Komatis, belonging to the Right hand.

[9] *Patnawarrs and Cariallwarrs.* Mr. E. Thurston states that these terms apply to Madras fishermen. The Patnawarrs, from *pattan-vāru*, town-dwellers, are catamaran men. The Cariallwarrs, from *karai-vāru*, coast people, are also sea fishermen.

Quarter Porters house, and soe proceed to the Portuguez Church.[1] They may likewise go thrô the great street.

'Before the Fort is free for all.[2]

'Sheshadree Chittee, as madiator to each Cast, his servants nor the Companys servants and Painters can not pass these streets. Dated November the 5th, 1652. Signed by Aaron Baker, Henry Greenhill, William Gurney, Connaree Chittee, Seshadree Naigue.'

Governor Pitt, who obtained cognizance of this award from the Left hand caste people of his day, not from the Government records, was probably unaware that the effect of the decision was short-lived. Rioting occurred in November, 1652, and again in the following January, and the Garrison seem to have been powerless to quell the disturbance. A general strike took place, and each of the contending parties deserted the town in turn :—

Fort St. George to Surat.

(*O.C.*, No. 2311, 5th Feb., 165⅔.)

'Wee know not what spirit of ffactious madnesse hath of Late possessed our owne people in generall, but the Like wee assure you in all our lives wee never knew ; yet knew the Countrey round about, as well as this and all other townes in this Kingdome, are divided into 2 Generall Casts, namely the Belgewarras and the Bereewars,[3] who for many hundred yeares together have ever had a Quarrell one with the other who Should bee the more honnourable Cast and have Presidency of the other. Which Quarrel betweene Townes men, by the instigation of a Crew of Beggerly Villanes[4] who are indebted to the Company many Thousand pagodas more then ever they are able to pay, is soe aggravated out of an Intent (as we apprehend it) to delude the Company of what they owe them, that hardly a day passeth without a Broile or other betweene the two Casts.

'The 24th past, upon a word speaking which was not worth the takeing notice of, and that also in our presence, a Belgewar told a Berewar that he was not worth a Cash ;[5] to whome the Berewar replied againe that if himselfe were not worth a Cash, the other was not worth 2 Cash. Upon this, the Belgewar runnes presently into the Towne, raiseth the whole Cast with Sword and Clubbs, who runn into the Berewar streets, and plunder their howses, and Cut of[f] two mens heare of their heads, which is a far greater disgrace to them then if they had Cut of[f] their heads and Left them dead in the place. Since

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[1] *The Portuguez Church* of St. Andrew stood within 50 yards of the north-west bastion of the Fort.

[2] The general effect of the award was to allot the eastern half of the native town to the Left hand, and the western half to the Right hand, Choultry Street being the line of demarcation.

[3] Mr. E. Thurston identifies 'Belgewarra' with *Balija vāru*, a Telugu trading caste, and 'Bereewar' with *Beri vāru*, an important section of the Chettis.

[4] The Company's native merchants and their friends.

[5] *Cash*, the smallest coin of account.

when, all the perswasions we Can use betweene these people Cannot Reconcile them. They have Called in all the Countrey round about of both Casts to fight one against the other, and, Corrupting the Towne Watch, have Brought in 4 or 5 hundred Armed men[1] by Night; soe that tis not our ffeeble Crew of 26 English Souldiers that we have is able to deale with them, whereof the $\frac{1}{2}$ is not able alsoe to use their armes, nor, if they Could, have we either provision afforehand or a defencible place (wee should say ffort) to withstand theire power if they should altogeather Come upon us. But that we most feare in this businesse is that these rogues are abetted, or at Leastwise suffered, by the Nabob; for about 2 months since, when, for a Riott Comitted in our Towne by them, wee tooke two of the principallest Ringleaders and put them in prison in the ffort, the Nabob presently, upon notice from his Braminy given him, Comaunded us to release them againe; which makes us very doubtfull that he hath a hand in the Businesse, or elce we suppose he would not Suffer these people to Committ such Riotts as they daily doe, and receive noe punishment for it. . . .

'Aaron Baker
'William Gurney
'Edward Winter
'John Leigh.'

In a communication addressed to Greenhill early in 1654, Baker condemns the Brahman Venkaṭa for having concealed the existence of a previous award regarding the partition of the streets, which had been made in Ivie's time. Baker continues as follows:—

Aaron Baker to Henry Greenhill.

'You cannot but remember what a Broyle was made by Sesadra, the Bramons great Antagonist, only upon an Idle word spoken to him by one of the Chittees, whereupon hee rose up from the Chayre whereon he sat, and, goeing into the Towne, presently made an uprore, calling all his Cast togither, who in their fury and madnes ranne into the Chitties streets, plundred their howses and shops, and cutt of[f] the hayre of two of their cast, the greatest affront of all that could be done them; and all this in despite and Contempt of all the English power wee had here to resist them, bringing into the towne the same Day at least 500 Armed men to mainteyne their Ryott and insolence, and never ceaseing their menaces and threatenings till they had even forced the Chittees and their Casts to leave the Towne; of all of which you were an eye wittnes. Which made mee to resolve with my selfe to lett the busines of the streets to laye Dormant till the Chittees and the Casts shall be againe retourned. And yett, I would not have you thinke that the defferring of the tyme is an acquitting of the Cryme. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2378, 29th March, 1654.)

Further light is thrown on the dispute by a letter from the Right hand caste sent to the Company immediately after Baker had

[1] At the time of the disturbance Baker wrote to Greenhill (who was at Pulicat on his way to Pegu) that 'Sesadra had brought 40 or 50 Armed men into the Towne' (*O.C.*, No. 2310, 29th Jan., 165$\frac{3}{4}$).

sailed for England. The communication is endorsed, 'Received in London the 30th June 1656 by way of Aleppo and Marsellis':—

'*The Right hand Parties, or Principalls of the right hand Casts of Channapatam under Jurisdiction of Fort St. George, their humble Declaration,*

'Shewing that the most part of us dwelling at St. Thome, Paleacatt, Armagon, Trivelecane, and other places here abouts, were by former Agents, Sesadra,[1] Etc., Invited to Inhabitt here; of whome wee received Cowles and were accordingly favorable unto us. But the Bramanees,[2] by their faire promises, gott us to receive employment under them, and did by all opportunities indeavour to undoe us, which wee, not able longer to endure, made our Complaints unto the Agent.[3] Whereof the Bramanees hearing, rann in the Night to St. Thome, whether[4] the Agent sent them a Cowle that they might returne and make Just accompt with all men, and according they returned. Presently after, the President arrived. . . .

'After the Presidents beeing here a whyle, the Bramanees began to sett him on parting or appointing the streets; and they came to us and said that they had writen the left hand party one streete, and tooke some of our hands to a writing; but the next day said two streets, hearing which, wee went out of Towne, and wrote to the President that hee should not trust the Bramanees, who were the occasion of the difference; and hee gave us a Cowle to retourne againe unto our howses, and hee with deliberation would enquire the Country Custome and afford each Cast its due respect; but did never regard to Comply with ditto Cowle.[5]

'The President giveing eare to the Bramanees perswasions, they framed a paper which distinguished the Right and Left hand Parties, and endeavoured thereby to bring the Chittees to an uncustomed height of honour, which encouraged them to bee soe malipert; and upon the presumptious words of an Idle fellow of their Cast Issued the great difference which the President would not deside, permitting (or rather sent) them to the Nabob, who also would not deside it. Formerly all differences were ended by the Governors of this place. . . .

'Att the Brickilnes, two of Dalmala Vencatees servants lodging in the night, came some of the left hand Partie, supposing they were of our Painters, and wounded them; of which also when wee spake to the President, hee said they had not done with us yett. . . .

'Sesadra Nague, who was the Companys Merchant ever since they built the Fort, and a Principall man in the Towne, oweing the Company a great summe of Money, by the Bramanees procurey was sent for to the Campe, and the President sent him thether; which Journey and expences there occasioned his hinderance in discharging the Companys Debt. . . .

'The Bramanees, to breed troubles and for their owne ends, tooke course to

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[1] Seshādri Nāyak, the Company's Merchant or Broker from 1640.

[2] The Brahman brothers Venkaṭa and Kānappa, who acquired great influence during Ivie's government.

[3] Greenhill.

[4] *Whether*, whither.

[5] *Ditto Cowle*, the said Cowle.

displace Malapa, the Nabobs old servant, who carried himselfe very fairely to the Governors and Inhabitants of the towne for the space of 7 yeares,[1] of whome (for not complying with them) they complained unto Syed Ibraim, who sent and called for said Malapa, and Vencatee to make good his charge. Then Vencatee . . . desired to have the President send the Towne Cannacaphila[2] to confirme his Accusation, which hee did ; and Vencatee, fearing said Ragabatanda,[3] prevailed with the President to send William Dawes[4] with them to keepe him in awe, the said Malapa his successor occasioning much disgust and trouble in the Towne. . . .

'In the Towne, which is subject unto the Companys Justice, The Bramanees caused howses to bee fired to Robb the owners, and used witchcrafts, . . . suffred stolen people to bee sold, lycensed playing[5] for theire owne benifitt to the undoeing of some familyes ; of all which wee informed the President, and intreated him not to protect such notorious vilaines. But hee gave noe eare unto us, still following their Councells and, as abovesaid, in this place where the Companys power Governeth and formerly ended all differences. But the President sent to the Nabob and desired that Bally Raw, his servant and Governor of Mylapore, should come to deside our difference ; which course must needs draw great prejudice to the Companys affaires. . . .

'The President, rather then displease the left hand Party, caused a mans wife to be buried at his doore, and a 2d Corps to bee burnt in the Towne, which unto us is very heynious ; and by all round about, by this occasion, this Towne is called the Towne without Goverment.

'The President, before hee departed for England, sent for us and asked us whether wee would heare and Comply with his word. Wee said that all reasonable words or Comaunds of his wee would conforme to, but, if unjust, could not. The President replyed that wee thought hee would goe home as the Company had sent for him, but he said hee would stay if it were 4 yeares, only to destroy us. Wee answered that though wee lived (as Camelions) by the ayre, would not leave the Towne. Then hee caused three of our principalls to bee confined in the Fort.

'At the time of his goeing aboard ship, wee went to bidd him farewell and wish him a prosperous Voiage into his Country, as our Custome in these parts is, with a little fruite ; but hee would not soe much as looke upon us, turning his back towards us, and, by others, asked what wee did there, and bidd us bee gone ; which wee, having attended till noone, did, and went away. But presently after, the principalls of the left hand were received, and had tasherifes[6] given them ; and after them the Bramanees also ; and hee comforted said principalls of the left hand with the Bramanees, that they should have patience two yeares, in which tyme hee would take course to Content them. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2467, *cir.* April, 1655.)

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[1] From about 1648 to 1654. Mallappa was the representative of Golconda at the Choultry of Madraspatam. His duty was to see that the Nawab's share of the customs was properly credited.

[2] *Towne Cannacaphila*, the Town Conicoply or Accountant at the Choultry.

[3] *Rāgabatanda*, the name of the Town Conicoply.

[4] *William Dawes*, the Secretary of the Council.

[5] *Playing*, gaming.

[6] *Tasherife*, from Ar. *tashrīf*, honouring; conferring honour, especially by a complimentary gift.

The tradition as to the origin of the Right and Left hand casts was imparted to Captain Colin Mackenzie about 1800 in the following terms[1]:—

'*Tradition of the Right and Left Hand Casts.*

'Antiently there were no more than four tribes of People among the Hindoos, Viz., Bramin, Chettree, Vys and Shuder;[2] but in the course of time they branched out into a great number of Casts, among which was the *Naggaret* who followed merchandize in the Country, and the *Buljiwar* who imported and exported commodities. . . . Each of these being inspired with a sense of emulation which of them should be accounted the highest cast, created a dispute between them, which time after time grew so high as it was impossible to be decided. The general noise that this quarrel made throughout the whole country caused a certain number of the other casts to be attached to the one or the other as they thought proper, as follows:—

'*Buljewar.* Coumty, Vullickar, Moochir, Tellangwar, Parria, Vullawar, Gundapodikar, Shaunar . . . [39 in all].

'*Naggaret.* Chitty, Pully, Chuckler, Kykulwar . . . [11 in all].

'So many having joined each of these competitors, the disturbance arose more and more.

'They were induced afterwards to lay the case before the *Haukeem* or Governor, and request his decision on it; but were answered that they were both on an equal footing, and the determining any further was unnecessary.

'This not having satisfied them, they were at obstinate variance with one another, till at length the *Punchaul* or Smiths, on the part of the *Naggaret*, who work upon iron, wood, stone, brass, gold and silver, desisted from carrying on their several trades, by which means husbandry, architecture, marriage and other performances were stopt: while the *Buljewar* on the other hand ceased from importing necessary productions into the country, by which means they thought its wealth would be reduced considerably, and that the *Haukeem* and others would . . . pronounce their claim to be legal. . . .

'In consequence of this, murmurs were heard all over the country, and the *Haukeem*, having summoned both parties, found that they were still at the highest pitch of rivalry. This *Haukeem* was *Shola Rajah*. He took a *muchelga* from each of them, which bound them to adhere to what he was proceeding to command. He then decreed that where the casts of one party inhabited, those of the other should not come nigh hand to them to live: that they should not go in procession through their streets, either when they are marrying, or carrying about the images of their deities, but through their own streets; and such other orders he expressly gave them; and collecting all the casts comprising them at *Cunchee* or *Conjeeveram*, made them march round the *Quoil*[3] of *Caumatch-amana*, and swear before that goddess that they would inseparably adhere to the parties they belonged to, and follow their customs.

'They accordingly stood in two separate lines, and, walking round, swore that they would hereafter do as directed by the said Rajah. In going round the Quoil, the Buljewar cast people went on the first *prakarum* or next step to the

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[1] *Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., vol. xlvi., Nos. 29 and 31.

[2] Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra.

[3] *Quoil*, *koil*, temple.

level of the house where the image is kept, and stood on its right side ; but the Naggaret people, having gone on the second *prakarum*, stopt at the left side of the image ; whereupon the *archuck* or priest, by order of the Rajah, took up the *prasaudum* or offerings, and handed part of it to the Buljewar with his right hand as it happened, and part of it to the Naggaret with his left.

'After this transaction, the Rajah, marking how the Buljewar stood on the right of the goddess, and the Naggaret on the left, both after marching round the *Quoil* and at the receiving of the offering, he said to them that he will do the same. Whereupon he sent for Beetle and aracka nut, and gave the Buljewar with his right hand and named them the right hand Cast ; and doing the same to the Naggaret with his left, called them the left hand Cast.

'A Copy of this *Dustoornama*, or the customs of these two parties, is inscribed on stone and lodg'd, as still seen, on the above Quoil ; and when any high dispute happens among the people, they are to be referred to it. . . .

'The following are Casts that are Neither of the above parties, and therefore called

'*Madjustum.* Bramin, Pattnoolkar, Canakar, Valaler, Reddy, Totier, Mahrattas, Rakhawar, Tooloowar, Mussulmen, Lubbay, Rajahboots, Pundauram . . . [69 in all].

'This dispute about right and left hand casts is not to be known anywhere in India but in the Carnatick.

'The Term Naggaret implies living in a habitation . . . The Buljewar cast constitutes . . . a class of traders. . . .'

CHAPTER IX

1654—1655

DISSENSIONS IN COUNCIL

Dissensions in Council.

Differences in Baker's Council arose out of a quarrel among the natives in the service of the Company. These servants were of two kinds, town functionaries and merchant contractors. Madraspatam, in common with all the contiguous villages save one, was under *mirāsi* tenure. The exception was Triplicane, which was a *shrotriem* village. When first granted to the British, Madraspatam must have possessed the normal staff of village officials. The chief of these were the Headman, the Accountant, and the Watchman; but there were numerous minor functionaries such as the potter, barber, washerman, carpenter, sweeper, etc. All the offices were hereditary, and the occupants were remunerated by lands held practically free of assessment, and by petty fees. The Headman was responsible to the ruling Naik for the maintenance of order and the collection of the revenue, and he exercised magisterial functions. His chief assistant, the Accountant, kept the land registers and revenue accounts. With the rapid development of Madraspatam from a village into an important township, the staff received loftier designations. Thus, in Baker's time, the Headman is entitled the 'Governor of the Town' or 'Adigar';[1] the Accountant has become the 'Town Conicoply';[2] and the Watchman, who is assisted by a number of 'Talliars'[3] or constables, is called the 'Peddanaigue.'[4] The

[1] *Adigar*, from Tam. *adhikāri*, one having authority.

[2] *Conicoply*, from Tam. *kanakka*, writing, account, and *pillai*, child, person; an accountant.

[3] *Talliar*, from Tam. *talaiyāri*, a watchman.

[4] *Peddanaigue*, the senior naik. The lands held by the Peddanaigue were situated in that part of the present city which is known as Peddanaikpetta.

Governor of the Town sat at the Choultry[1] or 'Towne house' as a Justice of the Peace, and he was assisted by the Town Conicoply, who is also called the 'Towne Scrivan.' The Choultry was a court of petty causes, a custom-house, and a registration office for the record of sales of real property and for the licensing of slaves. The Choultry building[2] was situated at the junction of Market Street with Choultry Street, afterwards called Choultry Gate Street, and it had a jail attached to it. The Peddanaigue arrested evil doers, and confined them in the Choultry jail pending their appearance before the Governor of the Town.

The Company's Merchants fell under a different category. They were contractors for the provision of cotton cloth, and agents for the sale of the Company's European goods. The Council, acting in their trading capacity, disbursed money to the Merchants to be advanced to the weavers and 'painters,' and the Merchants were responsible for the amount until they delivered its value in manufactured goods. The European wares issued to them were debited to their account pending sale. The Merchants were remunerated by their contracts, and one of their number was designated Chief Merchant.

There was yet a third category of native servants involved in the quarrel about to be described. It comprised the agents employed by individual factors in connexion with their private trade. At a later period these agents were called 'Dubashes,'[3] but in Baker's time they are simply referred to as servants.

When Fort St. George was founded, a man named Seshādri Nāyak of Porto Novo and Tevnapatam was appointed Company's Merchant. Associated with a colleague called Koneri Chetti, he gave satisfaction for years; but, becoming largely indebted, he was superseded during Ivie's administration by Venkaṭa, a Brahman. The latter was the person who accompanied Walter Littleton on his mission to Nawab Mīr Jumlah. Venkaṭa's brother Kānappa was nominated governor and magistrate of the Town, a post which seems to have been originally held by his father, who is said to have been employed in the Company's service from 1614. It is not surprising that enmity subsisted

[1] *Choultry, chowtcry,* from Tel. *chāvaḍi,* a hall, a shed.

[2] The Choultry stood near to, and just outside of, the Choultry Gate (now bricked up) of the present Fort St. George

[3] *Dubash,* from Hind. *dobashi,* man of two languages; an interpreter, broker.

between Seshādri Nāyak and the Brahman brothers who wielded such extensive power.

Greenhill, on becoming Agent, left the Brahmans undisturbed, but continued to give some employment to Seshādri and his associates. This proved unpalatable to the brothers, who, on President Baker's arrival, preferred charges against the Agent and Gurney, alleging that those factors had forced their private goods on the Merchants at extortionate rates, instead of the Company's English wares, and had recouped themselves with cash from the Treasury, to the detriment of the Merchants and the Company. They also charged Timmaṇṇa and Rudriga, the factors' dubashes, with taking toll to the amount of Pags. 3,000 on goods carried out of or brought into the factory-house, admitting that they themselves had been equal sharers in those unlawful gains. Greenhill had been despatched on a voyage to Pegu, but a special consultation was held, at which Baker, Gurney, Edward Winter, Leigh, and Captain Brookhaven of the marine service, were present; and Timmaṇṇa and Rudriga were confined in the Fort till they had disgorged Pags. 1,500. A similar amount was claimed from the Brahmans, but not immediately exacted. Leigh and Martin were ordered to sit at the Choultry as Justices during alternate weeks, but Kānappa remained there to assist them. Thus was inaugurated the appointment of European Justices of the Choultry, a system which prevailed for more than a century.

After Greenhill returned from Pegu, he accused the two Brahmans of fomenting caste quarrels, and of plotting with the Nawab's officers to invade the Company's ancient privileges and injure their trade. He specially charged Kānappa with connivance at the stealing of children for sale as slaves, and with other abuses of his power at the Choultry. Greenhill asked why the Brahmans were not imprisoned, and he offered to be responsible for the Chief Merchant's debt, provided the person of Venkaṭa were delivered to him. Thus arose a quarrel between Baker and Greenhill; and, after Gurney's death, Leigh and Martin took part in it. Charges and countercharges were made, couched in vigorous language. Greenhill asserted that the President had made himself responsible for Venkaṭa's debt, and Baker entered a protest. A complaint by the artisans against

the Brahmans having been forwarded by the Agent, Baker alleged that a plot was on foot to depose him, and in the course of a festival he caused Greenhill, Leigh, and Captain Minors (who had been out of employ since Martin's arrival) to be arrested and imprisoned. No evidence forthcoming, the prisoners were subsequently released. The Brahman brothers had previously been confined to the Fort, where they still remained at the time of Baker's departure for England in 1655.

The papers in the case are far too voluminous to be transcribed in full, but a few extracts are here given to illustrate the style of official correspondence, and to throw light on details of the administration. The first extract contains the President's disclaimer :—

Protest of Aaron Baker against John Leigh.

'Mr. Leigh, You yourselfe in this particular I am sure are not altogeather Ignorant (although in some things concerning Imployment in this place I beleve you are Ignorant enough) what troubles I have had and what paines I have taken, since my arrivall to this ffactory, to settle and Compose the long bred distractions both in Towne and amongst our owne people, and to redress the insufferable abuses which have akrewed on both sides ; although all my endeavours bestowed therein, through the Mallice of the Divell and his evill Instruments, have not alwayes succeeded according to my desire and good intentions. You know likewise how the Bramon Vincatee standeth charged with a great summe of money in the Companys bookes for the United Joint Stock, part of which, being monies which hee gave out for provizion of Goods for the Company, is owing by the Painters[1] of this Towne to the Value of about 800 pagodas. . . .

'Yesterday (taking into consideration theire many delayes) I gave order to summon them [the Painters] to the Choutree or Townehouse, that soe some course might bee taken with them to secure theire Debts. In the afternoone the greater parte of them came to the Choutree, and word being brought mee of it, I sent to know wheather you and the Agent were in the Forte or not. . . . Answere was returned mee that you were both abroad. I went myselfe to the Agents house[2] to seeke for him. His servant tould mee that you were both togeather at the new howse which Mr. Gurney built. Thither I went and found you both, and presently upon my comeing in declared unto you my busnes . . .; but instead of Consulting with mee in the thing propounded, I

[1] *Painters*, chintz designers and stampers.

[2] Prior to Baker's arrival, Greenhill had built himself a house, which, after his death, was acquired by Mr. William Jearsey, and was long known as Jearsey House. Its situation was in the south-west part of the European quarter, close to the river bank, and on the west side of the street which was afterwards called Charles Street. This house was not identical with the one mentioned in *O.C.*, No. 1784, 18th Sept., 1644 (*cf.* pp. 52 and 143).

was answered with other impertinent[1] discourses about the Braminee Vincatee and the moneys wherewith hee stands charged, for which (you know) hee hath beene keept Prisoner in the ffort ever since the 17th 8ber past. Farther, you questioned mee why hee and his brother were not all this while Claped upp Close Prisoners, and why force hath not beene used against them to Compell them to bring in their Debts. I tould you, had wee done soe, neither Weaver nor Painter nor any of his Debtors in the Towne, when they had seene them soe disgraced, would have paid him one penny of theire Debts. . . .

'Amongst others your discourses, you said plainely, in the presence of Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Yates,[2] and others that were present, that myselfe had undertaken to the Company for the Bramonee, meaning (as I understand), to pay his debts for him . . ., which I utterly disclaime, and doe Require you in the Companys behalfe to make knowne the Tyme, the place, and persons who were present when I made any such promise. . . . AARON BAKER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2364, 16th Feb., 165$\frac{3}{4}$.)

Leigh replied on the following day, adhering to his contention, but taking much to heart the reflections on his ignorance. Next comes a letter to the President, in which Greenhill charges the Brahman brothers with 'sowing dissensions among the casts,' inviting the Nawab to monopolize the trade of the town, and 'plotting with the Nabobs officers here and at St. Thome, soe as our people can scarce peepe out of Towne either to carry out or bring in ought (though necessary only), but the Junkaneers are on their backs taking something, 3, 4, 5 or more fanams[3] upon a pagoda as they pleased. . . . Alsoe, new Customes are imposed on provisions contrary to our priviledges.' He continues :—

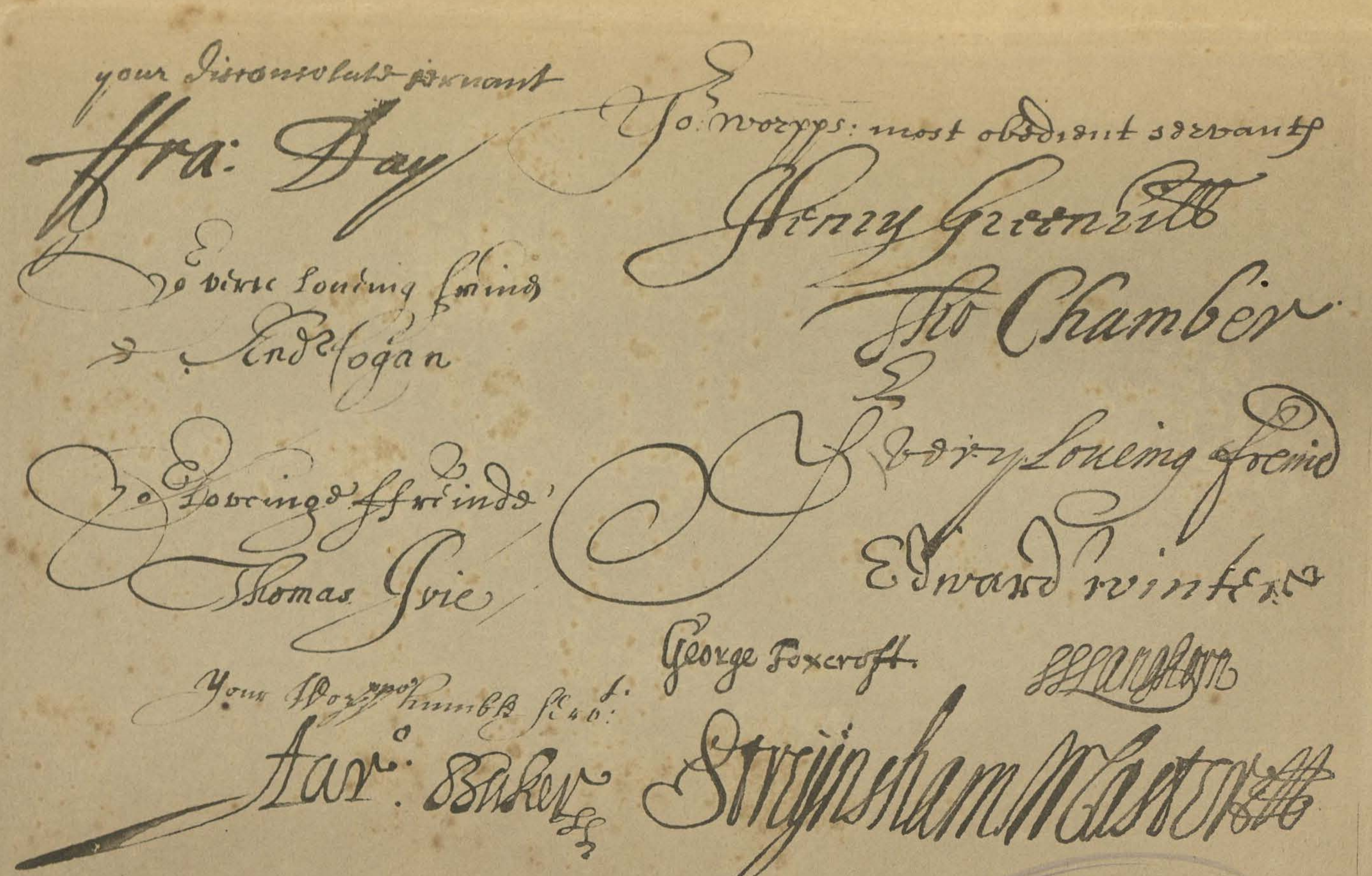
Henry Greenhill to Aaron Baker.

'When it was agreed on by Consultation that Mr. Leigh and Captain Martin were to take their weekely turns at Choutry to oversee affaires there, Connapa, notwithstanding what had forepassed, was put in to assist them (in regard of his long experience), for the better administration, as I supposed, of equity. But insteed thereof, soone after, hee was accused for taking a bribe of neere 5 pagodas from a townedweller to connive at her stealing boys and Girls abroad in the Country, and selling them here (being registered in the Choutry) to the Dutch Brokers of Pullecatt; the trueth whereof is publickly knowne, and for which hee ought to have bin punished according to the greatnes of his Crime. But this, as the rest, was all husht up or slightly passed over; which encouraged him to domineer more and more in high language over the poore people; and at last, growing from words to blowes, he drub'd one before the Choutry without Mr. Leighs knowledge or consent, an Authority I never understood him to be impowered withall by the said Consultation. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2367, 1st March, 165$\frac{3}{4}$.)

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[1] *Impertinent*, irrelevant. [2] Yates was a sea-captain.

[3] *Fanam*, a division of the pagoda, worth about 3d.


your Devoted servant
ffra: Day
To Worpps: most obedient servants
Henry Greenvill
Tho Chamber
Your verie loving friend
Andr Cogan
Yr very loveing freind
Edward winter
Yor Loving ffriende
Thomas Ivie
George Foxcroft.
Your Worpps humble servt.
Aar: Baker
Streynsham Master

'*John Leigh's Declaration against the Bramony Connapa concerning the Choutery.*

'That hee hath taken many Bribes in Lisensing stolne Children in this Towne to the great Dishonour of Honble Company, to the shame of the Governor[1] and Councell here, that Madras, the Companys Towne, should bee a Baud to procure stolne children to supply the Hollanders with slaves. Why were not the children first carried to Pulicatt? Noe, they durst not. Why not to St. Thoma? Noe, they durst not; but come to the English Towne. They will venture theire Neckes for 9d., for the Custome[2] is but 18d. and the Nabob hath 9d. of it.[3] . . . Some of us have Children: it would greeve our soules to have them stolne and sould for slaves; and these People have as much right to theire Children and Love to them as wee, and therefore ought to have Justice on the Trators, or the Manstealers or Depeoplers of the Countrey: Which here I present to the Worshipful President and Councell that you will bee pleased to use meanes to take away the Dishonour of the Honble Company and shame to theire Officers in Madras, that the World may know it was not done by theire Knowledge or Licence; or if you will be pleased to send him to the Choutery, I shall take such course with them as I hope to prevent all these mischeefs. In all parts of Europa it is Death: in Turkey it is Death, and in this Countery it is Death. And by the Law of God it is Death. . . . JOHN LEIGH.' (*O.C.*, No. 2369, no date.)

Leigh then wrote privately to the Company. He said:—

John Leigh to the Honble. Company.

'It is not unknowne unto you how unusuall it is for a private factour, though the head of a ffactory, to write unto you; noe, nor one from the head ffactory with a single hand, though of the Councell; but I am inforced thereunto. . . .

'After our Worshipfull President Aaron Bakers arryvall at Fort St. George, it pleased him to send for Mr. Christopher Yardley, who came not . . ., Mr. Edward Winter of Verasheroone, and myselfe from Pettipollee, to advise with him about a difference bet[w]een Agent Henry Greenhill, late Cheefe (as Agent here, whereof the President now is Governour) and two Bramonies, the one the Governor and Justice of the Towne of Madrass, the other the Cheefe for buying Goods of all sorts in these parts for the Honble Company. . . .

'These things thus past, there was a Consultation called about those Servants which had received, by the by, moneys of the Companys Weavers and Painters, wronging thereby much the Company; and that they haveing halfe share with the Bramonie and his Brother, wee did call them before us the President, Mr. William Gurney, myselfe and Captain Martin, in which wee fined the Pewnes Ruddrego and Tymona, for their halfe, 1500 pagodas new, and was passing sentance upon Vincatee and Connapa his brother for the other 1500 pagodas new; as wright and Justice required. Noe, said the President, lett

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1 The earliest observed instance of the use of this term as applied to the President. It was not, however, authorized.

2 *The Custome*, the licensing fee.

3 Thus the actual half customs received from strangers were still paid to the native government. Consequently Pāpaiya Brahman was wrong in asserting that a Town Rent of Pags. 1,200 was paid to the Rajah of Vijayanagar.

us not sett him downe yett till the Companys Debt bee paid. . . . Wee pronounced sentance upon Ruddrego and Tymana that they should not parte the Forte till they had paid the money, which wee gott in money, goods and Jewells to the full vallew. . . .

'Then Mr. Gurney and myselfe moved that the Bramonies might bee kept in the Forte prisoners for theire money. The President answered, I will give my word for him; and now the President sayth hee gave his word for his personall appearance. That was Impartinent:[1] hee could not goe away, for there is a guard in the Towne as well as in the Forte. Wee keept the pewnes for theire Debt, and had it; and soe I think might have had the other. . . .

'The 15th ffebruary the President came Blustering where Mr. Yeats and myselfe was at the Agents sonne in Lawes, Mr. John Gurneys, and said, "What shall wee doe to these Painters"? Now, I had the Painters in prison in the Choutery by his Command, as I was, by the Councell, made one of the Judges thereof. Hee startled mee with his hard language. I burst out, as God would have it, and said, "Sir, you gave your word for the Bramonies Debt." He thereupon called mee Old Knave, and Lying old knave, Etc. The Agent stept in and said, "What a sturr is here about the Painters . . . I will pay the Painters Debts"; which hee [the President] could not then but accept for shame. Since which, they have beene both in prison in the Forte—I meane the Braminees,—but as good [as] noe prison. They goe to dinner and supper with a souldier to looke to them, which they need not, for they cannot runne away. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2370, 20th March, 165$\frac{3}{4}$.)

At the same time, Greenhill indicted Martin, charging him with disrespect towards himself, the use of blasphemous language, misconduct towards the wife and daughter of the late Richard Potter, etc. A brief extract only can be given :—

'*A Declaration Exhibited by Henry Greenhill, Agent, against James Martine, Captain of the Souldiers in fforte St. George, presented to the worshipfull Aaron Baker. . . .*

(*O.C.*, No. 2374, 27th March, 1654.)

'Sir, I shall not trouble your patience with repetitions of former passages And misdemeanors of the said Capt. Martin, for which he lay under restraint at your arriveall from Bantam, when, upon publicke Submission and promise of better Comportment in the future, he was by your favour soone after restored first to liberty And then to his pristine Command of the Garrison. But it was not long ere the Evill spirit of Mallice, ffaction and Contradiction repossesst him, and declared his Divillish and Corrupt disposition, giveing mee Just Cause to beleeve his said promises were meere dissimulations Connived at to Compass such villainous designes as had bine precomplotted by himselfe, William Winter,[2] and the Bramines Vincaty and Conapa. . . .

'He hath violated your order for Government which he, both as Councellor and Captain of the Souldiers, was most especially bound to performe, by

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[1] *Impartinent*, irrelevant.

[2] William Winter had gone to England soon after Baker's arrival.

sending a private Challenge to our Chirurgion Edward Whyteing, even at the time when sickness was most rife amongst us, and waiteing armed without the Towne, accompanied by his Second, William Wouters (for his vallour durst not engage Single). Since which, some of the Garrison hath made bold to doe the like, and escaped unpunished, being able to plead such an example from their exorbitant Captain, to the great disorder of the Garrison and generall disquiett of us All.

'When Thomas Price, a Carpenter, Complain'd to you for Justice against Ditto Capt. Martin, he beat the poore man in your Chamber. . . .

'I shall only add . . . that he is an Incendiary and a factious person by indeavoring to mislead and seduce men to his partie, like the Divill, with large promises of preferment . . . as the Accomptantship, Cash, or both, to William Johnson, and the Captainship of the Towne to William Wouters, a Hollander, his Champion, Etc., soe to Corrupt their better dispositions for his worse ends. . . .

'HENRY GREENHILL.'

At the end of March, the President replied to Greenhill's letter of the 1st. While admitting that the two Brahmans were not immaculate, he says they are being persecuted because they revealed the existence of gross abuses. After alluding to the Caste quarrels, in a passage which has been previously quoted, he continues :—

Aaron Baker to Henry Greenhill.

(*O.C.*, No. 2378, 29th March, 1654.)

'You object that it is not unknowne to mee how the Companys priviledges in this place have been invaded by the Bramanee Connapa in maters about Customes. Truly, Sir, I can with a safe Conscience sweare that I know no such thing. That the Nabobs Adigar[1] hath strived tooth and Nayle to bring in Customes upon Petty things sold here in the markett, as Beetle,[2] Herbes, Etc., I know very well; and that hee hath been withstood in his attempt that way, so much as lay in myne or Connapas power to withstand him, of this I am certaine. And whereas you say noe remedy hath beene opposed against theis petty Customes, but rather suffred to goe on, this I can assure you is not soe, for here are severall men in the Howse that can testifie to the contrary, and can tell you how I have often in my letters complained to the Nabob about it, whose finall answare . . . was that I must looke after the Companys Merchandizing, and let him alone with the Customes: that such Customes as were usually paid in the tyme of Ayapa Naigue and the Jentue Kings tyme must and should be paid still. . . . Nor can I conceive, if these Customes must bee paid upon such Petty things as herbes and beetle, what prejudice the Company can susteyne thereby; for besides the Inconsiderableness of the thinge it selfe, which, if it bee paid by the Townes people, will not amount to 6d. per day, one day with another all the yeare long, yett of this 6d. per day the

[1] A servant of the Nawab, named Mallappa, constantly attended at the Choultry to see that the Nawab received his share of the customs.

[2] *Beetle*, the betel leaf, from Malayal. *vettila*, leaf; used for chewing with areca nut and lime.

halfe thereof comes into the Companys Cash, and the other ½ to the Nabob,[1] so that I suppose the Company are neither gainers nor loosers by it. . . .

'But the Grand grudge of all breakes out in the 4th Article, where you are not a little troubled that, at our Consultation of 22th February 1652 [1653] (you being then in Pegu), when your servants Tymana and Rudriga, for their Exactions upon the Companys Merchants and forceing of monies from them, were amerced in 1500 pagodas to the Company, the Bramanees were not also amerced with them, they beeing (as you say) sharers in these unlawfull gaines with your servants. . . . One of them, not many yeares past was kept and imployed by some of your predecessors as a Pympe or Pander, having then hardly a pagoda in his Purse; and yet now, under your Imployment, is grown to such a height that lately he durst come and tell me to my face that hee would turne mee out of my place, and come and sett in my Chayre ere long, and make mee wayte on him. And for your other servant Tymana, you your selfe heard here in this Hall how hee snapt mee up, as if I had beene a boy or a slave, and not worthy to have spoken or done any thing without his leave. . . .

'AARON BAKER.'

The President sent a reply at the same time to Leigh's letter. It closes with these words: 'I shall make it my daily prayer to God that from the Envy, hatred and Malice, and from the most Notorious uncharitableness of old John Leigh the Lord will please to Delliver *Aaron Baker*.'

On the 4th April, 1654, Greenhill, Leigh and Minors were arrested. The following accounts by the two Councillors were penned later, but may be conveniently inserted here:—

Henry Greenhill to Aaron Baker.

'You conclude that much more might bee aded in answer to my Remonstrance concerning the Braminees, but deferr it to the suceeding Consultation . . .; and from such made Consultations the Lord deliver mee, where my Judges and Accusers are of Councell, and the assistants there, either awed with the Rod or pleased with the Rattle, signe your pleasure without dispute, as amongst the rest did Mr. Leigh, though then a prisoner as well as myselfe, being made soe 2 daies before in a new invented manner on one of our Souldiers Wedding daies, at which was a Generall feast. From whence, repaireing to the Fort, the day was continued with much Courtesy and Mirth, till at night the Scæne strangly changed; myselfe basely abused by Capt. Martin, and confind as aforesaid; the Garrison in Generall heated with Strong drinke, ready to cut one anothers throats; In which hurlyburly your selfe, Sir, and ditto Captain were in the darke night with drawne Swords, while I patiently abode your doome aloft[2] without Stirring; soe that it was Gods great mercy noe more hurt followed that rash and unseasonable Act. The Grounds of all which . . . was a pretended conspiracie forged on us,

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[1] A sure proof that no composition in the shape of a fixed annual payment had yet been effected.

[2] *Aloft*, in an upper room of the factory-house.

Etc., by the Braminees, and spread abroad by Anthony Baker[1] and other your Creatures to amase the People and bring us into hatred, had it been possible. But wee were better knowne then to be blasted with such a Crime, of which the greatest Allegation was a fained report of our servants to depose you, whoe utterly deny any such words; and the witness against them proved falce, but never punished. . . . Yett must wee bee first executed, then condemned: by which, and what hath bin said before, twill easily appeare what Justice I might expect at such a Consultation. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2440, 1st Jan., $165\frac{4}{5}$.)

Leigh's narrative is in the nature of a diary:—

'*Concerning the Imprisonment of John Leigh.*

'I came from walking abroad from the ffields[2] in the Evening [with] John Feild, Boteswaine of the Bonito while shee Reigned, Mr. William Browne, Steward of the ffamilie,[3] and Mr. John Gurney.[4] Coming home in the twilight wee heard 7, 8 or 9 great gunns from the ffort, upon which myselfe and the rest concluded that it was for some good news about the Hollanders;[5] but wee sent [? went] home, and found it that it pleased the President, in his drinking upon the point[6] amongst the great Gunns, to make the Welkin rore, by which meanes neare till 9 of the Clock the ffamelie stayed prayers. When prayers was done, hee called the Souldiers Back which were goeing downe, and asked who was for the Company, and those that were not should have what the Company did owe them and a discharge. Which some accepted, yet all cryed, "Wee are for the Company and desire our waiges." Then hee Committed the Agent prisoner in the ffort to bee in the President his own Chamber[7] with him, and said hee should faire noe worse then himselfe. After that, hee Committed Captain Richard Minors prisoner in the ffort, and then hee Committed mee prisoner in my Chamber, not to sturr out. . . .

'The 5th day hee sent for mee up[8] to sitt in Councell about the Braminees Debt. . . . But I am a prisoner. I must not eat nor Drinke nor Pray with them, and yet it is Convenient I should signe with them in theire Consultations. . . .

'The 6th day hee ordered a Consultation wherein hee cleared the Bramonies of saying they would burne the Towne. . . . For Cannapas taking of Bribes for selling of Children, hee was fined 16 pagodas, when I was informed by the old Talliar[9] that hee knew of 27 Children for which hee had received pagodas;

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[1] *Anthony Baker*, styled the cousin, sometimes the nephew, of the President.

[2] Perhaps the paddy-fields, which lay north of the town.

[3] *The ffamilie*, the Company's servants who dined at the general table.

[4] *Mr. John Gurney*, son-in-law of Henry Greenhill.

[5] England and Holland were then at war.

[6] *Point*, bastion; perhaps the new outwork which Baker had built.

[7] The President's rooms were on an upper floor of the factory-house. On Baker's arrival, Greenhill had vacated these rooms, and occupied a house he had built in the European town.

[8] The Consultation-room was on the second floor (third story) of the factory-house.

[9] The head of the Talliars, or police, was the 'Peddanaigue.' In another place Leigh mentions the 'Warders' of the town.

but 16 pagodas cleared his life deservedly forfitt to the Law for 4 Children, and also it covered the greatest Scandall that ever was brought upon the Honble Company. . . . The Nabob sent for the first stealer of them, and made him a slave for ever to cary stones for a great ffort. Hee had better a beene hanged, but the Law is staking through theire Bodies, and the receaver Death likewise; and wee covered this for 16 pagodas. . . .

'The 20th May there was a great sturr betweene Mr. Gardener . . . and young Mr. Anthony Baker.[1] . . . Mr. Baker gave him base words . . . and struck downe the old man, and beat him. . . . About bedtyme, Mr. Gardener was sent for upp. I sat at my Chamber dore, the Chirurgion and Mr. Taylor with mee. First, news came to mee by the Presidents servant that I should goe to my Chamber, and saye nothing to any body elce. Within some minutes of an hower after came a Corporall, I being in bedd which was halfe in, halfe out my Chamber by reason of the heat. Hee sett a gard upon mee with these words, "Looke well to Mr. Leigh that hee speake with noe body, nor noe body speaks with him. . . ." In the morning, being Sunday the 21th of May, the Gard was taken off, and I went to Church. The next day hee sent for mee at 5 a Clock or theire abouts at night, [and] delivered mee a paper, a Scandalous and Lybellious Act, for theire was noe name to it. Hee gave it mee as Capt. Martins Act, dated the 15th present, for, said the President, "I thinke Capt. Martin will not live till tomorrow morning. . . ."

'They bate mee like a Bare; they besmeare mee with personall falts, and think they will bee beleved; but here is some honest men will vindicate mee, and for base fellowes I care not. . . .

'But the strange passage was, hee warned Mr. Thompson, the minister, not to entertaine mee into his Chamber; but Mr. Thompson, I thanke him, tould him hee would not forbid mee his Chamber, nor noe man that carried himselfe farely: and forbid mee the speaking with the Chirurgion or Mr. Taylor, which hath done him belike some wronge. But last of all burst out a passage [that] made mee smile, and shewed his weakness. "Mr. Leigh, Mr. Leigh," said the President, "read the 15 Chapter of 2nd booke of Samuell; doe not Absolonise, doe not Absolonise, and steale away the hearts of the People from mee. I would willingly give over the Presidents place if I could"; with a great deale of more foolish speeches spoke, for hee was very passionate and I thinke something elce.

'Captain Martin dyed the 27th day June 1654 at Fort St. George, and soe ended our continuall strife, debates and quarrelings only about the Bramonies, which would sett Angels, if wicked ones, togeather by the Eares. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2384, *cir.* July, 1654.)

On the 16th April, Leigh had written to the President saying: 'I doe suffer, and that much, in that men of this ffamilie doe shune my Company; as Mr. Browne lookd soe strange upon mee this day that his strange entertainment turned mee out of Dores; nay, the Gunner refused to drinke a Cup of Rack[2] with mee. I spoke to him, but away hee went, which hath not beene usuall

[1] Gardener having observed that the 'salsages' were malodorous, Baker took exception to such a remark 'at his unkells table.'

[2] *Rack*, arrack, from Ar. *'arak*, sweet; the fermented liquor obtained from palms.

with him to refuse that. Besides, hee looked with a disgrasfull Countenance upon mee.'[1] Martin's indictment of Leigh, which is mentioned above, contains the following passages:—

'*Articles by Captain James Martin against John Leigh.*

(*O.C.*, No. 2402, 15th May, 1654.)

'That said Leigh disbursed 200 pagodas old and upwards in unnecessary Expences, as in building hummums or hott houses,[2] and a great Warehouse only to putt his owne gaine in, whereby the Company received much damage. . . .

'That the said Leigh declared in the Hall of Madraspatam,[3] before my selve, Anthony Baker, and others, that there was noe true Parliament in England since the Presbiterians were suspended by the force of the Army. . . .

'And for the said Leigh his life and Conversation, hee is one that hath been knowne to bee druncke neare upon a month togither, and hath drawne others of the Companys servants to accompany him in his drunckness, in soe much as it is verily beleived that Mr. William Gurney and Mr. James Moore were thereby brought into such deseases as helped them forward to their last ends. For it was Mr. Leighs Custome to bee druncke by nyne of the Clock in the forenoone, and . . . goes into the Tancke, where he falls asleepe. . . . And hath been soe usually over taken at the publike service of God whilst the Minister was at prayers, that the said Leigh tourned Clarke (out of the Zealousness of his religion), and Cryes Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, untill hee fell fast asleepe, and soe remayned after all the Company were risen from their devotion. . . .

'JAMES MARTIN.'

Leigh denounced these statements as inventions,[4] and averred that, far from speaking against the Parliament, he had 'ventured his life for them in single duell.' Baker, however, in sending the charges home, vouched for the accuracy of their substance. In a long letter the President reported the action of the Brahman brothers, whom he calls 'the Gentue writers of the House,' in charging the Agent with irregularities whereby the Company's Merchants 'Conar Chittie and Sassadra Naigue' were ruined. The Brahmans' affidavit had been translated by William Winter and sent to England. 'And this my sending home of those papers hath beene like the wilde Goard put into the pottage, that hath brought death in the Pott ever since; for your late Agent, Mr. Greenhill, hath taken the thing soe inveterately to heart, that I am confident hee never intendeth to forgett it when-

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2392, 16th April, 1654.

[2] As 'pagodas old' were current at Masulipatam, and 'pagodas new' at Madraspatam, it is probable that the Turkish baths were built by Leigh at Pettapolee.

[3] Probably the Hall in the Fort House.

[4] *O.C.*, No. 2403, 6th June, 1654.

soever a fitt opportunitie for mater of revenge against mee shall present itselfe.' Then he alludes to Leigh:—

Aaron Baker to the Honble. Company.

'Itt is bootlesse here to putt anything to the vote in Consultation if it bee a thing that hath relation to the Agent, Mr. Gurney or Mr. Leigh, or any of their Servants; for they are so lincked and combined togither that I were better holde my peace then meddle with them. This Mr. John Leigh is a very ancient man, past the best of his years for mater of Action. Hee was intertayned at home, and sent out for this Coast for a Factour upon the Bonnito, Anno 1650, at 60*l.* per annum, and came commended unto us for an able man and a bredd Spanish Merchant, upon what testimonialls I know not; but this I can assure your Worshipps, hee is neither Spanish for his Language nor Merchant for mater of Accounts, for hee neither speakes the one, or any language elce beesides English, nor hath soe much insight in the other as to enter a Journall parcell properly, or ballance his Lidger. Tis now upwards of five months past that I came to understand of some scandalous lines that this Malitious olde mann had undertaken to write and send home to the Company and some of the Committees concerning mee, whereupon I required a Copie of them. . . . Soe hee dellivered mee the inclosed paper, which I here send your Worshipps for perusall, that soe you may see whither this and what hee wrote you home bee all one. . . . But whither it bee all one or not . . ., I disclayme against it as false and malicious either wholly or in parte, as I doe against what hee hath here writen in this paper now sent to your Worshipps, where trueth and Lies are soe mixed togither, and Trueths mouth so bound up and kept from telling out the whole trueth for feare of discovering the ffallacie, that there is hardly one true story in it. . . .

'This man, Mr. Leigh, since his comeing to the Coast till the differences with the Dutch broke out, was by the Agent imployed in Pettipollee. . . . What his Carrage was there . . . the Copie of a paper which Captaine Martine dellivered mee in against him about a month before his decease will fully acquaint you. . . . In that paper you have the true storie and Character of the said Leigh, whereby the Company may see how much they have been mistaken in this mans honestie and abilities. I shall saye noe more either of him or Mr. Greenhill at present; only I shall present this as my humble request to your Worshipps that theis two men by name may particularly bee commanded home for England by the first Convayance, that soe they may there answare theis things before your Worshipps, and what elce shalbee brought in against them. . . . AARON BAKER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2411, 18th Sept., 1654.)

Of the next two extracts, the first illustrates the mode of administering justice at the Choultry, while the other demonstrates the prevailing belief in witchcraft:—

Leigh's Declaration regarding the Choultry.

'Mr. Christopher Yardley, coming to Fort St. Georges, had a pewne which brought a Bill wherein Mortee, the ffather to the Presidents pewne Groa,

did owe unto the said pewne tenn Pagodas. It was tould the President. His Answere was, "Lett it bee heard by Mr. Leigh in the Choutery." Upon which they sent the plaintiff to prison in the Choutery, as though he had been in Mortes Debt. When I came to the Choutery, I heard the Cause. Morte confest the Bill, but shewed mee, in English, a note that the foresaid Mr. Yardleys pewnes brother did owe to the said Morte 100 and od pagodas, but this hee could not prove. I questioned when the Bill was made. Morte confest, 3 yeares after his Brothers death. I tould him, though the Law bee here on[e] Brother must pay the other Brothers Debts if they bee partners (as it is in Europe alsoe); yet if a bill bee made to the one, the other being dead 3 yeares before, hee cannot stopp that for a Brothers Debt, and yet could not prove one penny of it.

'Morte, finding that hee must pay the money, knowing I would not favour him, went with the Bramony to the President (as I suppose); then tooke the pewne out of the Prison, Carried him home to one of theire howses, tooke the bill from him, tore it, put upon him a Clout worth 4 fannams or 12 pence, [and] turned him out of Dores. The pewne came next day crying to mee and tould mee. I went to the President [and] tould him. Hee tould me, "I know nothing; he ought[1] Morte 120 or 130 pagodas." I answered the President, "Hee could prove noe such matter, and besides, the Bill was made 3 yeares after his Brother was dead." Hee bade mee, "Goe away, I know nothing." And soe it remained. If this bee not mighty Oppression . . . it will make the English names to stinke amoung this Countrey People, for they are able to know what is justice and what is Oppression. Besides, if these great oppressions and Injustices bee tould the Nabob, hee will then have his desire, for hee may justly take away the Government of the Towne from you, and then what is the ffort worth ? . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2432, 16th Dec., 1654.)

Henry Greenhill to Aaron Baker.

'But there may be other reasons given, and in likely hood loud ones, why they [the Brahmans] must bee protected to the Companys dammage, and myselfe undone; which, because it falls soe pat with the business now in hand, shall give a hint thereof by the way.

'Sir, I shall in the first place rank their Witchcraft, Sorcery, Spells, Medicines in Meate and drinke, Etc., which they ditto Braminees are reported to use; and, amongst others to the purpose, had procured a woman Exorcist or Divinatrix, one of Balaams Cast, to Curse their Enemies, whoe remain'd long in their howse, untill by the perswasion of Verona,[2] their Cozen, shee was lately sent out of Towne. That such practises are usually in India, too many of the Companys Servants have found true by sad experience, nor have your selfe, Sir, bin exempted forme[r]ly from the like in Bantam. And whoe knowes what mischeife such villaines now may heere work upon you for their owne ends, haveing all opportunities to Minister, by themselves or Instruments, what they please, by whose Councells you are swayed to our Nations and Masters exceeding dishonour and prejudice. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2440, 1st Jan., 165$\frac{4}{5}$.)

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[1] *Ought*, owed.

[2] *Verona*, Vīraṇṇa, a Brahman; not the person afterwards known as Cassa Verona.

CHAPTER X

1654

CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES—THE TOWN CONICOPLY

CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES.

DURING the leisure enforced by their confinement in the Fort, the Brahman brothers elaborated fresh charges against Greenhill, and embodied them in a statement of 118 articles. Their case has already been sufficiently presented, but the following quotations serve to elucidate sundry points connected with the history and topography of the town. The document is undated, but subsequent papers show that it was handed to the President on the 4th April, 1654, and delivered by him to Greenhill on the 2nd December following:—

'*The Braminees Vincaty and Connapas Declaration.*

'4. When Mr. Ivie went to Armagon,[1] carryed Vincaty with him, and in that time Tymana and Rudriga called the . . . Weavers, saying they should put themselves under Sesadraes protection. . . . Sesadra made a broyle with causeing the Mooree[2] weavers to pass with burialls through the west Gate . . .[3]

'6. Upon a difference betweene the Painters and a Pallee,[4] wee procured, upon the Agents order, a writing that the Palleewarrs should goe with their weddings into any Streete, only reserveing the Comittee[5] Streete for the Belgewars honour. . . .

'14. For their [Timmanna and Rudriga's] building Pagods, and raiseing money to mainetaine them, and to mainetaine the Pagod of Trivelecane ; . . .

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[1] This cannot refer to Ivie's landing at Armagon in 1639, but must relate to a visit made when he was Agent at Madras.

[2] *Mooree*, blue cotton cloth.

[3] *The West Gate* was probably that which was afterwards known as the 'Armenian Bridge Gate' of the town. The allusion is important as tending to show that the native quarter was walled in Ivie's time. A later reference shows that the walls were of earth.

[4] *Pallee*, a Telugu caste comprising two sections—one employed in sea-fishing, the other in agriculture (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Edgar Thurston).

[5] *Comittee*, the Komati caste.

of which the Inhabitants complaineing to us, wee complained to the Agent. . . .[1]

'16. In Damarlawarrs time, in Mallaies time, and Ballabala Cawnes time,[2] wee cut off some petty Customes, which Ragabatanda[3] informed Mallapa[4] of; and Mr. Ivie, hereing thereof, turned him [Ragabatanda] out of Towne; but in the Agents time, Sesadra and the Servants[5] procured the Agents Cowle for his returne. . . .

'18. The Grounds of our Vilage taken from those that had lived thereon 100 yeares, and would give the Company greater shares. . . .

'19. Mr Potter and Richard Cogan haveing formerly made a Voiage to Pegu, and gained great proffitts; which Mr. Ivie comeing to knowledge of, wrote to the President of Surrat to adventure thither, and perswaded that Ditto Potter and Cogan should be hired to goe the Voiage. . . . But Richard Cogan hearing thereof, asked leave to goe to the Campe, and there became the Nabobs servant. . . . Mr. Ivie seazed on him,[6] and put him in Irons, sending the Nabob his money againe, and intended to send Cogan for England; but Jacob[7] procured the Nabob to prevaile with Mr. Ivie for to release Cogan, soe that hee remained in the Towne. But in a darke night hee gott himselfe, wife and Child away to St. Thoma. Such a man the Agent restored againe. . . .

'21. In Captain Minors time, being leiftenant, the Padree Governour gott out of the Fort.[8] What Censure past on that?

'23. When the Nabob gave order to make a Banksale[9] of Straw, the Agent said they must build with Lyme and stone, if they meant to build there; which, when they had provided stone, Etc., the Agent hindred. Upon which became great trouble, and the Agent sent Vincaty to Campe, allowing 200 pagodas, to informe the Nabob and make up the breach, bidding to raise the mony in the Towne. . . .

'25 and 26. In Mr. Ivie's time, Kistnapa Nagues[10] servants stole a Persian Horse, the Agent being Second then; and Ayapa Nague[11] promised to procure the horse againe, as he did into his own possession. And Mr. Ivie sent our ffather and Duga[12] for the Horse; for which, although Ayapa Nague came

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1 *The Agent;* Greenhill.

2 Three successive native rulers over the territory around Madras are indicated. *Damarlawarr* is Aiyappa Naik (*Dagh Register*, 1642)—the termination *warr*=*vāru*, people, is a plural, but it was often used by the English in a singular sense; *Mallaie* is evidently 'Mollay,' who was appointed Naik by the Rajah of Vijayanagar after Dāmarla Venkaṭappa's disgrace; *Ballabala Cawne* was probably Mollay's successor —a later reference shows that he, too, though a Moslem, ruled under the Rajah.

3 *Ragabatanda*, Rāga Paṭṭan, held the office of Town Conicoply.

4 *Mallapa*, the Nawab's Adigar at the Madras Choultry.

5 Timmaṇṇa and Rudriga.

6 Richard Cogan being then at Pulicat.

7 Probably Jacob Fuddle, a free merchant.

8 The incident of the escape of the Padre Governor of San Thomé from Fort St. George has been already related.

9 *Banksale*, *Banksall*, probably from Tam. *paṇdakasālai*, a storehouse. The Banksall of Madraspatam was used as a public granary.

10 *Kistnapa Nague*, Krishṇappa Nāyak, afterwards a commander of the Nawab's troops.

11 *Ayapa Nague*, brother of Dāmarla Venkaṭappa.

12 *Duga*, who perhaps gave his name to Dugarazpatam, an alternative designation for Armagon.

hither afterwards to see the towne and to recover a debt from Sesadra, the Agent rather gave him presents then required satisfaction.

'29. Wee are the Companys Servants. Our ffather served them 40 years, and delivered us to your charge; on which score we find ourselves obliged to informe you [of these abuses].

'31. Sesadra . . . gathar'd his Painters, the Talliars, Ragabatanda and others, and raised Stories against us to overthrow us, which the Agent examined not; which made us step aside to St. Tome.

'32. For our part, wee had no relation to the Nabob; for I was sent to him about the Towne business and Agents business, and whăt the Nabob said I informed the Agent; which the said Agent according with, sent mee and Mr. Littleton, whoe and the Nabob had private discourse. . . .

'33. In Rudrigas howse two poore beggers about difference in their sects fell out, and beat one the other. The weakest, or one of them, went in and complained to Rudriga, whoe came with a Rattan, and without questioning the matter, strooke the askeman,[1] whoe thereupon cutt his owne throat. For which was no Justice done; and Vincaty gott Dick the Barber to cure him againe.

'43. The Vizapore Moores passing by this place with Lacham Nague from Pullecatt, Sesadra procured a Vissitt and Parly with the Agent concerning renting of Porto Novo. . . .

'45. Whereas the Townes People did each Month pay 20 Reals towards the mainetenance of 20 Souldiers to watch the Towne and serve the Fort, this Custome Tymmana, that hee might the easier raise expence for his Pagod,[2] procured to cutt off; and brought the Taliars in, whoe stirr'd not against the Mutiny. . . .

'50. In the deare time and by reason of Robbers, the husbandmen hereabouts brought in their Paddy to this towne; and Mr. Ivie appointed a third part to bee distributed to the Townes people,[3] our Father and Ninapa having the Adigarshipp and disposure of the graine. Sesadra and the Taliars brought severalls to complaine they were abused; and then Mr. Ivie intrusted Sesadra therewith, and made Surwa Raz Adigar, whoe togither, in the Paddy delivered them, are yet Debitors. . . .

'56. [Mentions] Rustombeagues[4] plundering of the Pagod at Trivelecane. . . .

'57. Rustombeague and the Agent, on a Day appointed, a hauking by the Mount,[5] when the Agent invited him to come to the Fort. Hee came, and much freindship past betweene them. . . .

'63. Nynapa being indebted unto Jacob, sewed him for his debt; but the Agent sending his Brother and Sonn in Law,[6] tooke him to send with them to Gingarlee. . . .

'82. Mr. Leigh, hopeing to find treasure as Mr. Miller did, spent money to

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[1] *Askeman*, an old form of ash-man. Religious mendicants besmear their bodies with ashes.

[2] The *Chennai Kesava Perumāḻ* temple.

[3] The earliest effort by Government towards famine relief.

[4] *Rustombeague*, Rustam Beg, appears to have been an officer under Nawab Mīr Jumlah.

[5] This is the earliest reference in the records to St. Thomas's Mount, afterwards the favourite playground of Madras residents.

[6] Joseph Greenhill and John Gurney.

digg up old bricks[1] to build a Godowne, when hee might have bought new, and would have been better and cheaper. . . .

'86. The Macwaes[2] had alwaies for each Massoola[3] turne 3 fannams . . . ; but now they have but 2 fannams in the Presidents time. . . .

'94. Mr. Gurney, buying John Gonsales house, only thrust the Comittees out of their place, and built shopps there, for which hee received Rent : and now, since the Chitties went out of Towne, cause the Chittees shopps to bee pul'd downe, which stood by his New howse. . . .[4]

'97. At the Farewells arriveall from England, shee brought Gold, which Gold, and all the Gold forme[r]ly brought, was bought by the Chittees, whoe gott thereby 4 or 5 per Cent ; and not agreeing amongst themselves, Mutta Chitty, shroff,[5] discovered to Vincaty, whoe informed Mr. Ivie thereof ; and Mr. Ivie then sett Mutta Chittee to quoine for the Company, and found that there was 4 or 5 per Cent gotten by it. And from that time all the Gold was quoined in that manner for the Company ; over which the Servants were sett to looke after. . . .[6]

'102. The Agent used the Companys Carpenters and Smiths to make Chayers and Cotts, and build his house, receiving the Companys wages.

'103. In Mr. Leighs time, Connapa seized 7 persons that played at Dice, and put them in Prison ; of which his Servant advised him, but hee [the Agent] gave order for their release from the Fort, never questioning them. . . .

'106. Wee endeavoured to preferr a fellow that would make Powder Cheaper than Nagabattanda[7] 1½ pagodas per Candy . . . ; but Tymana, Etc., prevailed with the Agent on Nagabattandas part, saying hee came from Armagon with us. . . .

'107. Ammapa Cittie bringing in Cloth, and the Coolees misplacing it, the Agent strooke him with his Slipper, upon which hee would dye, and 3 daies eat nothing. But Vincaty Citty[8] . . . went and prevailed with him to eate, and for 3 Months together made suite to the Agent to favour with a Pishcash of a Cloute in liew of that disgrace. . . .

'110. Two daies after Connapa was imprisoned, Nagana, Tymana, Chinnawand Chittie, Nallana, Sessadras Conacaphila, in Chinnawand Citties howse Councelled together, saying, Now the Bramanees are fast, the Agent and Mr. Leigh will now never lett a Braminee, neither old nor new, continue. . . . And of these things they have written to the Company ; with which letters, for securer conveyance, was sent Mr. Leighs Rundaleers[9] 3 Daies Journey, along with those fellowes that brought the Water Mellions, and came back in 5 Daies to Justifie this to the Painters. . . . Tymana, Nagana and 11 Painters

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1 An indication that an old town or village existed on the site of Madraspatam.

2 *Macwaes*, boatmen, from Tam. *mukkuvan*, fisherman.

3 *Massoola*, a large surf-boat formed of planks sewn together.

4 The Komatis' and Chettis' shops were in Market Street, west and east of the Choultry respectively (*cf.* Baker's award regarding the distribution of streets).

5 *Shroff*, from Ar. *ṣarrāf*, a money-changer, banker.

6 Power to coin money was conferred by the Naik's grant, and minting seems to have been done by contract down to Ivie's time, when it was taken over by Government.

7 *Nagabattanda*, Nāga Paṭṭan, who endowed the Town temple. The people calling themselves Paṭṭan were usually goldsmiths.

8 *Vincaty Citty*, Venkaṭa Cheṭṭi ; not the Brahman Venkaṭa.

9 *Rundaleers*, bearers of the rundell, roundell, or umbrella.

came to Mr. Gurneys House to the Agent. Then the Agent called them, and Tymana said hee desired that Mr. Leighs servant might be called to interpret, and Thomas Clarke[1] might write what they had to say. . . . At the ffirst Councell, Tymana and Nagana said that if 5 Englishmen agreed together, they could displace the President, and now there was 8, what may they not doe? Those 8 names, if the President require it, wee will write them. . . .

'112. Mr. Littleton came from Raybagg[2] to Metchlepatam, and Mr. Wright and hee went to Bantam in President Pennistons[3] time, and upon the Dove returned againe hither with Mr. Wright, Etc. Then Mr. Littleton was sett to looke after the Painters and Cloth in the Towne; but hee had onely the name, being alwaies either at the Garden[4] or at the Mount in the Agents Company, and went twice up to the Nabob. . . .

'116. That wee went to St. Thome was only for being oppressed. . . . In our way wee were like to bee Drown'd,[5] but gott thither; and William Dawes[6] and Prosotum[7] came thither to us, and in Bally Rawes[8] House William Dawes asked us why wee came so away, and wee gave him a Declaration wherefore to the Agent; and all the Townes people came and required to have us returne. . . .

'117. The worshipfull President is unto us as the Company, and what wee know have given information unto him. . . . Wee acknowledge that since the Presidents first arriveall hee hath, by the many lyes and Inventions of this Townespeople, never Injoyed one quiett howre, and the Newes of Disturbances in Europe doth fill him full of Disquiett; and, by meanes the President forbade our comeing to the Fort, have not till this time, only by William Winters hand, made a small information. Now, being called to it by our Adversaries, have declared that wee know. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2441, 4th April, 1654.)

Greenhill replied categorically to the Brahmans' charges. A few extracts are here given:—

'*Henry Greenhills Answer unto the Bramanees Vincaty and Connapaes* 118 *Articles sent him from the Worshipfull Aaron Baker, President, by his Cousen Anthony Baker, the* 3*rd December* 1654, *after hee, Ditto President, had kept them above* 7 *Months in his Custodie*. . . .

'2. The like judgment they give concerning my payment of Sesadraes and Conar Citties Debts, for trusting them, which were our Ancient Merchants and

[1] *Thomas Clarke*, son of Thomas Clarke, formerly Agent at Masulipatam.

[2] Rāybāg being a Courten factory, it is probable that Walter Littleton belonged to Sir William Courten's Association.

[3] Thomas Peniston, formerly of Madras, became for a short time President at Bantam.

[4] The Garden was on the west side of the native quarter of the town. It appears to have extended from the English Burial-ground on the north nearly to the Choultry on the south.

[5] There were two backwaters to be crossed between Madraspatam and San Thomé.

[6] *William Dawes*, Secretary to the Council.

[7] *Prosotum*, Purushotam, Interpreter at the Choultry.

[8] *Bally Rawe*, Bāla Rau, the Nawab's Adigar of Mylapore.

had ever Complyed with us, especially the first, from the beginning of this Fort, alwaies honestly clearing his Accompts, furnishing with good Commodities, and advancing the sale of our Europe goods, especially Corrall, the price whereof the Braminees had beat downe in Mr. Ivies time. . . .

'28. I know noe Reason why Sesadra and Conar Cittie should not be trusted, being inhabitants here, as well as they were in former times when they lived at Porta Nova and Tevnapatam. . . .

'33. Tis well knowne what Rogues these Ashmen are, whoe comeinge to a House and not receiveing a desired Almes, will usually Cutt themselves; for which they have bine banished out of Towne. . . .

'45. The Braminee himselfe Petitioned to ease the Townes People, and they to bring in the Taliars; for, to say the trueth, those 20 Peons Charged upon the Towne were rather at the Braminees devotion then the Towne or Companys service . . .; but this shewes his Mallice to the Towne and Taliars, as alsoe his mallice to Tymanas Pagod, never remembring his owne that stands close by it.[1] And for the new Custome, it is the same that was allowed the Pagod at Punnamalee, which was transferred hither at the Braminees, Etc., request. . . .

'50. [The debt] might have beene redressed out of Surwa Raz[2] his estate when he died, but tis thought the Braminee Vincaty gott most part thereof. . . . And the old Towne Scrivan saith, If Surwa Raz had onely had the Governorship, wherefore did they persecute him for a Cowle given him by Mr. Ivie to keepe a true Register of the Towne and Customes. . . .

'51. Chena Cittie was inticed away By Rustom Begues People, whoe conducted him, his people and Lumber over the Towne Walls,[3] to plant a New Collony of Weavers by Puñamalee. . . .

'79. By theire [the Brahmans'] meanes . . . the Chitties got 2 Streetes, which is contrary to this Countrey Custome. The rest Concernes Sesadra, of whose Councell Vincaty was, in Conar Citties House, a little before the Belgewars deserted the Towne, upon grant of the said Streetes. . . .

'94. For the Thatcht shopps pulling downe, to my knowledge the President gave licence, as hee did since for the building of them with brick. . . .

'97. Concerning Quoynage of Gold in Mr. Ivies time, I conceive the Chitties was not soe bounteous to the Braminees as Mutta Chitty, shroff, promised to bee, which was the reason that they was turned out and hee brought in; and therefore I durst not trust him, but alwaies appointed Englishmen to look after it. . . .

'102. For Carpenters and Smiths, wee have but one (and that a Master workman) of each in Wages, whoe at leisure tymes might happily[4] come to overlooke my hir'd ones, as the like in Mr. Ivies and the now Presidents times. . . .

'111. If Ayapa Nagues Debt had been recoverable, why did not my three

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[1] A reference, to be presently quoted, shows that the Brahmans' temple was a small shrine of later date than the *Chennai Kasava Perumāḷ* pagoda built by Timmaṇṇa.

[2] *Surwa Raz* followed Kānappa's father, and preceded Kānappa himself, as Company's Adigar or Governor of the town, but he died before Greenhill became Agent.

[3] The town of Madraspatam was evidently enclosed by a wall prior to Baker's arrival. A reference, to be presently quoted, shows that it was an earthen rampart.

[4] Haply.

predecessors acquire it, seeing in each Mans time hee came to this place ? . . . But, as is said, I am only poynted at : wherefore would know whether I should have forct a Person of his quallity, Brother to the greatest Jentue Prince[1] with the Nabob, and whoe gave us this Place, comeing on a freindly Vissitt, for Pags 120-17-5, for the debt is noe more. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2442, 10th Jan., 165$\frac{4}{5}$.)

The weavers and 'painters' also preferred charges against the Brahman brothers :—

'The Painters, Weavers, Etc., Inhabiting Chanapatam, their Declaration against the Braminees Vincaty aud Connapa.

(*O.C.*, No. 2542, Anno 1654.)

'1. At their [the Brahmans'] first arriveall heere, they were entertained to write letters and serve as Linguists in the Companys affaires at soe much per Month. But in Mr. Ivies time they crept soe farr into his favour that hee intrusted them to bee Merchants, which they pursued for lucre of 10 per Cent. . . . And upon Agent Ivies proffer to deliver them monies to bee distributed to the Painters and Weavers, they called the Taliars to take upon them to secure that noe Workemen should runn away owing the Company money. The Taliars answered that they durst not undertake that ; onely, as Taliars, if ought should bee stolne betweene Sun setting and Sun riseing, they stood lyable to make it good. But for the Inhabitants that received the Companys money, must bee some other Course taken then to bee secured by them. Upon which the Braminees incensed Mr. Ivie . . . makeing use of the oppertunity to turne the Taliars out, whoe, for that they had noe meanes of being rightly understood, left the place, and applyed themselves to write unto Agent Ivie. But Vincaty, by meanes of wrong interpretation, made the Breach worse, and Mr. Ivie caused their House to be pul'd downe, and all theire graine and duties to be seized on ; which grew to such Inveteracy that twas the occasion of the death of 3 Englishmen,[2] by Mr. Ivies too much Crediting the Braminees, and unadvisedly goeing to fight with them. . . .

'4. At the Nabobs approach Neere this place, Vincaty was sent to procure a Cowle for the Companys affaires ; when the Nabob required that the Braminee should give in a Copie of the Conditions, and what the Jentue King allowed, hee would confirme the same. The Braminee, as seemed best for his turne, gave in a Copie, wherein hee put in some New things and left out others, and, at the Nabobs request, promised that hee should have a Brass Gunn. Soe hee came from the Nabob, and the Nabob presently sent some of his servants for the Gunn to Vincaty, whoe carryed them to Agent Ivie, as imediately from the Nabob, to request him for a Brass Gunn. But Mr. Ivie denyed the Gunn, shewing himself Angry, which gave the Braminee advantage to send away the said Servants without the Gunn ; whereat the Nabob was very much vexed, and sent for the Braminee and Ragabattanda, the Towne Connacaphila. But

[1] Dāmarla Venkaṭappa, who, after he fell into disgrace with the Rajah of Vijayanagar, joined Mīr Jumlah.

[2] This incident, which occurred in October, 1646, has been already described in connexion with the dispute with San Thomé.

the Braminee thrust himselfe into the fforte, and prevailed with Mr. Ivie that onely the Connacaphila was sent [for]; with whome the Nabob dealt roughly, and required a Copie of the particulers of Customes, whoe, not knowing what the Braminee had written, gave in a true Coppie, at sight whereof the Nabob was very angry, and againe sent for Vincaty, whoe to pass that Storme gott Mr. Ivie to imprison him, as for 4 or 5000 pagodas, saying hee expected noething but Death if hee should bee sent. And afterwards, by promise of the Brass Gunn, the Nabob was appeased. . . .

'7. In the Jentue Kings time, Ballabala Cawnes Servants, Dada Pandett and Sagahy Cawne, Governing Punnomalee, the Nabob takeing the Country, the said Pandett and Sagahy came with their treasure to Madraspatam, and intreated Sesadra Nague to speake to Agent Ivie for their quiett remaineing heere untill such time they could shift for themselves. . . . They remained heere 2 Months, and, 2 Months after their departure, they sent a man to take up some money that they had buried in the Braminees yard, for which they digging, found. The Braminees tooke a part thereof and restored the rest.

'8. The Braminees have beene accessary to the selling of Stollen people for these 7 yeares together, receiving bribes for the same. . . .

'9. They have rented Gaming in the Towne, raising mony thereby to their own proper use. . . .

'10. The ffamine caused many People to flock hither with Rice; and the Braminees made a great Parra,[1] and measured the Graine (brought by severall men) by it into the Bancksall; and at Sale deliver'd it to the buyers in a small just parra. Which made the poore Owners of the Vessells cry out, This Port is Theeves port, saying they durst not come hither againe. . . .

'11. The Braminees being Linguists in the Fort, Governours of the Towne, and haveing the Taliars office, allwaies one of them remained in the Fort, that by noe meanes noe Person, but by them, could speake to the Agent; and by reason of the influence of one Office to another, noe Inhabitant, for feare of their speaking for the Agent, or Government in the Towne, or Taliars office, durst make complaint. . . .

'14. Sesadra Nague in Mr. Ivies time procured to make a Paddy Bazar, and for some time twas continued; but the Braminy drove away those that sold Paddy, and sold the place for 16 pagodas, and kept the Money himselfe.

'17. In this Towne, before the Pagod Permall, the Bramines Caused a little Pagod to be built,[2] and procured a Sorcerer or Wich, whome they kept heere 2 Months and learnd his Art; by whose Charmes and Spells, done upon a Brass plate which they buried under the Stone Idoll in the little Pagod, Like accons are said to bee done to Obtaine the Affections of Governours, abase and destroy or hinder the proceedings of adversaries; and . . . Wee doe affirme that they determined the Destruction of the Towne; and such actions in these parts are punished with Death. . . .[3]

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[1] *Parra*, a measure of capacity.

[2] Hence the Brahmans' shrine must have been built later than the *Kesava Perumāḷ* temple, and could not have been identical with 'Mally Carjuns old Pagoda.' The brothers stated, however, that the shrine was built by their father (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 31st March, 1655).

[3] The Brahmanical spells worked badly. John Leigh wrote as follows to the Company: 'Alsoe wee found by proofes that the Bramonees had layd a Copper plate with Carracters in a small Pagod or Idol Temple, some little way in the

'29. The Braminee Vincaty procured that Surwa Raz, one of their Kindred, was made Adigar, whoe in the tearm of 2 or 3 Months falling out with him . . . threatned that hee would accuse Vincaty of Some Accompts or misdemeanors; but tis reported they poysoned him or Murdered him with witchcraft, for soone after hee dyed suddainly. . . .[1]

'41. At the Painters Removeall from the Lower Grounds, the Braminees frighted severall people that lived in the upper grounds to Dispose of their howses. . . .

'43. The Braminees procured a Cowle from Mr. Ivie for a Man to bee measurer; which after hee had beene some time possessed off, and performed that Office, the Braminee Vincaty deceitfully told the poore man that if hee would bring Ditto Cowle againe to him, hee would procure Sesadra Nagues ha[n]d to it. But having gott it into his power againe, kept it, and tooke all the Duties to themselves. . . .'[2]

[*Enclosure.*]

'*A Noate of Particulers which was Seized on by the Braminees, left in Peddy Nagues*[3] *howse, and his free grounds in the Village,*[4] *and Duties on the Fishermen of Madraspatam.*

	Pa. fa. c.
Monie due from the ffishermen for 4 yeares at 225 fanams per yeare - - - - - - - - - - -	26 – „ – „[5]
The Braminees raised alsoe the Custome of the Taliars, the Pagod and Scrivan . . . out of which they made the Choutry for 200 pags.[6] - - - - - - -	. . . . .
The Braminees tooke occasion at the time of Iyapa Nagues leaveing the Towne to the Nabob, there was 64 pagodas in the Box, which was due to Iyapa Nague - - - -	64 – „ – „
The Quoyners were forct to give the Bramines - -	30 – „ – „
The Rack Stillers[7] likewise - - - - - - -	17 – „ – „
The Bramines raised on the Inhabitants - - - -	250 – „ – „

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ground, Valted, and over that sett an Idoll or little Divell, which about a yeare agoe, more or less, they did remove and take away. Wee demanded of them why they tooke it away. They said they put them there to hurt their Enimies, and their freinds dyed, and therefore they tooke it away. Now, hope your Worshipps will beleeve that they are Wiches, Villanous Rascalls, and deserve rather death then favour . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2464, 20th April, 1655). The shrine was at this period removed (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 31st March, 1655).

[1] The statement that Sarwa Rāz was akin to Venkaṭa is curious, as the Rāzus claim to be Kshātriyas, though they follow Brahman customs. It seems likely that Duga, who was associated with the Brahmans, was also a Rāzu, so that he may well have given his name to Armagon, where the brothers did business.

[2] The measuring dues will often be mentioned in the sequel.

[3] The earliest mention of this functionary.

[4] The village of Comerpetta, or Peddanaikpetta, west of the town. Elsewhere it is called 'the Village without the Towne.'

[5] The exchange per pagoda ranged from 32 to 35 fanams.

[6] This was apparently the cost of building the Choultry.

[7] Arrack Distillers.

	Pa. fa. c.
The Bramines, haveing turned the Taliars out of Towne, raised on the Townes People, by each Cast so much, to the amount of 427 pags., out of which hee paid unto his peons 250 pags. - - - - - - - - -	177 - „ - „
Towards the Building a Mudd wall about the Towne there was seized from severall people 1345½ pags.; and Mr. Ivie appointed Sesadra to sett a man to take Accompt of the Charges;[1] but after 7 or 8 daies the Bramines turned the man away, and expended about 745½ pagodas. The other they kept - - -	600 - „ - „
Taliar Peddy Nague - - - - - - - -	707 - „ - „
Gameing Rentes - - - - - - - -	100 - „ - „
Selling Stolen People - - - - - - - -	200 - „ - „

* * * * * *

The sums entered in the money column form part of the total which the Brahman brothers were accused of embezzling. At an enquiry held after Baker's departure, the Council decided that the Painters had proved their case.

The papers quoted above contain other interesting allusions which cannot be followed up for want of space. For example, when Mīr Jumlah was irritated with Venkaṭa, the latter 'made his braggs that hee looked for Verawassanta Rayle, and within 2 Months the Nabob must run away.' The practice during disputes of throwing down a gage is mentioned more than once. In a difference between Kānappa and a Beri Cheṭṭi about a document, 'the Braminy Connapa laid downe his shash[2] before the Agent, Etc., for 1200 pagodas and 12 heads that there was noe such paper.' The challenge was an invitation to wordy warfare, not to mortal combat. If the other disputant picked up the turban, he was bound to prove his case, or, in default, pay the sum wagered.

The Town Conicoply.

The references in the foregoing pages to Rāga Paṭṭan, the Town Conicoply, make it convenient to insert here extracts from records which, though of far later date, have a bearing on the earliest history of the settlement.

In the year 1770 a man named Periya Aiyan, who claimed

[1] This statement shows that an earthen rampart round the town was begun, if not completed, in Ivie's time.

[2] *Shash*, turban, from Ar. *shāsh*, muslin, turban-cloth.

descent from the first Town Conicoply of Madras, petitioned the Government of Mr. Du Pré for arrears of fees due to his family for a very long period. To Sir Thomas Rumbold he preferred a similar application in 1779. Investigations ensued, the result of which was reported to the Court of Directors. In 1788 Periya Aiyan himself appealed to the Court through the Government of Sir Archibald Campbell, forwarding copies of the original grants in his possession. These grants are of considerable interest, and some of them are transcribed below:—

'To the Honble the Court of Directors.

'The humble Petition of Parea Iyah, Town Conicoply.

(*P.C.*, vol. cl., 23rd July, 1788.)

'That long before the English could have arrived to the East Indies, the Portuguese had a Settlement at St. Thome. Your Petitioner's great Grand Father[1] named Ragava Butten was admitted by the Portuguese as their Manager, and continued in their Service for several Years. That in 1640, when the English first made their appearance in this part, they were at a loss where to settle themselves, and of whom to obtain permission; on which occasion your Petitioner's great Grand Father willingly made the offer, and after consulting the means proper for obtaining permission to settle themselves in the East Indies and have a Factory Built, your Petitioner's said Great Grand Father went to the Northward of Madras with the Prince then in Power and under whose Dominion all the Sea Port parts were, and after a great deal of trouble, obtained the Prince's Permission for the English to build a Factory at Armogal,[2] where the English first established themselves. That soon after, through misunderstanding and animosity, the Prince Ordered the Factory to be destroyed, and would have at the same time exempted and for ever debarred the English having a Factory in this part, had it not been for your Petitioner's Great Grand Father, who, with much labour, got the Prince's Permission for the English to establish themselves and have their Factory built at Madras; and which was accordingly done, and the very Foundation of which said Factory was laid by your Petitioner's said Great Grand Father, as is still spoken of by the Oldest Persons inhabiting this Peninsula.

'That in Consideration of the great Pains and trouble your Petitioner's said Great Grand Father had been at in mitigating the rancor of the Prince to the English Nation, and the great harmony your Petitioner's said Great Grand father had established between the Prince and the English, and the great Advantage the Prince, as well as the English, had in their Trade and Commerce when they came to know how valuable each to the other were, they have of their own Accord, as a Reward for your Petitioner's Great Grand Father's pain and trouble, settled upon him the Fee or Tax of 10 Cash in the Pagoda, and granted a Cowle to that effect signed by the then Agents of the East India

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[1] Periya Aiyan was really fourth, not third, in descent from Rāga Paṭṭan.

[2] Periya Aiyan is in error. The settlement at Armagon was formed in 1626.

Company, as well as by the said Prince, copy of which your Petitioner doubts not will be laid before your Honor, the Original having been repeatedly shewn to your Governor and Council. . . .

'N.B. Apprehending that the Documents already sent your Honor by Governor Rumbold and others may be mislaid, your Petitioner has taken the Pains of Compiling and puting them together in One Book for your Honor's inspection—

'No. 1. *Translation of a Cowle* granted by Damarla Heapah [1] Naig to Ragava Butten, dated the 3d November 1638.

'Damarla Hiapah Naig gave a Cowle to Ragava butten, Poondamully being under my Command. Then I spoke to you I would have a Sea port Town under it, for what he promised me to go to Durgarasspatnam,[2] and thereto discourse the Chief for the English Company, and to bring him to me that I may agree with him for the building a City. After which is built and Peopled, then Hiapah Naig shall let the Governor have the Government of it, and you shall have the Conicoply's place; and he discourse with the Governor concerning the Customs, and those that We should Agree upon you shall Enjoy, and what is due to your place of Conicoply you and your Children's [children] shall happily enjoy as long as the Sun and Moon Shineth.

'Signed, STREERAMA.[3]

'Translated, Nic. Randall, *May the 29th*, 1693.

'Registered, Charles Bromley, Not. Pub., Fort St. George, *24th Janry* 1784.'

'No. 2. *A Cowle*[4] Granted by Messrs. Andrew Cogan and Francis Day, the Agents of the Honble English East India Company, to Ragava Butten as Town Conicoply, dated 25th June, 1640.

'Whereas Iyapah Naigue, some months past, made promise to Ragava butten that if he could prevail upon the English to leave Armogum, come and inhabit at Madraspatnam, that he the said Ragava butten should have the brokers place of the town which should be built upon the Coming of the said English, but of the Town the English should appoint Hyouno;[5] The said Ragava butten this day putting the above said Naigue in mind of his promise, which was under his Hand in an Olia[6] or Cadjan, the said Naigue made his request to us that We would confirm his promise, which being so reasonable could not deny. To that end have given this our Writing, which doth allow of the said Ragava butten for Broker, and to receive all such dutys as are due to a Man

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[1] *Damarla Heapah Naig*, Aiyappa Nāyak, of Poonamallee, brother of Dāmarla Venkaṭappa.

[2] *Durgarasspatnam*, Dugarāzpatnam, a name for Armagon.

[3] The identity of Streerama is not apparent. He may have been some functionary who signed the document which was handed to Rāgava Paṭṭan. The copy of Rajah Srī Ranga's Cowle of 1645 seems to have been signed by the same person.

[4] Copies of this Cowle are found in *P.C.*, vol. cxxi., 29th May, 1779, and *P.C.*, vol. cxlix., 24th June, 1788, and there is a third (of 1779) at the India Office. All are obscure, but the three copies have been collated for the transcript in the text.

[5] *Hyouno*, perhaps the proper name Aiyaṇṇa. The copies of the Cowle are carelessly made, and the wording is obscure in this and other places.

[6] *Olia*, *ola*, a letter; from Tam. *olai*, a palm-leaf, a strip of palmyra prepared for writing on with a style.

so qualified. In Witness whereof We, the Agent and Council for the Honble English East India Company on the Coast of Cormandell, have formed [? firmed] this Writing the 25th June 1640.

'ANDREW COGAN.
'FRANCIS DAY.

'True Copy attested per Ch. Proby.

'Registered in my Office, Fort. St. George, 6 March 1778, John Sykes, Not. Pub.'

'No. 3. *Translation of a Gentoo Cowle* Granted by Mr. Thomas Ivie to Ragava Butten, dated the 6th January 1647.

'You are to adhere the Cowle given by Governor Moor,[1] and follow the Advice given you by Sashadry Naidoo[2] as being the most eligible. You are to rely on his Assurances equally as if they were my own, and it will be best to return Speedily.[3] You are to depend thereon and come back.

'(Signed) THOMAS IVIE.

'A true Translation from the Original Gentoo per John Quigley.'

'No. 4. *Translation of a Gentoo Cowle* Granted by Mr. Greenhill, Agent of the Honble English East India Company, to Ragava Butten, Town Conicoply of Madrespatam, dated 15th May 1649.

'Whereas you went away in the time of Governor Moor and Mr. Ivie owing to an intestine difference in your family, and for want of a sufficiency for your Subsistence ; whereupon he was so kind as to send you a Cowle (given by Mr. Ivie) ; but as you declined returning from a mistrust of the said Cowle, and he being in the meantime returned to Europe, I have succeeded to his room ; and as you have written to me several times on the subject of your Affairs, and finding no Cause of blame in you, do give you this Cowle. You are therefore to rely on my Cowle, and without being difficient [? diffident] of any thing, to return to your Place and enjoy whatever may be your Privileges, even for the time past, to subsist thereon and live in tranquility. You may depend entirely on my Assurances : return back and live in future [in this] place, you and your Heirs for ever. You are to rely absolutely herein.

'(Signed) HENRY GREENHILL.

'A true Translation from the Original Gentoo, John Quigley.'

'No. 5. *A Cowle* Granted by Messrs. William Jearsey and John Ainlader on Account of the Honble East India Company to Ambum Butten, brother of Ragava Butten,[4] Town Conicoply, dated 9th Janry, 1665.

'We the subscribed Servants to the Honble Company do Promise to make good unto Ambum Butten what Sum or Sums he shall [have] found to be really dissembursed for the use of our Honble Employers in the Prosecution for the Recovering their Fort and Town of Saint George and Madras, the

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1 *Governor Moor:* there was no Agent of this name. The term Governor Môr, or Captain Môr, meaning Captain-General, was borrowed from the Portuguese of San Thomé, and was often applied by natives to the Agent of Fort St. George.

2 *Seshadry Naidoo,* 'Sesadra Nague who was the Companys Merchant ever since they built the Fort' (*O.C.*, No. 2467, *cir.* April, 1655).

3 Rāga Paṭṭan had left Madras in dudgeon.

4 Ambum, or Amanna Butten is elsewhere said to have been the second son of Rāgava Paṭṭan.

Releasing of the Persons of the Worshipfull Agent Foxcroft with his Son, and Mr. Jermy Sambroke, and the restoring them to their pristine Liberty, with the securing of the Persons of Sir Edward Winter, Chuseman, Timothy,[1] Verona and their Accomplices into the Company's Power. We say that what shall be really disbursed by the said Ambum Butten for the above said business Do promise to see or cause to be paid to Ambum Butten or his Assigns, in true performance whereof We set our Hands.

'WM. JEARSEY.
'JOHN AENLADER.

'Masulipatam, the 9th Janry 1665.

'Registered, Charles Bromley, Not. Publick, Fort St. George, 24th Janry 1784.'

Periya Aiyan's claim was not finally disposed of until 1790.

[1] *Timothy*, obviously an error for Timmaṇṇa, whose name was often written 'Tym$^{o.}$' for Tymona.

CHAPTER XI

1655—1659

GREENHILL'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—REDUCTION OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO AN AGENCY—PERILS IN THE SEA

GREENHILL'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

ON the 20th January, 1655, Aaron Baker sailed for England in the ship *Katherine*, relinquishing the government to Greenhill. After his retirement he married Anne Cobham, and built a mansion at Bowhay, Exminster, which endured until 1838, when it was destroyed by fire. No portrait of Baker is extant. He survived his two sons, Thomas and Aaron, and died in 1683 at the age of seventy-three. He was buried at the parish church of Dunchideock, near Exeter, and the bulk of his property passed to a nephew, the Rev. Aaron Baker, of Alphington.[1]

On his departure from Madras, the ex-President, whose last thought was for the Brahman brothers, left the following memorandum for the information of the Council:—

'*Briefe Remembrance left by Aaron Baker.*

'I know your long Experience of the Companys affaires on the Coast needeth noe direction from mee how you shall Governe their busines in theis partes after my departure, Nor doe I leeve theis lynes with you purposely to direct you in that point. I rather Commend this to you to putt you in minde of some pettie particulers with which theis may perchance, in the midst of your other thoughts, bee forgotten promiscuously. . . .

'Sirs, a little before my comeing from Bantam, the King of Macassar wrote mee a letter, requesting mee, if any Portugall to whome hee had consigned some moneys to provide him necessaries from this Coast, should bring mee any thing for his use and Account, I would receive it of him, and remitt it to him upon our next shippe to Macassar. After my comeing hither, Senhor Joan Perera de Faria, an Inhabitant of Nagapatam,[2] sent mee 7 Bales of Goods,

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[1] Communicated by Mr. H. R. Popham Baker through Mr. William Foster.

[2] This merchant afterwards became a resident of Madras. The site of his garden in Peddanaikpetta is still known as 'John Pereiras.'

leathered over, for the aforesaid King's Accompt, . . . but since that time the said Faria hath fetched away 4 of the aforesaid Bales againe, by order (as he writes) of that King. The other 3 Bales are in the Companys Warehouse. . . . Please to consigne to the Agent in Bantam. . . .

'I doe now leave in your joint Custodie, as the Companys Prisoners till they have satisfied their Debts which they owe to the Company and William Gurneys Accompt deceased, the two Braminees Vincatee and Connapa. And I doe here require you all, as you will one day answare it in the presence of Almighty God, that to satisfie any mans particuler hatred or malice which hee beares them, you straine not your Consciences by using violence, and soe make Justice a stalking Horse to worke your owne revenge upon them. Remember that God is Just, and that he tells you vengeance is his. . . . And I pray God to blesse and prosper the Companys affaires on this Coast under your Direction.' (*O.C.*, No. 2446, 20th Jan., 1655.)

By the ship which carried Baker home, Greenhill sent a long letter to the Company, explaining that, to avoid delay in Baker's departure, he had nominally yielded in the contest with the President. He justified his own conduct, vilified Baker's, and continued the campaign in a subsequent communication in April.[1] In the second letter Greenhill mentions that 'my lodgings were without the Fort, built at my owne Charge against his [the President's] comming, there being noe accomodation for mee within, haveing surrendred them up unto him that came to Comand here.'

In March, 1655, Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter, John Leigh, and Thomas Chamber were all in Madras, taking part in the consultations, when it was resolved that Johnson should make a voyage in the *Expedition* to Bantam and back,[2] that Thomas Chamber should become Accountant and Paymaster at Fort St. George, and that Lieutenant Richard Minors might be permitted to resign:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Richard Minors, who Commanded the souldiers heer before Captain Martins arrival, haveing bine ever since out of Office or Imployment, and these two last yeares not mentioned in the List of names for England, yet his wages still continued by President Baker, which though but 15s. per mensem yet a needless charge to the Company, especially when such men desire to be dismist their service rather then remaine at soe small wages, haveing served in he country almost 6 yeares; wee Concluded to grant his request, as well for

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1 *O.C.*, No. 2445, 20th Jan., and *O.C.*, No. 2466, 21st April, 1655.

2 He was accompanied by William Tayler, John Field, and Anthony Baker.

the aforesaid reasons as that also he is a Married man, and to pay him the arrears of his wages. . . .'[1] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 31st March, 1665.)

Greenhill's attention was early claimed by the cases of two Madras residents, Thomas Paine and Elizabeth Bland, which throw a sidelight on the conditions of life in the town. Against Paine, the steward, charges of peculation had been preferred, which were attested by William Tayler:—

Declaration against Thomas Paine.

'Severall of the Companys servants, Etc., doe declare against Thomas Payne, Steward of Fort St. George, That by Computation not so little as sixty gallons of Arracke by him the said Thomas Paine sent to Ann Newbegins house at severall tymes in a 2 gallon bottle in the tyme of Padre Thompsons[2] being at Metchlepatam. In which tyme, or a little before, one great timber, as was brought from the Bonito, of or about 16 or 18 foote long, Carried forth by the Coolies of the Forte, accompanied with Ann Newbegins brother the Souldier. . . .[3]

'March 31, 1654, Thomas Payne, or the man in the moone, heaved a brick, about 10 at night, which very little missed of hitting Mr. John Leigh in the head as he was setting with William Tayler neare William Coalthursts[4] Chamber.

'June 12, Three timbers, a planck, and a doore by the Moosoola men carried to Ann Newbegins house in the time of the President with the Agent and Mr. Yardleye being at breakfast with John Pereroe. . . .[5]

'January 10, A Martavan[6] Carried to the Stewards house by the Masoola men upon the goeing forth of the President and Agent with the Dutch at the Agents house. . . . As also formerly whole bricks Carried forth in Gunny baggs, when the President and Agent were a fishing from eight in the morn untill their returne at 12, followed by thirteen Coolyes, which were immediately disposed of in raising the wall next to Richard Emersons.[7] That he hath severall times enforced basketts of Chenam, as were bringing in for the use of the Forte, to be Carried to his owne house in the tyme of his building a house and Tower. . . . And as for the great quantity of Paddy which he hath

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[1] Minors appears to have gone to Surat in 1658. In 1662 he was in command of H.M.S. *Leopard*. The President and Council of Surat agreed with Admiral the Earl of Marlborough, whose fleet had been operating at Bombay, to utilize the ships of the squadron in carrying cargo to England. 'Our Respected Good ffreind Richard Minors' was accordingly ordered to take the *Leopard* to Porcat, a new factory near Calicut, and fill up with merchandise (*O.C.*, No. 2960, 6th Dec., 1662).

[2] The Rev. Joseph Thomson was Chaplain on the Coast—first at Masulipatam, and afterwards at Fort St. George—from 1653 to 1658 (*The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny).

[3] William Newbegin.

[4] Coalthurst was a writer of six years' service (*O.C.*, No. 2510, 1st Dec., 1655).

[5] João Pereira de Faria, Portuguese merchant.

[6] *Martavan*, a large jar used for storing sugar, salt, etc.

[7] Emerson was a corporal of the garrison.

Comanded from the Choutry men towards the maintenance of his Slaves and hoggs, is best knowen to the Officers there.

'That the Imperious Carriage of the said Steward in his Masters[1] tyme, by whose incouragement he did usually slight persons of quallity, and affront, villifie, threaten and disgrace others his Superiors and equalls; but likewise as being well assured he might act anything, though never soe unjust or unequall, by reason of his Supporter aforesaid, insoemuch that, for his owne private benefitt, he did very often furnish the Companyes Table with such provisions, for quantity and quallity, as was neither sufficient nor wholesome for mans body, in soemuch that some of the Companys Servants have bine inforced, after they have risen from the Table, to buy themselves bread for supply to such Defects.

'And since his Masters departure, he, the said Steward, hath presumed, in the Worshipfull Agents absence to the Mount, to neglect takeing Care for such as were left behinde; in soemuch that Mr. John Leigh, one of the Councell, was faine to give order to Richard Emerson that provizions must bee made ready at his howse in the Towne for releefe of himselfe and others in the Forte, to the great dishonour of our honble Employers, And Contrary to the Strict Command of the Worshipfull Agent. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 3rd April, 1655.)

While these charges were being investigated, a Company's servant named Bland, who had lately returned from Pegu, made serious accusations against his wife and Greenhill. The Agent withdrawing, the Council dealt with the matter as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee whose names are underwritten haveing heard severall debates touching a petition delivered in by Mr. Thomas Bland, wherein he taxeth his wife of severall heynous Crimes, and of her making away a Child, which we find by her speeches she was gone with 5 monthes; and calling her before us to answer to these Crimes, she taxeth Henry Greenhill to be accessary to this wicked deed. But comparing many Circumstances in these examinations together, we finde some of them to be Contradictorie one to another; and in Conclusion doe discover an absolute Combination between her and her husband, with others, to ruine the Agent by theire falce assertions preceeding, by the Agents withholding his hand from letting her have money, and by his demaunding a sume of money of about eighty Ryalls which her said husband Mr. Bland oweth him the said Agent, as also being designed to goe upon Ship Expedition to Bantam gainst his likeing; those said particulers wee say have caused this Mr. Bland and his wife thus to Combine together whereby to defraude the Agent of his due, and to goe into another Jurisdiction, and not to performe the appointed voiage. It is thought fitt by us of Consultation to publish this Decree, that they be separated one from the other, and his restrainte to bee in the Forte, and hers to bee in a house in the Towne, with the Talliars to guard her till a more oppertune tyme be found for further tryall of the matter. JOHN LEIGH, THOMAS CHAMBER, MARTIN BRADGATE.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 7th May, 1655.)

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[1] *His Master*, Aaron Baker.

Paine, who had been active in calumniating the Agent in connexion with the Bland affair, was dismissed the service :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That whereas Wee of Counsell whose names are underwritten, haveing examined severall particulers touching Mr. Thomas Payne, wherein he hath most scandalously abused the Agent Henry Greenhill; And finding him to bee guilty, have passed this Censure upon said Thomas Payne, that he be dismissed the Companyes Service, and sent home per the first ship; and that before the Congregation he Confesse his fault publickely, and humbly aske pardon of the Agent the next Sabboth day. And for the future, if he shall againe defame the Agent in such Revileing tearmes, he is to bee counted a man refractory to all Authority, And then to endure imprisonment during the Agents pleasure. JOHN LEIGH, THOMAS CHAMBER, MARTIN BRADGATE, WILLIAM JOHNSON.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 8th May, 1655.)

A week later, Paine and his associate, Thomas Morris, joined Bland as prisoners in the Fort, whence they opened a private correspondence with William Johnson and Anthony Baker, who had started on their voyage to Masulipatam and Bantam. One letter is here inserted as a specimen :—

Thomas Paine to William Johnson.

'Loveing good Freind Mr. William Johnson, Kinde Sallutes to your selfe, Etc. freinds there with you. . . . I and honest Thomas Morris am drinking your and honest Anthony Bakers good health, which we have done once a day ever since your departure, and will, God send health, for the future as long as 3 Butt of Arracke last, I and wee will drincke downe, downe, deepe out till the world is at an end in Madraspatam.

'The last Sunday, I was Commanded before the Congregation to acknowledg before them all that I have abused the Agent and raised many falce scandalls on him, and soe bagg him pardon and forgiveness before them all. But, God be praised, I had more witt then to undoe and destroy my selfe, But made a speech and said, "Gentlemen, Souldiers, if there be any amongst you that Cann lay to my charge that I have abused the Agent any waies but what I have reported from Elizabeth Johnsons[1] owne mouth, I should be sorry for it and beg him forgiveness." But Mr. Chamber and Jack in the box[2] made answer that this speech was to noe Effect, except first I say I have abused the Agent, and then aske him forgiveness; soe that I denying the Counsell, and what Feild[3] and Sutton[4] brought against me, it would have gone hard with me, and my word and oath would never have stood neither here nor in England. But they shall not, by Gods helpe, Catch me soe; but it is not that, nor much more, shall make me dismaid, God giveing you, my good freind, life and health.

[1] Johnson appears to have been Mrs. Bland's maiden name.

[2] *Jack in the box*, the Rev. Joseph Thomson.

[3] John Field, late boatswain of the *Bonito*.

[4] Timothy Sutton, a soldier of the garrison, who subsequently became commandant.

'Honnest Thomas Morris, Mr. Bland and my selfe will and doe stick fast soe long as God give life and health in our bodies, being soe just a Cause as we dare doe noe other. . . . '

'My wife presents her Service to you, and doth pray to God for your Safe arrivall to Bantam and back againe, and withall for her Sake desire you to love her dogg, fleming by name, and not forgett the . . . China small Cups, Etc., which will please a woman, that Bantam affordeth. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 15th May, 1655.)

The whole batch of letters ultimately fell into the hands of the Fort St. George Council. In December, when the Government were temporarily at Masulipatam, the case of Paine and Morris was disposed of:—

Consultation at Masulipatam.

'After haveing read all the letters, transcripts and other papers Concerning how grossly the President hath bine Callumniated by Thomas Paine and Thomas Morris, and proceding to a Censure of punishment to bee inflicted on them for theire Offences, it was Generally voted by those of Councell That Thomas Paine should suffer fifteene lashes upon the bare backe on board ship 3 Brothers at the President and Councells first goeing on board, and at the Presidents, Etc., first arrivall at Madraspatam to receive before the ffort Gate one morning one and twenty Lashes, and then to Confess his faults and begg pardon of the President, or to bee proceeded against as shall bee further agreed on by Consultation.

'And for Thomas Morris, for the foresaid Crime, and forging Thomas Blands hand and Thomas Paines hand to his letters, threscore Lashes on the bare back at three severall tymes, vizt. Twenty Lashes in Metchlepatam Yard, and twenty lashes on board Ship 3 Brothers, and twenty lashes before the Forte Gate, and afterward to sayle on board on the Companys shipp as a foremast man; or if hee denyes the Companys service, to have his Liberty, provided hee Comes not to any of the places where the Company have any of their Factories.' (*O.C.*, No. 2510, 1st Dec., 1655.)

At an earlier date Mrs. Bland had confessed that her charge against Greenhill was devoid of foundation:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This day, in the morning, Elizabeth Bland sent a Couple of Taliars to desire leave of the Agent and Councell to Come before them, for she had something to say that they had not heard yet; and knowing not what it might be, she was permitted to Come. And at her first entrance she fell downe crying at the Agents, Etc., feet, and begged pardon for all she had formerly asperced the Agent withall, Confessing all to be falce that she had formerly said, being induced thereto when the Agent withheld his hand from giveing her money, thinking to have made a proffitt by her Scandalls from the Agent. And at the first broaching, she sayde Mr. Thompson was sent for, to whom she was to

speake, and Mr. Johnson and Mr. Morris was in a Roome by, to heare what was said. Being asked whence she had her maintenance in tyme of her Imprisonment, she sayde sometyme from her [relative] Thomas Gee and sister Ann Payne, and that formerly her husband sent her some money, as he himselfe hath likewise Confessed . . . HENRY GREENHILL, JOHN LEIGH, THOMAS CHAMBER, MARTIN BRADGATE.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., *cir.* Aug., 1655.)

REDUCTION OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO AN AGENCY.

The Company, having resolved to contract their operations, issued instructions for the closure of their smaller factories. They sent out William Curtis and John Chambers on the ship *Three Brothers* to superintend the execution of these orders, and determine the minimum establishment to be retained. The Commissioners, who appear to have been seafaring men, reached Madraspatam on the 17th September, 1655. Having 'landed our tresury and Qained it into Pagodas . . . wee sayled from the ffort to Metchelepatam, and carryed the President, Mr. Chamber and Mr. Bradgate with us, leaving the Charge of the ffort in the hands of Mr. Thompson, Minister.'[1] Picking up Christopher Yardley, Leigh, and Symons at Masulipatam, they proceeded to Verasheroone, where Edward Winter was in charge:—

Consultation at Verasheroone.

'In the next place, it was with a generall Consultation concluded that the Worshipfull Henry Greenhill should bee intreated to stay in the place of President at ffort St. George, being a necessitie to make this earnest request to him considering the present differences wee have with the Nabob about the Companies privilidges in Maddraspatam. . . . Upon their intreatyes, President Greenhill was pleased to condiscend to stay in ditto place some small time longer till the Companys affaires may better dispence with his service.

'Upon question made of the nomber of Souldiers requisite to guard the Companys Fort at Maddraspatam, it was Generally voted that noe lesse then 25 Officers and souldiers must bee kept in pay for the said service . . . and yett there wilbee but halfe Guard. . . .

'Touching what ffactors are appointed to reside at ffort St. George, Thomas Chamber was pitcht upon to keepe the generall Accompts in that Presidencie, and Martin Bradgate to bee an assistant in Councell. . . . HENRY GREENHILL, CHRISTOPHER YARDLEY, EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM CURTIS, JOHN LEIGH, THOMAS CHAMBER, MARTIN BRADGATE, JOHN CHAMBERS.' (*O.C.*, No. 2502, 16th Oct., 1655.)

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 2515, 27th Dec., 1655. This was the first occasion, but not the last, on which Fort St. George was controlled by a Chaplain.

Returning to Madraspatam *en route* for Bantam, the Commissioners wrote as follows:—

William Curtis and John Chambers to the Company.

'ffor Fort St. George, the Nabob hath and doth still lissen to thes Governors to infring on our liberties in those parts, for they will not let the fforts padde and other necessares come through thayer Goverments as formerly without custom; for in the Uplandes padde is at 48 measures the small fanam,[1] and wee are compeld to by att 30 and 32 per fanam. Likewise hee hath thretned to take our ffort from us, the which wee conceive would have bin esily don had Mr. Baker stayed, for it was his wisdome, unknowne to any man, to desire a Governor or a desider of causes from the Nabob for a place that had bin Governed by the English ever since the ffort was bilt. And when the Nabob had sent one, the president that now is would not lett him com into the towne, hee not knowing of any shuch thing till Mr. Baker would have him goe to meet the Governor that was sent. Att present, the King of Golconda and the Nabob are at Varience, and we never can tell who will have the preheminenc. For these and divers other reasons, we made choise of Mr. Henry Grinhill, Mr. Thomas Chamber and Mr. William Dawes to reside in the ffort, and have allowed 25 Souldiers and a Chirurgion, being as little as can bee thought of. . . . It is agreed that the president, Mr. Chamber, and Mr. William Dawes, and the Minister as long as hee will stay at ffort, shall bee allowed 60 new pagodas to defray all charges, the Charge of Garizon excepted. . . .

'Mr. Thomas Chamber hath bin soe far from helpeing us that hee hath altogether hindred us; for being a moneyed man, hee hath ingrossed as much Cloth for him selfe at Metchlepatam as in that place wee have bought for your Worships; and, under a pretence of makeing up his bookes, hee stayed behind to sell it. . . . WILLIAM CURTIS, JOHN CHAMBERS.' (*O.C.*, No. 2515, 27th Dec., 1655.)

Fort St. George was, under the new scheme, reduced to an Agency subordinate to Surat. The withdrawal of the factors from Pegu and Bengal, and the dismissal of superfluous servants, was productive of some hardship:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Now for what you are pleased to enorder concerning the Coast Residencies, and their reduction to the two places Fort St. George and Metchlepatam, and the r ffactors to 3 persons, Vizt. 2 at the first and one at the latter, discharging all the rest from your service, and turning them loose to get home as well as they can, or live upon their owne Accompt in these parts, which Conditions seeme very hard unto many; for though your wiser and better disposed servants submitt thereto with patience, yet all are not of temper; with some of whome wee had noe small trouble. . . . HENRY GREENHILL, THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2537, 4th [Feb.] $165\frac{5}{6}$.)

[1] The small fanam of Madras, of which about 36 went to the new pagoda. The large fanam of Masulipatam was one-tenth of the old pagoda.

Edward Winter was placed in charge of Masulipatam. William Jearsey and Robert Cooper were summoned from Pegu, where Francis Yardley remained to look after the Company's buildings and their dock at Sirian. Paul Waldegrave was left in Bengal.

Perils in the Sea.

John Leigh, concerning whom so much has been recorded in earlier pages, lost his life by drowning in 1656. The ship, *Mayflower*, from England, reached Fort St. George in June of that year with money for investment at Madras, Masulipatam and the Bay. The Bengal factors having been withdrawn, Leigh was deputed to accompany the ship on her voyage northward. On the 24th July, the *Mayflower* and two other vessels being ready to sail from Masulipatam, the commanders, accompanied by most of the English residents, embarked in a large decked boat for the roadstead. The craft capsized on the bar, and all on deck were thrown into the sea. Those who were below found themselves imprisoned in a vessel floating bottom upwards. The accident occurred so suddenly that, incredible as it may seem, the air within did not entirely escape. The boat, in fact, behaved somewhat as a diving-bell, and the lives of those confined in her were preserved for two hours until she grounded, when the occupants contrived to make their escape :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Mayflower whose Master Captain Whyte having received his Dispatch from Metchlepatam, and goeing off in a Country boate with the prementioned Merchants and diverse other friends, shee grounded on the Barre and was oversett in very shoale water ; yet the freshes were so strong that they could not support themselves, but were vyolently carried into deepe water, wherein perished Mr. John Leigh, Mr. Henry Watkins and Mr. Martin Bradgate, Notwithstanding the assistance of their servants, of whome some were drown'd with them. . . . The rest, by Gods mercy, got all safe ashoare, though with much difficulty, some having bin as it were buried under the overwhelmed Boate above an howres space, and at last were redeemed out of the Jawes of death by an extraordinary providence, the particuler Circumstances whereof would take up toomuch tyme and paper to relate ; therefore leave it to those who are eternally obliged to render thanks for so Miraculous a Deliverance ; yet may wee not omitt to acknowledge even with admiration that infinite goodnes which in the midst of affliction dispenseth mercy unto his people. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2579, 10th Nov., 1656.)

Among the persons thus strangely preserved was Hugh Squier, who wrote an account of his experiences to a friend in London, named Abraham Hill. His letter, which is extant, forms part of a collection in the possession of Commander Peter Hill, R.N.[1]:—

Hugh Squier to Abraham Hill.

'I know not how farr I may depend upon Favour, although in conscience we do deserve some incouragements in respect of our many hazards and hardships, one particular whereof I shall tell you, and 'tis the strangest that ever you heard out of a Romans; which I shall tell you that you may Joyne with me in praysing the Lord for prolonging my dayes in the land of the living.

'On Thursday the 24th of July (a day hence forth to be kept holy), Captain White of the mayflower, Captain Lucas of the Society, and Captain Loe of the Virgine, had taken their leave of the shoare and were going aboard their shipps with all their retinue, and not without the Company of neare all the English marchants on this place, intending to solemnize that day in valedictory ceremonies, and then to set saile; and to this purpose we had provided a Comon Country boate of about 30 tons to go off in. So, about 9 a clock in a faire morning, we weare all imbarked, being in number about 30 English men with 20 Blacks. The Englishmen lay most aloft upon the poop; only Captain Browne, Captain Lucas, and my self and Edward King lay just under them in the hould. And whyles we weare thare serious, and the rest aloft very merry in discourse, going over the Barre the boate struck aground, and by meanes of her over greate maynsaile, suddenly oversett, and turned her keell upward. Herewith as many as weare aloft fell over board. We that weare in hould endeavoured to gett out and comitt ourselves to the mercy of the sea, but could not, so suddenly the boate overturned as a man can reckon to the number of 15. Suddenly we found our selves tumbled togeather in the water among chests, cases of liquours, and other such lumber, with a score of sheep that weare carrying aboard; and as within a dish swimming with the bottome upwards, soe weare we all within the boate, and had the Boates keell in the Zenith: it was thare as darke as in the Earth's centre.

'But that aire which was surprised within the concavous inside of the Boates hould, wherein we weare at her sudden over turning, prooved sufficient for us (close prisoners) to breath in; and so we 4 Christians and some 20 Gentues sate on the Thoughts[2] with our heads above water withinside the boate, although withoutside the boate the water ran over her. And in this condition we lived 2 hours, in the mean tyme praying heartily that myne and Friend's estate might fall into mercifull mens hands, and recomending my soul into my Saviour's mercy for salvac̄one, as for my bodies I had small hopes.

'Captain Lucas after telling me it was impossible to be preserved, and a folly to think it, I answered him that Besides the remembrance of miracu-

1 The following extract has been kindly communicated by Mr. R. H. E. Hill, who published it in *Good Words* in 1903 under the title of 'An Adventure in India in 1656.'

2 *Thoughts*, thwarts.

lous Jonah in the Whales Belly, in humane reason it was possible for us to continue alive a long tyme ; and if any of these men that weare tost overboard weare saved, They would use some meanes for us also, Unless they might give us over for dead (as in deed they did), the boate being a top of us, and water for the most part a top of the boate, so that but little of her appeared.

'So I advised Captain Lucas to throw off all his clothes that we might be ready to swimme if any opportunity should present: which hee did, and I also, though I had 30*l.* in gould besides a little maniscript booke of 7 yeares colleccions in my pockett. Therefore I went wading through the water, and groping about the inside of the boate in that most perfect of darknes untill I found an hollow beame, and thereto I tyed my breeching with a strong tape, saying to my fellows, This shall be found whatever becomes of me. All this whyle most hyddeous weare the outcryes of the distracted Gentues calling upon their pagods, etc.

'In fine, the boate running ashoare upon the sand, and whyles the water was as high as our necks, with our feet we digged a pitt in the sand neare the boates side, in doing whereof the current helped us ; and then sinking downe into the water and diveing, krept out under the side of the boate one by one. Then after we weare gott out from under the boate, we founde wee had a water of some 180 paces over, and middle deep to wade through, the current whereof ran so stiff that, in attempting to ford it, 16 of our company had there perished before us, yett the major part escaping. Captain Lucas and I held each other by the armes and (naked) waded through the current, suckering each other in perilous stipps ; for if either had but lost his footing and fallen downe, the violent torrent was so great we should neaver have rise more in this world.

'At last, being gott out of the water as naked as Adam, we had a mile and a halfe to run to the Towne, with the hott sand scalding under our feet, and the sun scorching over our heads, and caused all the skin of our bodies to peell off although we ran a pace ; and the first Christian we mett was a good dutch man whoe lent me his hatt and slippers.

'The tyme we continued under the boate was about 2 houres. The persons lost weare Mr. Leigh, a tall, ancient gentleman of 62 yeares, an old servant to the East India Company ; Besides mr. Martyn Bradgate, the 2d man in the Companys service at Metchlepatam ; also Mr. Watling[1] who went merchant of the mayflowre, and three others.' (*Hill Collection*, 24th Sept., 1656.)

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[1] *Mr. Watling*, Mr. Henry Watkins, who came out in the *Mayflower* as supercargo.

CHAPTER XII

1656—1659

DIFFERENCES WITH GOLCONDA—FORT ST. GEORGE ESTABLISHMENT—SOCIAL LIFE AT FORT ST. GEORGE

DIFFERENCES WITH GOLCONDA.

NAWAB MĪR JUMLAH, seeing the feebleness of the King of Golconda's administration, basely deserted his master, and threw in his lot with the Emperor. His absence from the Carnatic prompted the representatives of the house of Vijayanagar to rise in revolt. Fort St. George had long been annoyed by the pretensions and exactions of successive local governors appointed by Mīr Jumlah, and especially by the behaviour of Bāla Rau,[1] who now ruled at Poonamallee. Greenhill determined to retaliate, and he accordingly seized the Nawab's junk, a large country vessel of 500 tons,[2] while she was riding off San Thomé. He was disappointed in his expectation of finding treasure on board; and the seizure ultimately proved a source of infinite trouble. The junk was sent to Jafnapatam, then a Portuguese possession, to lie up during the monsoon :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee intended you Coppies of those advices by way of Surratt, which should have beene performed but that the passages were stopt by reason of Warrs, which the Nabob had drawne upon his Master, the King of Gulcondah, by induceing Prince Oranzeeb, one of Shaw Jehans sonnes, to Invade his Dominions with such Celerity that the Cittie of Gulcondah was surprized ; but the King, saveing himselfe in the Castle, made it good till a peace was concluded by an Intermarriage betweene the Princes sonne and the Kings Daughter, with a very large Dowry and promise of the Kingdome at his

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[1] Bāla Rau was preceded by Sayyid Ibrāhīm, who governed for a short period.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 2576, Fort St. George to Bantam, 5th Nov., 1656.

decease. This overture made ill for the Nabob, who came to Oranzeebs ayde with the best part of his forces, part whereof forsook him, and the rest, with himselfe and family, were carried away by ditto Oranzeeb, who sent him unto his Father the great Moghor or Shaw Jehan, . . . and the 8th July was Commanded before the great Moghor aforesaid, whome hee presented with many and Rich Jewells, &c., of great value, which were well received, and himselfe Tasherieft especially with a Tytle of honour called Diwan; soe that hees not like to returne to these partes. . . ; yet doe his ffactors Negotiate in Pallecatt, Metchlepatam, &c. places of Cuttubshawes Dominion, by vertue of the Moghors power. . . .

'In the beginning of our letter wee hinted unto you how the Nabob had left these partes and was gone to the Moghors Court; but not returning againe in many months, gave occasion to Gentues Riseing in severall places of this Kingdome, some part whereof is reduced to the King[1] and Nagues obedience, who hath sent forces into these quarters, and are now at the Seidge of Pallecatt and Punnamalee. What the Issue wilbee we know not, but tis certain the Nabobs party are very much disheartened and weake, the Vizadores, here called Talliarrs, not only falling from their late obedience, but togither betraying their Lords, as those about Santomay did by Balliraw, the Nabobs Governor of that place and Punnamalee; and after they had Pillaged him to his Cloathes and seized the Nabobs Elephants to the number of 20, besides 16 of other particular Moore Merchants, brought him and them to this Towne as prisoners, where they yet remaine, and soe are like till the Countrey bee better settled.

'At which wee have much more reason to rejoyce then Complaine, in respect of the intollerable Injuries and affronts offred us by the Nabobs Ministers in all places, but more especially by the said Balliraw, As in stopping our Goods, abuseing our Merchants, raiseing the Juncans or Customes round about, not suffering our people or selves to buy any Paddy or Rice in the Countrey, not soe much as to serve the Expence of our Fort and Kitchin, nor ought must bee sold here but what his people brings, and that at their owne rates, which is 50 per Cent or thereabouts more than what it might bee had for in 3 or 4 English miles of this place. To which end hee procured the Government of Punnamalee, surrounding and feeding us from hand to mouth, that if at any time wee should not conforme to his will, hee might force a Complyance.

'Of which and many other indignities wee Complained divers times to the Nabob, but could never have reddress. Whereupon, finding a Convenient oppertunity by the Gentues Riseing, and his Mocho Junck riding before Santomey, wee resolved to seize upon her. Weighing from thence and passing by the Road, was, by the Jonathans assistance, put in Execution, and brought to an Anchor before the Fort, hopeing to meete with store of the Nabobs treasure; but neither by searching the ship or Examining the Laskarrs and passengers can wee find any belonging to them. . . . HENRY GREENHILL, THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2579, 10th Nov., 1656.)

Nothing of value was discovered excepting some parcels of 'Rialls and Ducketts,' which were private property. These the Council held till the owners could be traced, 'or the Countrey

[1] *The King*, the Rajah of Vijayanagar.

settled in the Gentue Kings possession, which would not only secure us from future trouble, but much advance your Affaires in these parts, for some good service we have done in assisting Conar Cittee, his Generall for these quarters;[1] which busines, if the success bee sutable to the beginning, this place will bee better worth your governing then ever.'

Madras itself felt the effects of the struggle carried on between Vijayanagar and Golconda:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The warrs in these parts have been an Exceeding Hinderance to the progress of your busines in this place, and the more through the Treachery of Conarcitty, whome the Jentue King made his Generall in these parts about Punnomalee, which Castle might have been easily brought in subjection; but hee delayed the time untill the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him, whereupon hee basely fledd to this Towne with his Army. The Enemy, pursuing him at the Heeles, entred with them the 18th passed Month, burning some thatcht howses that were furthest of, and plundering others to the great Dammage of the Jentue Inhabitants, who for the most part immediatly left the Towne and their howses for a Prey. Which might have bin preserved by Conar Cittees Souldiers that were as numerious as the others, had they but stayed to make good the outworkes which were lately made defensible, and 4 pieces of Ordnance out of the Nabobs Junck planted thereon. But the amazed wretches came all aboute the ffort for shelter, and the Enemy retreated, having lost about 30 men in this broyle, about a mile of[f] on the further side of the River by the Toddy trees of Vippore.[2]

'With whome the next day wee began to treate, which continued a ffortnight; and at last it was agreed that wee should restore whatsoever we had of the Nabobs in our Custody, and on the other side wee to enjoy our Priviledges as formerly. Which, considering our present weaknes for want of Englishmen, though wee tooke a Compe[te]nt number of Mestizes and Blackes into pay, whome wee could not soe well confide in, thought best to submit unto and awayt a fitter opportunity of vindication. Notwithstanding, in this suddaine and unexpected hurly wee susteyned a double damage, whereof one was in monies lent Conarcittee, at the Kings request, upon Pawnes; . . . the other, all our Cloth at the washers was plundered. . . . And although the Army hereupon presently rose and disperst themselves, leaving us at liberty, yet have wee little trust in the promises on their part, who already begin to breake covenant; and wee are Confident, should they prevaile against the Gentue King, would put us to further trouble.

'Which makes us to retaine in pay such of the Townes people as are serviceable for Defence of the fort, seeing wee have but a dozen English that

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[1] Koneri Chetti, Madras merchant and associate of Seshādri Nāyak, is thus transformed into a soldier with high command.

[2] *Vippore*, Vepery, a village situated a mile and a half west of the Fort.

can beare Armes; and these freighted ships, especially the Mayflower, will not spare us in this necessity somuch as one man, or ought else conduceing to the preservation of this your ffort. . . . In the meane time cannot but remember your Worshipps of our sadd and weake condition in these troublesome times, when sometimes the one, sometimes the other party prove alternately victorious, and, betweene them both, drawe a miserable ruine on the Countrey. Nor are our Dutch Neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to Counterpoize the Nabobs party, and may happily gett the day at last if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his Conquest. Which is much to be doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brampore with a formidable Army; but tis supposed Vizapore will take him up by the way.

'As for Conarcittee, hee renderd himselfe up to the Moores as a Prisoner, but was received in State by the Comanders with more then Accustomed honour in such cases. Which, considered with his Alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa,[1] the Nabobs Generall, togither with other Circumstances and observations in his present Deport, and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the Generall suspicion of his betraying the Kings Army. As perchance hee would have done this ffort, under pretence of defending it against the Enemy, had wee let him in with 2 or 300 men as hee very Importunately desired, and threatned to kill all his women should wee deny it. But it pleased God to direct us better then to trust him with such a Power that wee might too soone have repented. . . . HENRY GREENHILL, THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2610, 28th Jan. 165$\frac{6}{7}$.)

It appears from this extract that, not only was the slender British garrison supplemented by Eurasian and native troops, but a militia was embodied to meet the emergency of the situation. That a Telugu merchant should command the Rajah's forces is singular enough, but that the Nawab should employ a general of that race when ample selection from Moslem warriors was open to him is even more surprising. The practice, however, was not uncommon, and we shall find that, during the siege of San Thomé, in 1673, Telugu officers held high command in the King of Golconda's army. Some further account of the fighting in Madras, contributed by Thomas Chamber, will be found on a subsequent page.

The terms of the settlement of December, 1656, were not long observed. Fresh trouble arose in the following year, and for seven months the Moslems maintained a strict blockade of Madras, varied with occasional fighting. In April, 1658, an important agreement was made, under which the English were to

[1] *Topa Kistnapa*, Tupāki Krishṇappa; François Martin calls him Tripachissenapanaigue.

be left in undisturbed control of the Fort and town on payment to the Nawab of an annual sum of Pags. 380, in lieu of half customs:—

Fort St. George to Bantam.

'And now we shall conclude with a short relation of our own troubles. After many disputes with the Nabob and his Ministers about our privileges, and other abuses, and some bickerings, with the sustaining near seven months siege, the enemy rose the 19th April last, frustrate in his main designs, and leaving us in better condition than formerly, which he promiseth to continue inviolably, and is (at least seemingly) become our great friend, having rendered up his interest in our town and customs for the rent of 380 pagodes per annum; which will be a great ease to us, especially for matter of further disputes and troubles. We hope, and they promise, not to begin new differences, having by their own confession sped so ill in this last, which hath been maintained and decided to the Company's and Nation's honour. HENRY GREENHILL, THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*Fac. Rec. Misc.*, vol. ix., 12th July, 1658.)

The hostile incursion of 1656 demonstrated the value of the Madras fortifications, and proved an incentive to their development. Allusion is made to the 'outworkes which were lately made defensible, and 4 pieces of Ordnance out of the Nabobs Junck planted thereon.' It may be conjectured that Baker's bastion by the sea had been supplemented by other works at the remaining angles of the European quarter. No official records are extant, but we learn from a letter[1] addressed by Governor-General Maetsuyker at Batavia to the Dutch East India Company that 'the English on the coast of Coromandel have thoroughly fortified the town of Madraspatam. They have raised a wall round the Castle. The Nabob has threatened to attack the town on the plea that the English have lent assistance to the King of the Carnatics in his war against the Mogul, and that they shew themselves in every other respect very hostile.' The wall round the Castle could not have been the curtain, for that was finished in 1653. It must have been a wall enclosing, or partly enclosing, the European quarter of the town. We know that at a later date the White Town possessed walls on its north, east, and south faces. It is reasonable to surmise that the north and south walls, built across the spit of sand occupied by Cogan and Day's fort, were constructed first. Their existence in 1657 would sufficiently answer the Dutch description.

The records yield no further information regarding the in-

[1] *Hague Rec.*, 17th Dec., 1657.

surrection of the Naiks.[1] Aurangzīb deposed his father, Shāh Jehān, in 1658, ascended the throne of the Moguls, and appointed Mīr Jumlah viceroy of Bengal. The Nawab's interest in the southern territories evaporated, and the King of Golconda resumed sway. Mīr Jumlah made an unsuccessful expedition against Assam, and shortly afterwards, in 1662, he expired at Dacca.

Fort St. George Establishment.

To Greenhill's disappointment the Company adopted Baker's version of the old trouble with the Brahmans, and decided that the brothers had been roughly treated. In January, 1657, the Agent once more repeated the story of their iniquities, justified his own conduct, and added that he would 'now forbeare to trouble your Worshipps with any further inlargement on this subject, but deferre it till his appearance before you in England, whither hee hopes ere long to follow, and, in Confidence of your equity and Justice, soe to vindicate himselfe from all such base aspersians that the shame and dishonour will deservedly light upon the malicious contrivers.' These hopes were not fulfilled. Greenhill was induced to prolong his stay in Madras, where, two years later, his death occurred. Meanwhile, Fort St. George remained in a depressed condition, and the Agent wrote home despondently :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The face of Warr and continued appearance of Hostility in these Countreys hath enforced us to increase our Garrison with Portugalls, Mestizoes and Blackes for our Defence and preservation of your Estates, being wee cannot procure an Englishman out of these freighted shipps to increase our small number of 10 Souldiers, a weake crew for such times, but not considered by others, whose turnes being served leave us to shift for ourselves, being more ready to Robb then relieve us, especially the Mayflower. . . .

'Tis now more then 4 yeares since wee received any Chirurgery meanes, nor doe wee expect any yet awhyle, for these ships will spare us none whatever should happen ; and being neglected by your Worshipps from whome wee might Justly expect releife and Comfort, and your people discouraged . . . ; but hope that time will one way or other releive us of this drooping condition. In the meanetime please to take notice that, upon the request of Edward Whyting, our Chirurgeon, wee have granted him lycense to repaire to his Native Countrey ;[2] for to what end should wee keepe him here upon charge, having

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[1] Except such as is furnished by Chamber's narrative, to be quoted later.

[2] Whyting was in India again in 1663, when he was ordered from Madras to Bengal as Surgeon of the Bay factories (*O.C.*, No. 2970, 26th Feb., 166$\frac{3}{4}$).

not wherewith to Imploy him. And when you please to thinke this Coast worthy of somuch Charge, 'twere fitt that men and meanes came together, not for this Cause alone, but for Merchandize and to supply your ffactories and ffort also, if God be pleased our weake strength shall soe long preserve it; for who would not, either friend or foe, in such times indeavour to bee Master of such a convenient and defencible place? . . . HENRY GREENHILL, THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2610, 28th Jan., 165$\frac{6}{7}$.)

'*List of mens names in Fort St. George.*

'Henry Greenhill, Agent; Thomas Chamber, Accomptant; William Isaacson, Minister; Thomas Stevenson, William Tayler, Bay Factors; Robert Cooper, Chirurgion; Arthur Herris, to command the out guard; Shem Bridges, Andrew Clapper, Assistants, but not in the Companys pay.

Souldiers in ditto ffort. Timothy Sutton, Sergeant; Hugh Dixin, Gunner; Richard Emerson, John Cowhill, Corporals. [Then follow the names of twenty English privates.] 49 Portugalls and Mistezaes imployed.' (*O.C.*, No. 2643, 18th Jan., 165$\frac{7}{8}$.)

The Rev. William Isaacson was now for the second time Chaplain of Fort St. George, his first term of service having begun ten years earlier. Cooper, the surgeon, was one of the factors recalled from Pegu. The list is incomplete, for the name of William Dawes is omitted. The Secretary, in fact, was in trouble, and had been for twelve months a prisoner.[1] Sergeant Sutton appears to have commanded the garrison pending the arrival from England of a successor to Captain Minors. Captain Roger Myddelton was appointed by the Company in February, 1658, to be 'Lieutenant of Fort St. George at 25*l.* per annum,' but he was shipwrecked on his way out and did not arrive till October. Hugh Dixon has succeeded Jeremy Roote as Gunner, and both Dixon and the two corporals have returned to Madras from service under the Nawab.

In the course of the year the Bengal factories were re-established, Jonathan Trevisa being sent out from England to take charge as Agent. Writing to the Bay in August, the Fort St. George Council say[2]:—'How the trade of India is to be managed you will perceive by their [the Company's] letters, vizt., under one Generall presedencie in Surratt 4 Agencies, whereof yours in Hughly is one, what ffactories and ffactors for each, with their wages, allowances and obligations sent out of England to be signed by all those in India that are enterteined in their service.'

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2654, 14th June, 1658. [2] *O.C.*, No. 2662, 23rd Aug., 1658.

Greenhill expired at Madras on the 4th January, 1659, of dropsy. The consultations of the period have not been preserved, but a batch of private correspondence which passed between certain factors at Masulipatam and their friends at Balasore, Hugli, Patna and Cossimbazar contains several references to the Agent's demise. One of the letters runs as follows:—

William Daniell to Thomas Davies.

'2 dayes past, per hands of the Dutch, wee had the Sad news of the Death of our Agent Greenhill, which (per the Circumstances) wee feare to bee too true. They say hee, being very much Sweld, was perswaded per the Surgeons to bee tapt, to let out the Beaveridge, after which hee lived but 2 dayes. Its an ill wind that blowes noe body good: per this our friend Tomas a Ginger[1] will bee Exalted into a better Capacity of serving his friends. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2689, 17th Jan., 165 8/9.)

On the same date William Johnson wrote to James Pickering at Patna: 'Lately came to our eares newes of Agent Greenhills drawing off, haveing infurtiated his Corpus magnum with an overplus of beverage, and so being tapt for it. He dyed the next morning, being the fourth of this month.'

A conglomerate stone inscribed to Greenhill's memory is built into the wall of the external staircase at the north-west angle of St. Mary's Church in the Fort. The stone was doubtless brought thither from a monument in the burial-ground of Old Black Town. The inscription, which is headed by a shield and crest, runs as follows:—

'Viator quicunque es, siste, siste inquam paululum, nec frustra si saltem Christianus es, morae pretium erit necnon lachrymae, cum jacere hic scias *Henricum Greenhill* splendidae suae familiae splendorem maximum et Honorabilis Mercatorum Anglorum Societatis Indiam Orientalem negotiantium Agentem unum et nemini secundum, cum per decennium summa cum sedulitate et spectata probitate functus est officio suo. Defunctus est anno Christi MDCLVIII aetatis suae XLV. Viator te haec non nescire lachrymam modo impertire et abi.'

SOCIAL LIFE AT FORT ST. GEORGE.

Official records naturally throw little light on social life at Fort St. George, and few private letters from Madras residents have so far been traced. A transcript of a communication from Captain

[1] Probably Thomas Chamber, who succeeded as Agent, is meant, or Thomas Shingler, who became Second of Council.

Roger Myddelton, which has been preserved, is therefore of considerable value. It was discovered not long since by the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commissioners among the Welsh manuscripts at Mostyn Hall.[1] Roger Myddelton, who was appointed to command the garrison in succession to Captain Minors, embarked in the *Persia Merchant* in March, 1658, with Jonathan Trevisa, Agent designate in Bengal, William Vassall, and two other factors, besides four soldiers, one of whom, Richard Myddelton, was his own cousin, while another was the son of Archdeacon Lloyd. In August the vessel was cast away on the Maldives, and the ship's company with difficulty reached Ceylon in a smaller craft. Here thirteen of their number, including Vassall, were seized by the King of Kandy, who made them prisoners for life.[2] The remainder suffered shipwreck again in the Gulf of Manār. Myddelton eventually reached Porto Novo, and came on thence by land to Fort St. George, arriving in October, 1658. By a ship of the following January he wrote an account of his experiences to his relatives. The portion treating of Madras is here extracted:—

Roger Myddelton's Letter.

(*Mostyn MS.* 147, 12th Jan., $165\frac{8}{9}$.)

'Loving Brother and Sister, I am betwixt two opinions wheather to write unto you or not; though I be silent, yet the newes of my misery will soone come to your eares. Five monthes after our departure from England our shipp was cast away and many weare drownd, amongst the rest Cosen Richard Myddelton; but my selfe miraculously saved. . . . With noe small trouble and danger wee came to the Coast of Cormadell, to a place called Porta Nova, from whence wee travelled five hundred miles[3] upon bulls, thus comeing safe to St. George where I was much commiserated. The President gave me a peese of flowered satten to make me clothes, and many other things; and findeing me inclyning to recreation, he gave me a cast of brave falcons which have killed many Herons sence; alsoe greyhounds. I must not omitt how the foxes[4] come to the Castle gates to kill our poultry. They have here good fighting Cocks, and they fight them with penknive blades instead of gavelocks.

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[1] The contents are communicated by Mr. William Foster, who published the document in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1902.

[2] They were joined in 1660 by Captain Knox of the *Anne*, and sixteen of his crew. Efforts to procure the release of the prisoners proved unsuccessful, and, though a few escaped, others were still in durance in 1691. See *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (Knox, 1681) and *Captain Robert Knox* (D. W. Ferguson, 1896).

[3] The journey, doubtless, seemed five times as long as it really was.

[4] *Foxes*, jackals.

'This is a place healthfull, using all kind of recreation save hounds; all sort of provisions being to cheap; onlly sack is too deare, yet wee have other good drinke to remember our friends withall. I have the absolute comand of the soldiers, within and without, and have divers Captaines under me, for wee have 600 men in dayly pay, viz., 100 white and 500 black.[1] This place was beseedged twise within this too years.

'But my fine boy[2] is dead, which has been very neare the occason of my death, for I lay sick hopelese above a moneth and am not yet recovered. And to add to my griefe, my honorable freind the President is very sick and can not live ten dayes, and in his stead is one Mr. Chambres, who claymes kindred with those [of] our country. He is worth 50,000 *l.*, as I am credibly informed, yet a batcheler.[3] He hath shewed me divers curtesies in my sickness, and bids me not question but that he will be as loving to me as his Predecessor. . . . I doe not take any felicity [in] my life, though I live in greate pompe, eating and drinkeing and wearing noe worse then the best in this Town, yea rather Citty, for it is built to a marvelous bignesse in few years. Wee have a Citty of the Portugalls within three miles; but they leave that famous place, for the Moors have it,[4] and they are come to us for protection against the Dutch. Theire is a brave Church built for them heare, and they have a convent of franciscans[5] in it, very learned men. The Moors army are round about us, yet wee feare them not. They have beaten our king out of his country. They have gallant horses and are good horsemen, well armed: they have gunns both greate and small. They bring up theire youth heare to Letters, fencing and dancing,[6] and all sort of Liberall Sciences, a thing I thought very strange att my first comeing: exelent Astronomers. If I live long among them, I shall not onely give you, but all that read English, a larger accompt of them. If a man have in this place but two or three hundred pounds, he might quickly raise an Estate; but he that is poore, lett him be soe still. . . .

'The President, my noble freind, is dead, and I have been soe busie this five dayes that I could [not] close my letter in all that tyme. He hath left me tenn pounds to buy mourning and a gould Ring. Besides, this is an expensive place, and from the drunkenesse thereof good Lord deliver me; all gamsters and much adicted to venery. I lost yesterday my best ffalcon. Tell Cosen Samm Andrewes one Gurnay[7] remembers him, whom, with his wife, I alsoe salute; alsoe at Coddington Brumbo my good cosen Meredith, with her family. I should write to my uncle Lloyd, but this may serve for an Epistle

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[1] The Portuguese and Eurasians of the garrison must have been included in the white force. The large number of native troops was, doubtless, due to the fighting and blockade between 1656 and 1658.

[2] *Boy*, from Tel. *boyi*, the common appellation of a personal servant in South India.

[3] Two months later William Johnson, at Masulipatam, wrote to James Pickering at Patna: 'Honest James, . . . The newse the last Currants afforded was of Mr. Chambers his espousing of Capt. Bowyers widdow' (*O.C.*, No. 2719, 8th March, 165$\frac{5}{6}$).

[4] The Moslems ruled in Mylapore, but the adjacent town of San Thomé was not evacuated by the Portuguese until May, 1662.

[5] *Franciscans*, probably an error for Capuchins.

[6] *Dancing*, perhaps the writer meant gymnastics.

[7] Probably John Gurney.

generall. Comending me to Cosen ffoulke, Ann, Betty and Mall. . . . Your ever loving, ever serving, ever praying Brother

'ROGER MYDDELTON.

'From my lodgeings in the
Castle within Fort St. George.'

The 'brave Church' alluded to by Myddelton is doubtless the Capuchin church of St. Andrew, to which a 'convent' was attached. From a record[1] of 1692 it appears that Greenhill assigned ground to the Capuchins, on which they built an 'open pandall[2] Chappel.' The grant was probably made about 1658, at the time of the influx of Portuguese from San Thomé, and there is reason for the belief that the chapel was situated in the native town, but adjacent to the European quarter.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xviii., May, 1692.

[2] *Pandall*, an open shed.

CHAPTER XIII

1659—1662

GOVERNMENT OF THOMAS CHAMBER—THE CAPUCHIN MISSION—THE NAWAB'S JUNK

Government of Thomas Chamber.

Thomas Chamber, who succeeded to the Fort St. George Agency on the 4th January, 1659, had been Second of Council throughout the period of Greenhill's second administration. He was consequently familiar with Madras, a place he confessed acquaintance with since 1646.[1] Chamber ruled autocratically for a period of three years and a half. At the outset, his only councillor was Thomas Shingler, who had cause to complain that he was given no voice in the Government. Chamber's attitude towards his subordinates may be judged from the following extract from a confidential letter addressed by Jonathan Trevisa and William a'Court at Verasheroone to the Presidency:—

Verasheroone to Surat.

'Next, whereas Capt. Middleton, being Comander of the Garrison Souldiers, ought to have respect and obedience from those that [are] under him, and countenance from those that are above him, this relator saith that the Agent, upon severall petty occasions, gives him (in publique to) the scornfull appellation of Sirrah, whereby he looseth much of the awe that is due from Souldiers to the Comander. We speake not this out of any perticuler favour to the said Captain (for we could heartily wish he could better carry himselfe then we heare he doth), but out of a doubt that he, being enured to such slavish termes, may not be able to Command his men, nor be in a capacity to resist such attempts as we have some cause to doubt may be made to the Companys prejudice. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2778, 4th July, 1659.)

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[1] Chamber entered the Company's service in 1640 as Purser's mate (*Ct. Min.*, 2nd Dec., 1640).

Not long afterwards Myddelton seized an opportunity of resigning his appointment:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'After the many reports wee had of the surrendring the Muscatt Castle to your Worships, Captain Middleton, that was Leiutenant of the Souldiers, had received letters from the President of Surratt, pretending, as he then gave out, that he was invited to take passage on some ship, and have the Charge of that ffortifycation. Soe he petitioned us that he might take passage on the Madras Merchant for that employment, which we easily graunted, being faine a little before to restraine his Person upon some misdemeanours. In his stead wee placed Mr. William Hull, who hath since ended his dayes of a languishing sickness commonly called the Barbeers.'[1] (*O.C.*, No. 2865, 11th Jan., 166$\frac{0}{1}$.)

In August, 1659, Chamber and Shingler wrote to the Bay that 'it hath pleased God lately to send much raine, to the great comfort of the natives, by abating the price of all manner of provisions, which by reason of a great drought and the feeding of two great Armys near us, had made the rates very excessive.'[2] Towards the end of 1659 William Gyfford, who had for two years been employed on voyages to Macassar, was added to the Council, which remained so constituted until Shingler's death in the middle of 1662.[3] Chamber, however, did not hesitate to send his councillors on simultaneous missions to other factories, and his own unaided trading methods found little favour with Surat. Writing to Trevisa about Fort St. George, the Presidency observed:—

Surat to Bengal.

'Tis well one of them [at Fort St. George] hath a purse, for wee suppose our Masters have a great deale of Right to accompt, as well (as he saieth) he hath kept the accompts these two last yeares, when he would let none else because they should not know his actions. The Company having a small stock, and he a great one, was not like to increase it, though little to our Masters benefit, if all be true Captain Curtis[4] reported here, that he bought cloth with his money at the best tymes at best hand, and sold it to the Company at Shippes arrivall at the then price. If true, tis base and unworthy, being the Company hath paid for and built the Forte and Towne, and procured privileges; and in theire service hath he gott enough, and lived soe long and been fed. But this wee shall leave to the Company. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2921, 16th Feb., 166$\frac{0}{1}$.)

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[1] *The Barbeers*, or *barbiers*, was a kind of paralysis somewhat resembling the modern *beri-beri*. The best way for a man to contract it was to sleep in the open air while inebriated. The malady was prevalent in Madras.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 2792, 8th Aug., 1659. The armies were those of Golconda and the Hindus.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 27th June, 1662.

[4] William Curtis, one of the Commissioners of 1655.

About the same time Chamber wrote to Surat[1] that 'in these parts wee have remayned hitherto free from the Warres which have disturbed other parts of India; but now some rumours of the approach of some forces of Oram Zaib this way: not without some hopes that it is only to receive the ordinary Tribute. This Conveighance being by the Kings ffoote Post, upon Courtesy to Golcondah, wee forbeare to burthen him with the Verashroone Bookes promised.' The Golconda army, however, continued in the neighbourhood of Madras, and the dispute about the Town Rent remained unsettled. Chamber accordingly proceeded vigorously with the improvement of the defences:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'For what wee have layd out in making Godownes and finishing Outworkes about the Christian Towne, wee know there is none that shall surveigh the worke but will count it a necessary expence, now the having greater occasions then in the preceding yeares for Warehouses to stowe your goodes, &c.; Greate part thereof being layed out in Agent Greenhills Lifetime. The rest of the charges will appeare when the Point by the River side is finished. . . .

'Your Worships doe seeme to propound whither Fort St. George or some other place might be the fittingest to make the Chiefe Residency on this Coast. . . . The worst inconvenience of trade here is at some time of fowle weather, insomuch that wee cannot send boats off now and then in seven and eight days togeather: and wee had it soe the beginning of this moneth and latter end of last that for 20 dayes had not one day of faire weather; but this comes but seldome. You have many wise men at home, as Mr. Baker, Mr. Ivie and Mr. Thomas Winter, and some others, who can best give you substantiall reasons therein. All that wee shall say is that when Metchlepatam was in its greatest flourishing Condicon, and your Towne here nothing but a heape of sand, that place was not thought fitt for the Agency. Having then such large priviledges granted by the Gentue Nague, then Governour of this Countrey, which have bin Confirmed by the Gentue King, Nabob, and all the Vice Roys since, it is soone answered whither 'twere better to make a place anew or continue in that you have allready made; for to have a Towne with Fortifications, as this is, in any of the King of Golconda's Dominions, if 'twere now to doe, it would not bee money that could purchase it; and for to have any fortifications allready built to your hands, unless St. Thoma and Trincombarr, there's none. . . .

'If you shall please to send us four or six Culvering,[2] Iron of the old Mettall, and two of Brasse of the largest length, wee have occasion at present to use them about the outmost points of the Towne. . . . The Priviledges that you enjoy from the King of Golconda are noe other in these parts (as wee have said) then was at the first building of your Fort and Towne, which is that you

[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 22nd Feb., 166$\frac{0}{1}$.

[2] *Culvering*, culverin, from Lat. *colubra*, snake; a $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch, 20-pr. gun.

have such a circuite belonging to the Towne of Madraspatam, and the Inhabitants to be Counted as your subjects, and the Justice to bee executed by you; only one halfe of the Customes[1] to bee paid to the Diwan, which is meant the Kings Vice Roy or Cheife Governour of the Countrey. But your Priviledges in Metchlepatam are of a larger extent, for there, by His Majesty's Cowle, you pay noe Custome in any of his Territories Called his Antient Patrimoney, for these parts goe by the name of his New Conquests. . . .

'We have putt aboard here two greate and one small Antelope, two Pellicans, and two Noorees or Maccasser Parrots, wishing they may live home, and in such a case that your Worships may make of them a Royall Present to the King's Majestie. . . . THOMAS CHAMBER, THOMAS SHINGLER.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Nov., 1661.)

The year 1662 was marked by the occurrence of a severe cyclone which, like that of 1640, swept the coast at an unusual time of year. In a letter to Trevisa,[2] the Fort St. George Council say:—'Towards the last of ffebruary there was here such a hideous Storme that the like hath not hapned in the knowledge of any man alive at that time of yeare. Here was then rideing 9 Ships and Juncks: among the rest was the Little George who outride them all, but, the weather being soe terrible, she at last suffered shipwracke with the rest; and in this Roade, Porto Novo and Metchlepatam were noe lesse lost then 30 vessells — a sad fate.'

Before the end of Chamber's term of office, the Company invited one of their servants, lately returned from Fort St. George, to set forth any abuses connected with the administration which had come to his knowledge. The addressee, who, it is conjectured, was the Rev. William Isaacson, responded in an unsigned and undated communication, which may be conveniently inserted here:—

Report to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2856A, no date.[3])

'To Comply with your Worships Injunctions I have, in the ensueing lines, given a short hint of those Inconveniencies I have observ'd in the time of my Residence in Fort St. George, which I shall leave to your Worships Considerations.

'The maine Inconveniencie I have observ'd hath bin the want of a good

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[1] Rather, a fixed payment in lieu of half the customs received from strangers.

[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 12th May, 1662.

[3] Until lately this document was numbered *O.C.*, No. 1983, and placed with the records of 1645. It appears to be in the same handwriting as Isaacson's explanation to Chamber of the 10th Aug., 1660, which will be referred to later.

and knowing Councell to assist the Agent; such a Councell as will not for any by-respects on the one side, or feare on the other, relinquish their free vote in anything that shall concerne the Honble Company. On this depends the whole management of your Worships affaires in those parts, the want of which hath bin of late a great obstruction to the good Government of your Worships Towne, whilst onely the Agent and Timana, a blacke servant, are privy to all passages, and those that were appointed by the Honble Company to be of the Councell cold never be calld to advise with them. This complaint I have heard severall times from some of the Councell.

'In the 2d Place, whereas your Worships desire is that the Inhabitants of their Towne, as Painters, Weavers, &c., should be encouraged by a good treatment of them, They have, on the Contrary, bin much discouraged by the enhanceing of the Price of Rice, which is occasioned by the engrossing all into the hands of one man (Its easily Imagined whose), which is no better then a monopoly of his owne Raysing, and by this meanes makes a famine where god sends none; soe that the Painters and Weavers are forc't to sett a higher value upon their worke and cloth, and consequently the Honble Company must needes feele it. But into whose purse the gaines of all this goes may easily be conjectured. . . .

'There is another Inconveniencie which to me seemes very preposterous, vizt. That the Honble Company shold want a Church for the service of God[1] in their owne Towne, when the Roman Catholiques have one that stands in the heart of the Towne, where they have likewise a Churchyard to bury their dead; whilst wee are forc't to carry our dead Corpses out of the Towne.[2] Besides, there are so many of their Pittifull Christians dye of fowle diseases that in time of heates it is enough to breed Infection. I am certain the smel is very noysome to them that live neere the burying Place. I have spoken sufficiently of the two french Padres Insolencyes in another writing; therefore shall not farther enlarge upon that Subject.

'There is one thing more that I shall propose to your Worships Considerations, which in my Opinion seemes somewhat Incongruous to the good Government of the Soldiers in the Honble Companyes Fort, vizt. That foure of the Cheife Officers belonging to the Garrison shold be suffered to keepe Punch houses; for by this meanes they that shold see good Order kept amongst the Soldiers doe, for their owne benefitt, occasion the greatest disorder.

'I hope I shall not need to putt your Worships in mind of sending over, not only an able Minister, but a Schoolmaster likewise for the Education of young Children. They are both so Necessary that the Place cannot well subsist without them. If no Minister, then the French Padres will have the more advantage over our Christians, if they are suffered to remaine in your Worships Towne. If you please to send a Schoolmaster, many of those that now have their Education under the French Padres wilbe brought to the English Schoole.

'These things I doubt not but your Worships will seriously Consider; and if there be any thing else that I can call to mind that may be advantagious to the Honble Company, I shall not be backward in acquainting your Worships with it.'

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1 Service appears to have been conducted in the Hall of the factory-house in the Fort.

2 Outside the European quarter of the town.

Among the matters debated in Chamber's time were the question of the expulsion or retention of the Capuchin fathers, Ephraim and Zenon, the consequences of the seizure of the Nawab's junk, and the capture of San Thomé by the King of Golconda. These subjects are dealt with in the following pages.

The Capuchin Mission.

In 1660 certain of the factors at Madras drew up a petition to the Company urging the expulsion of the Capuchin priests, Ephraim and Zenon. The document was to be carried home and delivered by the Rev. William Isaacson without the Agent's knowledge. It ran as follows :—

Petition to the Honble. Company.

'In your orders and instructions given to your severall ffactoryes here in India, wee finde that you ever begin (as is most meete) with the worship of God, to which order wee willingly and cheerfully submitt (as in Conscience wee are bound), yet wee cannott but acknowledge that there are severall persons whoe are falne from our Congregation, haveing bin seduced by two french Mendicant ffryers whoe, by the assistance of the English, formerly built them a Church in the heart of your Honours towne, and, by the encouragement of your present Agent, dare boldly performe their Idolatrous rites and Ceremonies to the greate Scandall of our Nation that suffers them. For—

'First, they are allowed, at the buryall of their dead, to move before the Corps with bell, booke, candle and Crosse, to the greate discontent of those that knowe not how to remedy it, liveing under the Arbitrary governement of One Man, which will not advise with his Councill in matters which concerne the governement of your honours towne.

'In the second place, if any Christians belonging to our Congregation are visited with any sicknesse, they will be soe bold as to intrude into our Ministers Office of Visiting them, and, like the Devill, endeavour to lay their strongest Batteries whilst they are weakest, to seduce them if they can to their Idolatrous custome of setting the Images of Saints before them, that they may pray to them. And this they doe in the night, for our sick men are forced to lye out of the ffort for want of Accomodation. *Attested by me,* William Isaacson.

'Thirdly, they have likewise in the night gone to Englishmens howses, when they have bin upon their duty in the Fort, whose Wives are newly delivered, to Baptize young Infants, pretending them to bee very weake, which hath bin found false : yet for those things wee can have no redresse here. *Attested by me,* William Isaacson.

'The humble request therefore of us your Subscribers is that your honours would please to take these things seriously into your Considerations, and to free us from these 2 Idolatrous ffryers ; for it is certaine, soe long as they are permitted to reside in this place, whatsoever Minister your Honours shall send out shall finde but little Comfort in his labours, and as little respect from him that now reignes in this place.

'Wee could add much more, but desire not to bee too tedious to your Honours. Wee shall only say thus much ; if your honours please to condiscend to this our reasonable and Conscionable request, It will be necessary to send out your positive Commands like the Lawes of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered or contradicted by any power in this place. Wee are bold to give this Caution by reason that Agent Chamber hath declared publiquely that the ffryers shall not be turned out soe long as hee stayes in this place.

'Wee send you this letter by the hands of our Minister, Mr. William Isaacson, whoe can say more concerneing this businesse ; yet wee hope that what wee have already writt will be sufficient to move your Honours to grant this our request. . . . THOMAS SHINGLER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, HENRY THURSCROSSE, WILLIAM A COURT, WILLIAM DANIELL.' (*O.C.*, No. 2840, 24th Jan., 16$\frac{59}{60}$.)

Isaacson deferred his departure, and the signatories, on reconsideration, severally retracted their original statement. They said they had previously accepted Isaacson's facts without verification, but were now satisfied that the expulsion of the Capuchins would be disadvantageous to the Company, seeing that a large proportion of the garrison professed the Roman doctrine. Moreover, the priests themselves had engaged to refrain from actions such as those complained of. Chamber then called on Isaacson for an explanation of his conduct. The Chaplain said [1] that the memorial was the outcome of a somewhat heated after-dinner conversation between Shingler and the Agent, in which the latter had defended the friars. Shingler had then drafted, and Isaacson revised, the document. The Chaplain further stated that 'young Andrew Cogan'[2] had lately become a proselyte, and he adduced specific instances of interference by the priests in the time of Ivie and Baker.

News of the affair seems to have reached the ears of the President at Surat, and in the following year Chamber set forth [3] the reasons for the first admission and subsequent retention of the Capuchin fathers:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'For the French Padres, the Company hath not wrote of them since Agent Ivyes comeing out, which was in the yeare 1643.[4] Nor can wee tell whether they did then meane them, for their word is only Popish preists ; and 6 yeares

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2856, 10th Aug., 1660. [2] Perhaps a son of Richard Cogan.

[3] Chamber had previously addressed the Company on the subject (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Jan., 166$\frac{0}{1}$).

[4] Ivie left England for Bantam in 1643, but did not reach Madras until Aug., 1644.

after that, Padre Ephraim was treacherously seized upon by the Padres of St. Thoma and sent to the Inquisition at Goa, where he might have layen till this tyme if he had not been redeemed by President Merry[1] and his then Councill, for his crymes were very heynous in their profession for his holding disputations with them on all occasions against praying to saints and carved images. And if these Padres crymes were soe great then as the Portugall Padres take them to be, they are much aggravated since, for upon all occasions of christnings, burialls, and weddings, they come to our divine service and heare preaching and praying according to the manner and institution of the Church of England; so that if ever they light again into the Portugalls hands they will certenly be burnt, for there hath beene ever bitter enmity betwixt that Church and this of the French Padres, and one of the reasons of their continuance many yeares agoe was the great controversyes betweene our and their nation and the Churches. And this is the last reason why you would have them put out of towne, because of the many affronts you suffer by the Portugalls in your parts; so it will follow that the reason why you would putt them out was one maine cause why other Presidents and Agents continued them in the towne.

'When Mr. Thomas Chamber came first to Fort St. George (which is 15 yeares ago) he did as much admire[2] as any man else that they had a church and other grounds given them, and liberty to exercise their superstition, till these reasons were given of their admittance; first, it was concluded by those eminent persons that have had the government of Fort St. George since the first building thereof—

1. That if the French Padres went away, the Portugalls would leave the towne.

2. These Padres were invited to reside in the towne for the gaining Portugalls to inhabitt.

3. The dispeopling of the towne of Christians was accompted a weakening to the Fort.

4. The residence of the Portugalls was reckoned a cause of encrease of trade and the Companies customes.

5. The terrour and awe that many white men in the towne strikes to our neighbours.

6. The honour and reputation that redounds to the Company among the Princes of India in the multitude of their people.

7. It was sayd that the glory of a King was the multitude of his subjects. . . .

'For these reasons they have beene invited and continued by Sir Andrew Cogan, Mr. Francis Day, Mr. Thomas Ivie, twice by Mr. Aaron Baker, for he hath bin 3 tymes President in India, and this last tyme had 600*l.* per annum, and lastly by Agent Henry Greenhill.

'Now it need not be told you how much Mr. Thomas Chamber is inferiour in quality to any of the aforesaid gentlemen, nay, not worthy to carry pen and inke after some of them, who soe much excelled in the government of the Fort and towne and management of the Companyes trade; for in most of their tymes there was never less then 60 Englishmen in the garrison, whereas now the Company hath but 30 that are able to serve, and but 8 of them their servants, and th'others pickt up as they were scattered here and there.

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[1] Thomas Merry, President at Surat.

[2] *Admire*, wonder.

'You may consider that the countrey is all in an uproar by 15,000 of the Generals souldiers that have left his army and putt all the countrey in a hurley burley. The Companyes priviledges are in some hazard, the King sending downe from Gulcondah a Moores Governor into the towne, with a huge trayne, to receive his part of the customes. But the Companyes priveledges shalbe mainteyned if things may runn in their old Channell; but it will neyther be safe for the Fort nor towne if the French Padres should be at this tyme excluded.

'Now if you will please to looke upon the Companyes proffitts, it will be divers tymes as much againe as it is now by the expiracion of tenn yeares, and may likely pay all the charges of the Fort and factory; for at the Companyes first beginning to build a fort there was here but only the French Padres and about 6 fishermens houses;[1] soe, to intice inhabitants to people the place, proclamacion was made in the Companyes name that for the terme of 30 yeares noe custome of things to be eaten, dranke or worne should be taken of any of the towne dwellers. Now 21 yeares of that tyme is expired, and soe much art being used to bring the Companyes towne in the beauty that now it is, and multitude of inhabitants (which are those that payes the dutyes), it will be much damage, both in poynt of customes and other taxes, to our masters to give their subjects for soe long tyme the customes of foresaid things freely; and now the proffitts within soe short a tyme to returne to the Choultrey wilbe to unmake what hath beene soe long a makeing, if the towne should be soe suddenly dispeopled.

'Now you have received the reasons why the French Padres were invited hither, as also the reasons why they have bin continued; and if you still persist in their expulsion now the people are unquiett and the countrey all in an uproar, Mr. Thomas Chamber is not of sufficiency to undergoe soe hard a taske as is now on his hands, or to certify or amend anything that hath bin acted or practiced by men of such excellent judgements as hath beene here Presidents and Agents, especially what hath beene setled and allowed by President Baker, whoe was twice sent by the Honble Company to purge the Coast; therefore you may please to think of said Chamber his abilityes, and if you find him not fitt for his employment, he shall willingly embrace what buisnes in your judgements shalbe suitable to his capacity. . . . THOMAS CHAMBER.' (*Fac. Rec.*, vol. xiv., 24th May, 1661.)

THE NAWAB'S JUNK.

Though the seizure of the Nawab's junk was made in Greenhill's time, its effects were felt throughout the period of Chamber's administration. The following memorandum of events, which is neither signed nor dated, seems to have been written after 1666 :—

'A Relation of the Meir Jumla his Affair with the English Nacon.

'Sometime before the New Generall Stocke began, there hapened some difference betwixt deceased (then) Agent Greenhill, Mr. Chambers and

[1] Either Chamber was mistaken, or he wrote loosely: it is well established that the first French padre arrived in 1642, two years after the founding of the Fort.

Mr. Winter on the one part, and Meirejumla the Nabob on the other. The dispute grew so high as Agent Greenhill imploid an English Shipp then on the Coast of Cormandell to ceazo on a vessell of about a thousand Tonns burthen[1] of the Nabobs, which, [if] I mistake not, was done with Mr. Chambers personally being on the said vessell or junke, which afterwards was sold for a sum̃e of money (not the true vallue, as reported) unto Mr. Winter. The Generall Stocke sending out shipps to the Coast of Cormandell, and apointing Mr. Greenhill Agent, Mr. Chambers second, and Employing Mr. Winter, made a difference betwixt them; but Agent Greenhill soone after dying, and Agent Chambers succeeding, Mr. Winter and he were good freinds, soe great freinds that Mr. A'Court writt letters of a strange subject unto the President at Surratt that Caused the President and Councell to advize Agent Chambers to the performance of his duty. . . .

'Meirjum̃la, the owner of the junke, in the passed Interim could not follow his quarrell with these three gentlemen; but Mr. Winter keept the vessell untill Meirjumla, haveing rune away from his Master the King of Gulcundah unto Shaw Jehan the Emperour of India, and being by the Mogull employed Governour of all the Country of Pattanna, Hughely and thereabouts, hee then, haveing againe to doe with the English, began to quarrell about the junke, and that with those persons that had no Concerne in it, that was, with Mr. Treviza, who advized Agent Chambers of it, and also the President and Councell at Surratt. From thence advices were directed unto Agent Chambers whome it most Concerned, that knew all passages, that had drove the bargaine in selling the junke to Mr. Winter.[2] Upon which a pretence and juggle was Contrived betwixt them too, and the Junke returned, but presently by Mr. Winter retaken; and notwithstanding all the frequent and full advices to Agent Chambers for to take Care the Company might not suffer by Mr. Winters soe dealeing and open tradeing, yet nothing was done by him, when the President and Councells letters are full in giveing direction plainly how to make an end and Compose the difference. Yet Agent Chambers did, as was his Custome, slight and not only refuse observance of them, untill they were forced to Complaine of Mr. Winter and his abettors; which Caused him to thinke of home. Whome Mr. Chambers suffered to depart without giveing satisfaction, though hee had, not power only to Cause him, but effects of his in his hand, and of Agent Greenhills, to have saved the Company from loose or damage; Mr. Treviza soe often advising and entreating of him to make an end, and the Nabob also willing by appointing a treaty to his vikeele in Metchelepatam concerning his vessell and to end differences. But Agent Chambers neglected all, and would do as he pleased, as he did in all things, and suffered the Company to loose, and their Estate to be seazed and detained in the Bay. . . .

[1] Contemporary records give her tonnage as 500. Native craft, however, were built of larger size. Thomas Bowrey wrote:—'I have Seen a Ship (belongeinge to the Kinge of Golcondah), a Ship of great burthen, built for the trade to Mocho in the Red Sea, and after 2 Voyadges thither She was halled Upon the Westerne Side of this River, a little above the towne [Madapollam], to the intent they might Sheath and repaire her. She cold not be lesse (in my judgement) then 1000 tunns burthen, and they halled her up by Strength of men with good purchase' (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, Bowrey, ed. by Sir Richard Temple).

[2] Winter used this great vessel as a yacht, and proceeded 'with his wife to Madrassapatam to visit his aged and Sick mother in law' (*O.C.*, No. 2710, 25th Feb., 165$\frac{8}{9}$, and *O.C.*, No. 2782, 8th July, 1659).

'That the Losse Concerns not the United Stocke ; first, because first breach was made by perticuler persons in the tyme of open trade, when the then Company, being the United Stocke, sent no ship to India, the Ceizure being made by an Interloper. Secondly, the persons that suffered the losse and acted were this Stocks servants and imploid by them, as entertained alsoe into theire service in England. And lastly, it was this Stocks servants in the bay that foolishly put the money into the Nabobs hands, and suffered him to right himselfe of the wrong done him by perticuler persons, and especially by Agent Chambers and Mr. Winter, now Sir Edward Winter and the now Sir Thomas Chambers.'[1] (*O.C.*, No. 2873, no date.)

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[1] Winter was knighted in 1662, and Chamber in 1666.

CHAPTER XIV

1639—1662

CHAMBER'S NARRATIVE—THE COINAGE

CHAMBER'S NARRATIVE.

JONATHAN TREVISA arrived at Madras in 1658, after his double shipwreck, but he did not reach Bengal till nearly a year later.[1] As soon as Mīr Jumlah began to be disagreeable in that quarter, Trevisa wrote to Madras for information as to the origin of the quarrel. Chamber caused a narrative to be prepared of the dispute with the Nawab, and embodied in it a sketch of relations with the native powers since the founding of Fort St. George. After Trevisa's death the narrative was discovered among his papers, and it was copied into a volume of records which appears to have been sent to England about 1715. This volume is now missing, but it was extant in 1787, when the India House Committee of Correspondence unearthed it in the course of a search for documents bearing on the origin of the British settlement at Madras. That the Committee were ignorant of the design of the narrative is clear from their criticism of it, which runs as follows:—

Report of the Committee of Correspondence.

'The Paper marked L is intituled "A Relation of several passages since the founding of the Town of Madrassapatam." This Document was the first which was retrieved relative to the subject before us; and the perusal of it at the time suggested the Conjecture . . . with respect to the origin of the Appellation *Chinapatam* or *patnam*, by which in ancient Grants Madrass is frequently distinguished. Not to mention the palpable error of blending the erection of Fort St. George and the building of the Town of Madrass together, as though they were the same transaction, the whole of the circumstances stated in the Paper beforementioned . . . are entirely unsupported by the

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 2792, 8th Aug., 1659.

several Documents[1] which, in the Collection annexed, precede the Statement in question, and therefore rest upon their own authority and credibility alone. . . . It is possible, if not highly probable, that the circumstances contained in the Account which such Document pretends to give of the Origin of the Fort and Town might be derived from oral testimony or tradition, and not from publick or authentick Records. It may be further observed that the Paper beforementioned (in one instance excepted) is entirely destitute of Dates, nor is a single Record referred to in corroboration of any of the Assertions which it contains. These circumstances seem rather extraordinary if the Compiler had access to official Evidence; and, it is presumed, form sufficient reasons for considering the production itself as rather of questionable authority; although the same should actually have originated (as by the following Memorandum it would appear to have done) with the Agent or principal Servant of the Company at Fort St. George. The Memorandum to which we allude is at the close of the Paper and is as follows, vizt., "This Relation was found among the Papers of Mr. Jonathan Trevisae, which was sent him at the Bay, from the Fort, by Agent Chambers."' (*Fac. Rec. Misc.*, vol. ix., 1787.)

Though the narrative is unsigned and devoid of date, there is no reason to doubt that it was drawn up under Chamber's authority between 1659 and 1662. The absence from the body of the document of dates and of references to the records, on which the Committee comment, is not surprising, for such particulars would have been of little or no use to Trevisa. The narrative, which was transcribed by the Committee, is now valuable chiefly as furnishing an account of the siege or blockade of Madras in Greenhill's time, when Chamber was an eye-witness of what occurred:—

'*A Relation of severall Passages since the Founding of the Towne of Madrassapatam.*

'Anno 1639, when we were at Armagon, Damarla Japa Naindu[2] writ to Mr. Day that he would have a Town founded in his Father Channapa Naindu's name; and that if he would come and live in the said Town, what Cowle he would desire should be given him. After the receipt of which letter, Mr. Day and Mr. Coggin, with three Ships,[3] arrived hither; which when Japa Naindu heard of, he came to visit them, and told them that if they would build a Town in his Father's name, that they should have what privileges they desired. To which Mr. Coggin and Mr. Day answered that, if he would procure the King and the Roylaes Cowle, they would build a Fort and dwell in it: which the

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[1] The chief of these documents are those now classified as *O.C.*, Nos. 1690, 1705, 1718, 1751, 1764, 1792, and 1974, all of which have been quoted in these pages.

[2] *Damarla Japa Naindu*, Aiyappa Nāyak.

[3] The records of 1640 mention two vessels only, the *Eagle* and *Unity*.

said Japa Naindu promised he would perform, and carry them before the King and the Roylaes, who should give them the Cowle they desired. Upon whose words we remained here.

'A month after our arrival there arose a great Storm, so that the three Ships were driven ashore, to our great loss, which we did not so much value; but afterwards were at great charge in building the Fort and Town, which Vencatapati Naindu,[1] Japa Naindu, and Chinnum Shettee[2] informed the King Serangaroylu of; who afterward sent his People to bring Mr. Greenhill up to him, and, hearing his relation, was very joyful; to whom he gave the Cowle concerning this Town, and with great honour dispatched him away. According to which Cowle, given for five years, while Damarla Japa Naindu's people remained here, all things were justly carried. Who afterward the Roylaes putting out of his Government, gave it Chinna Shette, who held it a year, governing as his Predecessor had done before him. After whom the Roylaes governed it themselves till the coming of the Nabob who was sent from the King of Gulcondah to take all these parts: at whose coming to Punnamelle, Agent Ivie went to him, giving him knowledge of the Cowle given by Serangroyla and Agreement with him; who promised that all things should be carried according to the former Agreement made with the Jentew King. So, dispatching the Agent away with great honour, sent his Servent Mullapa with him to look after the Government; who remained here seven years, governing after the manner of the former Governors.

'The Nabob, after putting the foresaid Mullapa out of his place, gave it to Side Ebram, who sent his servant hither Called Tymmagee, who Remayned here the space of Two yeares and a halfe. All the former Governours governeing According to the Cowle given us, till Ballaraw Came downe, who had the Government of Punnamelle given him by the Nabob, to whom he writt that he might sell the Corne that grew in his Dominions in Madraspatam, and that the Government thereof might be under him. Which Accordingly was granted him, he bringing a letter from the Nabob specifieing the same to Agent Greenhill, and tooke Tymmage out of the Towne; the Agent Answeringe Ballaraw that this Towne was alwayes a Government of itselfe, and that it was never joyned with the Government of Punnamelle, which if it should, would not be with his likeinge. Soe he departing from hence, leaving one of his people here, to whom he had given order to breed distraccions both in the Government of the Towne and alsoe in the Companyes affaires; he Continually writeing to the Nabob that which was false, whereby to Cause his Displeasure against us; alsoe hindring our Merchants that provided goods for the Companye, demanding Customes that were never heard of before; Causeing in severall places houses to be made for Juncanners, purposely to Injure them; and putting paddy upon our Townes people, Rateing it 25 per Cent. more then the Bazar price; stopping all other paddy from coming to Towne but his owne; not suffering our Merchants to buy Paddy in any other parts where they might have it cheaper. Which was the occasion of all the distractions that happened in the Companyes affaires and amongst the Townespeople. Of which we writt to the Nabob, who gave us noe Answer, which caused the other the more to insult over us. . . .

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[1] *Vencatapate Naindu*, Dāmarla Venkaṭappa Nāyak.

[2] *Chinnum Shettee*, Chenāna Chetti, an associate of Seshādri Nāyak. His name is mentioned in Rajah Srī Ranga's grant. He appears to be identical with 'Mollay.'

'We heareing that Sidelee[1] was Come from the Nabob to take the Government of these parts upon him, therefor we writt to him Acquainting him with our greevances. Who Answered that the Nabob had shewen him all the Letters we writt to him, and that within Ten dayes he would Come to our Towne and heare how things went, and settle them as formerly they were. Whose Comeing we expecting for four Moneths together, writeing severall tymes to him that if he would not Come himselfe, to give Order that these differences may be ended; which neither by his Cominge himselfe, nor by any other means, he endeavoured to effect; Ballaraw still more and more increasinge in his Insolencyes.

'In which tyme Arrived the Nabobs Jounke from Mecca, the taking of which we thought would be a means to End all this Strife; which accordingly wee tooke. Mersidelee, hearing thereof, writt to us to lett the Shipp goe; to whom we Answered that, unles our Affairs Could goe forward without hinderance as formerly, wee would not lett her goe. . . . Mirsidelee . . . afterwards came here himselfe . . . whom we asked what Course we should take if he, being now here, would not doe us right. . . . Who, being angry, went from hence to St. Thoma, where he and Ballaraw, taking Councell together, besieged the Towne (att which tyme the Nabob was Arrived att Dultabab[2]).

'Alsoe it was Reported that the King of Gulcondah had lett the Countrey of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes; uppon which the Kinge of the Jentues Father in Law, Called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of Souldiers tooke parte of the Countrye and Came to Peddapollium. Which newes when Sidelee heard, not raising the Siege nor Comeing hither, Returned to Pullecatt. The aforesaid Vengum Rajah, having gathered the Tallyers together, went thither alsoe to fight against it; who writt hither to Cannar Shette,[3] he being formerly a servant to the Roylaes, that he should gather people together and seize upon the Countrey of Pinnamelle; who, According to his Order, went and Layd hold on Ballaraw, keeping him prisoner. Which when Agent Greenhill heard, he required the said Connar Shette, being an Inhabitant in our Towne, least he should hurt the aforesaid Ballarawe, and it should be thought (he being an Enemye to us) that it was through our doeings, that he would Deliver him into his proteccion; to whom afterward we allowed an house and maintenance.

'Which newes when Kishnapa Nague[4] heard, he sent Lingum Naindu with a partye of Horse and foot to take Connar Shette, with whom neare Punnamelle, for two or three days, they had severall Skirmishes. After which Vingum Rajah, that lay before Pullecatt, went and Joyned with Connar Shette; and being not able to give fight to the said Lingum Nague, Came hither, the other partye following them, the one pitching on this side the River, and the other on the other side;[5] Lingum Nague sending a Pewne to the Agent to Informe him that he was not Come against the Towne, but to make peace with Connar Shette and Vingum Rajah, and Carry them with him; wherefor he would that we should not oppose him, he having nothing

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1 *Sidelee*, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.

2 *Dultabab*, Daulatābād or Deogiri, a strong fortress near Aurangābād.

3 *Cannar Shette* (Koneri Chetti), an inhabitant of Madras, identical with *Connaree Chittee*, who, with Seshādri, signed the caste agreement of 1652.

4 *Kishnapa Nague*, Tupāki Krishṇappa Nāyak, the Nawab's general.

5 The Rajah's forces in Peddanaikpetta; the Nawab's in Vepery.

to say to us. Uppon which the Agent gave order that there should be noe Guns fired till he saw further what would Come of it. After which, about 3 of the Clocke, Lingum Naigue fell uppon Connar Shette and Vengum Naindues partie, driveing them into the Towne and pursueing after them into the Towne, burning and Robbing of houses, and taking the Companies Cloth and goods. To whom the Agent sent to tell them that this was not as they promised, wherefor he would use means to force them out of the Towne. Uppon which they retreated out of shott of the Fort.

'Sidelee afterwards Coming hither to make peace between Lingum Nague and us, saying that he was a Merchant, and if we would take his Councell he would make upp the difference between us. To whom we Answered that if there was satisfaccion made for the Companies Goods taken away, the Debt Connar Shette owed, and what was plundered in the Towne, we would take his Councell. Which he promised he would see made if wee would deliver the Green stone[1] to him : alsoe telling us that the Nabob was a Cominge, att whose arrivall he would speake to him in our behalfe that satisfaccion should be made for our Losses. But for that was plundred in the Towne, when the Jounke we tooke was Returned from Japhnapatam,[2] he would agree about it; as alsoe that if the Nabob Arrived not here in two moneths, he would Returne the stone again. Uppon whose word, he being a Merchant whom we thought would not Lye, wee Delivered upp Connar Shette, Vengum Rajah, Ballaraw, with the Noquoda[3] and goods that came in the Jounke . . ., who after the Receiving of these things Returned to his Tent where, making a Search amongst his people for the Cloth of the Companies and goods plundred in the Towne, gathering them together under pretence of Delivering them to us again, went his way with them . . ., but we never as yet Received anythinge from him.

'Afterward Sidelee sent us word . . . that the Nabob had Conferred all the affairs of these partes uppon Tupake Kishnapa; wherefor would that we should write noe more to him, he having written many Lying Storeys to Tupake Kishnapa whereby we were besieged eight moneths. In tyme of which siege he sent to us word that the Nabobs Jounkes were to goe to Sea, wherefor he desired our passe. To whom we Returned Answere that they having besieged us, and not makeing satisfaccion for what taken from us, nor returned the stone According to promise, what Reason had we to give any passe for his Jounkes. After the denyall whereof, they making the siege stronger, daylie fighting with us, driveing away our Cattell and abuseing our people they mett, putting fines uppon them, whereby Accrewed great Damage to the Towne.

'Alsoe through the not Vending of their Commodityes which were usually vended in this Towne, the Annuall Rent of the Countrey of Punnamelle Could not be Raised; which Kishnapa Nague and Japa Nague hearing of, sent order to Ballaraw to make peace with us and raise the siege, saying that it was not profitable to them to warr with Merchants, and that when the Nabob Came he might decide the differences; till which tyme desired there might be a Friendshipp Concluded between us. Which accordingly was agreed uppon;

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[1] *The Green stone* was probably impounded from the junk.

[2] The junk had been sent to Jāfnapatam in Ceylon to lie up during the monsoon.

[3] *Noquoda*, from Pers. *nākhudā*, master of a vessel.

and because noe differences should Arrise as formerly, we Agreed to pay them 380 pagothes per Annum for their share of the Customes of the Towne. . . .'

'*This Relacion was found among the papers of Mr. Jonathan Trevisae, which was sent him att the Bay from the Fort, by Agent Chambers.*' (*Fac. Rec. Misc.*, vols. iii. and ix., *cir.* 1660-61.)

To compensate for the dearth of dates in the above narrative, the following tentative chronological statement is offered:—

1639. Mīr Muḥammad, *i.e.*, Mīr Jumlah, is 'Serkayle,' or vizier, at Golconda.

1642. Rajah Srī Ranga succeeds on the death of Rajah Venkaṭapati. Naik Dāmarla Venkaṭappa imprisoned for rebellion.

1643. The Rajah dismisses Naik Venkaṭappa and appoints Chenāna Cheṭṭi, alias 'Mollay,' in his stead.

1645. Mollay, commanding a Vijayanagar army, surrenders to Mīr Jumlah.

1647. Rajah Srī Ranga is driven out of the Carnatic by Mīr Jumlah, who confirms the grant of Madras to Ivie at Poonamallee. Mallappa becomes Nawab's Adigar at Madras.

1650. Littleton and Venkaṭa are sent on a mission to the Nawab.

1653. Sayyid Ibrāhīm rules at Poonamallee.

1655. Bāla Rau, governor of Poonamallee and Mylapore, harasses Madras. Greenhill seizes the Nawab's junk. Bāla Rau blockades Madras.

1656. Mīr Jumlah goes over to the Mogul. Hindus revolt. Fight at Madras between Hindus under Koneri Cheṭṭi and Moslems under Lingam Nāyak.

1657. Seven months' siege of Madras by Krishṇappa Nāyak and Bāla Rau under orders of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.

1658. Agreement between Greenhill and Krishṇappa Nāyak that Madras shall pay the Diwan Pags. 380 annually in lieu of half customs.

The Coinage.

The standard coin of Southern India under the rule of Vijayanagar was the gold pagoda. Its Hindu name was *varāha*

or boar, because early issues bore the figure of Vishnu in the guise of that animal. Later types were stamped with the representation of an idol, and were known as *hūns*, signifying gold coins. The origin of the word *pagoda* is obscure, but the term was applied firstly to Hindu temples, and secondly to coins displaying an idol. The rise of the Golconda dynasty evoked little change in the coinage, and pagodas of the Vijayanagar type formed the currency at Masulipatam from the earliest days of the British settlement there.

Under the Naik's grant of Madras territory in 1639 the Company received authority to 'enjoy the priviledges of mintage, without paying any Dewes or dutyes whatsoever, more then the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall Quoyne the moneys.' If Paupa Braminy's statement can be trusted, the cowle of Rajah Srī Ranga empowered the British 'to Coin Pagodas there with the stamp of the three following images, vizt, China Cassawa Sevanumy and the two Goddesses.'[1] It is probable that the privilege of coining was exercised without delay, for no complex plant was needed. As soon as the dies were cut, any native goldsmith was capable of refining the metal, casting pellets of the correct weight, and striking the coins. For some unexplained reason the Madras pagoda did not conform in weight to that current in the northern districts. Hence the distinction between the 'old pagoda' of Masulipatam and the 'new pagoda' of Madras. The earliest reference to the latter occurs in the charges framed by the Company against Andrew Cogan, in which the Agent is alleged to have expended on the Fort, between the 1st March, 1640, and the 30th June, 1643, 'the some of pagodas new 9250.' It is inferred that the new pagoda, which was worth considerably less than the old, was coined at Madras almost from the outset.

From the charges preferred by the Brahman brothers against Greenhill, and from the Agent's reply,[2] it is evident that in Ivie's time (1644-1648), when minting was in the hands of Cheṭṭis, the Agent withdrew their privilege, and nominated Company's servants to perform the duty. Greenhill expressly states that,

[1] Krishna (Vishnu), with Lakshmī and Rukminī.
[2] *O.C.*, No. 2441, 4th April, 1654, and *O.C.*, No. 2442, 10th Jan., 165⅘.

during his own first term of office, he 'appointed Englishmen to look after it.'[1]

The subsidiary coinage consisted of *fanams* and *cash*. The fanam was struck in gold containing a very large proportion of alloy. The silver fanam did not come into being till 1688. The fanam was a variable fraction of the pagoda. At Golconda the fraction was one-twelfth, at Porto Novo one-eighteenth, and at Pulicat one-twenty-fourth. At Madras it was nominally one-thirty-sixth, but the bazar rate of exchange ranged between 32 and 35 fanams to the pagoda. John Leigh mentions that the Madras fanam was equivalent to 3d., so that the pagoda was worth about 8s. 4d. The copper money was denominated *cash*, and the Madras fanam contained 80 cash. The single cash was merely a coin of account, the smallest piece struck being apparently 4 cash of account.

The rupee was not at this period coined in Southern India; but large quantities of silver dollars or 'ryalls of eight' were imported, and they seem to have passed current. In 1640 the expenditure on Fort St. George was calculated in 'pieces of eight,'[2] and four years later Andrew Trumball estimated the private fortunes of the Coast factors in the same coin. By 1656 the silver dollar had depreciated in value :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Ryalls of 8t. and all silver in Generall are at a very low esteeme; for though those your Worshipps sent out on the ship Mayflower bee very good, yet can wee hardly put them off at 18 for 10 new pagodas, and in Metchlepatam scarce 2½ for an old pagoda. By which rates you may percieve the loss on that specie, and on the other side compute the gaines had you beene pleased to convert the same into Gold, the one yielding here 5 or 6 per Cent. proffit, according to booke rate, and the other at Do. rates 12 per Cent. loss. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2579, 10th Nov., 1656.)

Hence the ratio of value between the new and the old pagoda was 1 to 1·39. A few months later, Fort St. George wrote, 'You may please easily to Compute the high value of old pagodas and the abasement of Rialls; . . . every 10 pagodas old being above 14¼

[1] In the Consultation of the 11th July, 1689, it is stated that the Mint was then of 'near fourty years standing'; but the period seems to have been underestimated.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 1763, 27th Nov., 1640.

do. new, and about $27\frac{1}{4}$ Ryalls.'[1] This makes the ratio 1 to 1·425. In 1661 Chamber's Council reported to England as follows :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Truro brought with her sterling 12,500*l.* in gold which, with the two chests of Corall, wee tooke ashoare into your Fort, and with what haste wee could, converted her gold into pagodas, to loose noe tyme of goeing in hand with our investments. . . .

'It is impossible that any Gold should be coyned in youre Towne of Madraspatam but what is stamped in your ffort. The Merchants may melt their Gold and have Essayes taken without, which is all. Otherwise, by your lawes the Offenders wilbe as Criminall as if any should presume in London to Coyne out of the Tower. Wee have heard indeed that some have attempted to Counterfeite your Stampe about the partes of Metchlepatam. But the falce Coyne was soone discovered by the people ; for though the Gold was of the same weight and finenes as yours, yet it would not produce in payment soe much by 10 per Cent. as your owne pagodas. Of such repute is the Honble Companys moneys in these Countreys. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 2865, 11th Jan., $166\frac{0}{1}$.)

Tavernier, a French merchant in precious stones, who travelled in India between 1651 and 1658, and subsequently published an entertaining account of his wanderings, depicts several specimens of pagoda, among which are, '(1) The old Pagod, (2) The King of Golconda's Pagod, (3) The Money which the English coin in their Fort St. *George* or else at Madrespatan : they call them Pagods.' Tavernier figures only the reverse of the first two,[2] but comparison with the pagodas preserved in the British Museum[3] shows that the obverse exhibited a rude figure of a deity, probably Vishnu. The 'old Pagod' was a thick flattened pellet of gold about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, whose reverse was plain but for a central dot and a mark like an arrow-head. The 'King of Golconda's Pagod' was a flat disc about five-eighths of an inch across, on the reverse of which was the name of a sovereign of Vijayanagar in Devanāgari characters. The retention of the Vijayanagar type by the King of Golconda, as well as by Fort St. George, was doubtless a concession to the conservative ideas of the people. The 'Money which the English coin in their Fort St. George' is a piece of the same size as the last, bearing on the obverse a rude figure of Vishnu with rays emanating from his person, and having the reverse plain.

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2610, 28th Jan., $165\frac{6}{7}$.

[2] *Voyages*, Tavernier, ii. 16.

[3] Kindly made by Professor E. J. Rapson.

Other types of Vijayanagar pagoda display on the obverse the figure of Vishnu either with or without his two consorts, and a plain or granulated reverse.

Captain Thomas Bowrey, a mariner who visited Madras at intervals between 1669 and 1688, gives the following 'Currant Coynes in this Kingdome'[1]:—

'*Fort St. Georg's, vizt.* New Pagods here coyned passe all the Kingdome over att the Rate of 8s.[2] Fanam of gold at 3d. Cash made of Coppar, 80 make one fanam. Royals of 8 are worth 5s. Rupees are worth 2s. 3½d.

'*Pullicatt.* The Pagod Valueth 8s. 6d. 24 fanams make one Pagod. 24 Coppar Cash make one fanam.

'*Golcondah.* The Old Pagod Valueth 12s. The fanam 1s.

'*Porto Novo and Trincombar.* The Pagod there Coyned Valueth but 6s., but theire Fanam is worth 4d.

'*Metchlipatam.* The forementioned coynes passe as per Idem rates.'

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1 *The Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, Bowrey, Hak. Soc., ed. by Sir Richard Temple, 1905.

2 In another place Bowrey gives 9s.

CHAPTER XV

1659—1662

FALL OF SAN THOMÉ—DISMISSAL OF CHAMBER—MADRAS FORTIFICATIONS

FALL OF SAN THOMÉ.

THE army of Golconda was still encamped near Madras when Chamber became Agent in 1659, but it left the neighbourhood as soon as the Hindu rising was considered to be suppressed. In 1661, however, the forces were again in the vicinity, consequent on the destruction of Porto Novo by 'Xagee the Vizapore Kings Generall.' Chamber wrote to the Company[1] that Madras was 'but weakly manned, and this is not a time to be unprovided when wee have 5 or 6 Armies within the Compasse of 100 miles about us.' The Dutch, too, who were absorbing the Portuguese settlements on both coasts, were suspected of designs on San Thomé; and the King of Golconda, rather than they should take the place, resolved to make himself master of it. His general, 'Rajah Cooley,'[2] laid siege to the town early in 1662. By the beginning of May the place was starved into submission, and its population flocked to Madras. The fall of San Thomé was not unexpected. Three months before, Governor Laurens Pit of Pulicat wrote to Batavia that 'the evacuation of St. Thomé has not yet been effected. . . . In the meantime some of the richest Portuguese merchants, especially those who had removed to St. Thomé from Negapatam, have gone to Madrespatam.[3] This town in consequence is much overcrowded, and is being extended very fast.'[4]

[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 18th Nov., 1661.
[2] *Rajah Cooley*, Rizā Kulī, afterwards known as Neknām Khān.
[3] Among these was João Pereira de Faria.
[4] *Hague Rec.*, 9th Feb., 1662.

The important event of the loss of San Thomé is but briefly alluded to in the Fort St. George Country Letters. There seems to have been an expectation in Madras that the place was to be ceded by Portugal to the British Crown; and there can be little doubt that the substitution of the insubordinate and neglected east coast town for the island of Bombay, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, would have been acceptable to Goa.

Fort St. George to Surat.

'St. Thoma hath a long time bin threatned to bee taken by the Dutch, and now is beseidged by the King of Golcondahs forces to prevent the Dutches surprizing of itt. The Portuguezees are desireing us to assist them, but wee are fearefull to doe any such thing untill wee shall receive certaine Intelligence that it belongeth to the Crowne of England, whereby wee may act securely (for you know the warrs with the Nabob hath brought us much trouble and Charge); but you could have freed us from this doubt if you had bin pleased to have wrote us the newes you received from Aleppo. THOMAS CHAMBER, THOMAS SHINGLER, WILLIAM JOHNSON, WILLIAM GYFFORD, JON KEN.'[1] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 8th March, 166½.)

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Herewith is a Coppy of our last. The original was sent to Raja Cooleys Camp to take passage unto you by Melech Mamoods Conveighance; but when hee dispatched it towards you, wee are not advised, for in his Journey hither hee dyed about 6 Leagues off; soe that if this Coppy come before it's originall, you know what use to make of it. . . .

'St. Thoma is still beseidged by land and sea by the King of Golcondah's forces. The Captain Moore[2] and Citizens have twice protested against us for not assisting them, which wee have denyed them till wee shall have order, least the brunt of this fall on our Towne, which the Moores would quickly turne upon us, haveing more to loose then these our Neighbours. . . . THOMAS CHAMBER, THOMAS SHINGLER, WILLIAM GYFFORD.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 7th April, 1662.)

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Wee cannot beleive what the Dutch report to bee true, that there should bee any English shipping arrived at Goa; for if it were soe, it would not bee long but wee should have the newes Confirmed, it being ordinarily but 20 dayes Journey for a Pattamar[3] from thence to this place.

'The Captain Moore and Citizens of St. Thoma have againe protested against us for not giveing them releife of provisions and ammunition. They have spent enough allready in the towne to have served them a compleate yeare if

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[1] Johnson, Chief of Masulipatam, and Ken, a factor from Bengal, were temporarily at Madras.

[2] *Captain Moore*, Capitão-Môr, the Portuguese governor.

[3] *Pattamār*, a running messenger, courier.

they had turned out, at their first beseidging, all unnecessary persons. The Moores would not be sorry if they could finde us to give them any assistance, for they would then quickely turne the Warre upon the Company, that have more to loose then the Portugalls. . . .

'Herewith wee send you a Jentue letter which wee would have your Mullah[1] turne into Persian, and give him a Charge to have a care that the language bee such as is fitting to bee presented to a King; for you will perceive that it is intended for his Majesty of Golcondah on the Portugalls behalfe. Which, when it is fairely wrote on with guilded paper, wee would have you Comend it to one of those great persons that are about said King, that it may be presented and come to his veiw: and wee desire Mr. William Johnson to subscribe the Agents name to it before you send it. . . . THOMAS CHAMBER, THOMAS SHINGLER, WILLIAM GYFFORD.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 7th April, 1662.)

Writing to Trevisa at the Bay on the 12th May, Chamber says[2]: 'St. Thoma was lost about 10 daies agoe to the King of Golcondah, and the Companys Fort is much threatned; but though wee have not order from the Company, as you call it, wee shall defend ourselves to the utmost of our power; and what wee cannot doe by Land, wee shall revenge ourselves by sea, as in the case of the Nabob, rather then wee will loose our trade and priviledges.' And in a letter to Masulipatam of the same date the Agent observes: 'This ship wee have kept here 6 or 7 days extraordinary because of the Combustions of warrs about us, St. Thoma haveing yeilded up the Goast to the King of Golcondah, as you have bin formerly advised,[3] and ourselves much threatned; though wee feare not what strength can come against us soe long as wee have the sea open.'

An account, from another source, of the condition of San Thomé at this period will be found on a subsequent page.

DISMISSAL OF CHAMBER.

Ever impatient of control, Chamber quarrelled with the President at Surat. One of the causes of difference is disclosed in the following letter to William Johnson :—

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Mr. Thomas Chamber doth pitty his unmerited malice that, haveing not ells to object against him in the management of the Companys Affaires, but

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[1] *Mullah*, from Hind. *mullā*, a Moslem learned in law.

[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 12th May, 1662.

[3] The earlier advice has not been preserved.

still to mencon the expulcon of the ffrench Padres out of the Companys towne, when they have bin reteyned here by soe many former Presidents and Agents, for the reasons as you have read in our Letter of the 26th May Last to the Worshipfull President Andrewes, knowing that, if the most rigid Presbiterian or most violent Independent were in the place of Mr. Thomas Chamber, or any other Protestant most adverse to superstition, they would Act as hee doth. And you, Mr. Johnson, was present a long time with Mr. Baker, and can tell better then any ells the reasons of their retencon; for said Mr. Baker was a Man very eminent in our Masters favour, whoe held him of greate abilities, or ells would not have given him 600*l.* a yeare when hee was sent here to scoure and purge the Coast of all things that were mannaged irregularly.

'Now, haveing the sense and opinion of all the Companys ffactors in keeping these Padres in the Freedome they were formerly maintaind in the former eminent Presidents and Agents times, We want only your Verdict, Mr. William Johnson, which wee shall desire you to give us in your next generall. For Mr. Thomas Chamber will act nothing without a joynt Consent, to which end hee meanes that all the Companys ffactors on the Coast shall meete togeather once a yeare, to consult on the better mannagement of the Companys Affaires the yeare ensueing. ffor if President Andrewes's greate Abilities can give better direccon for the Governement of the Companys businesse and Towne (at that distance) then Mr. Thomas Chamber, Etc. can doe that are present and have bin soe long a time on the place, then Mr. Thomas Chamber doth averre that hee is unworthy of the honble Companys employement; and when our Masters shall have an understanding hereof, doth expect to have a dismisse from his employement, and Casheered from further service. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 29th July, 1661.)

At the end of the year the Presidency had cause vigorously to denounce Chamber's methods of regulating trade on his own responsibility:—

'*Letter of Protest from the President and Council of Surat to Agent Chamber.*

'You had sooner received answere of your letter of the 27th September signed only by Mr. Chambers and none else (as though hee were absolute), if it had come to hand before the 12th of December; but, it being signed by none but himselfe, suppose the act to be his alone, and therefore shall give a particuler answere, though in a Generall from us; for wee suppose none in the Companys Service in the Fort would have subscribed such an irrationall, irregular letter to their certaine loss but himself, that thinks because that the Company hath put downe the Agency in the Bay, hee may doe what hee list, and send his Councell of errants up and downe to no purpose, that hee may act what hee list; but hee will certainly pay for it. . . .

'Wee aske you, Mr. Chamber, who made you our Superiour, or when did wee give you account of what goods were provided? Where, or when, or what other our Actions are, you are to observe our orders by Commaund from the Company, not you to put any on us. . . . Wee, the President and Councell of India, Persia, etc., for the managing the affaires of the Honble English

East India Company, do solemnly, in their behalfe, Protest against you Thomas Chamber, Agent for acting their Affaires in Madraspatam, for all Losses, demorage, damages, dangers, disputes, Law suites that may happen by the ship Truro being sent from you towards the Port of Surat. . . .

'You say that you have given us timely notice. Wee aske you where you had the Authority to give us timely notice to be obedient to your orders. You might learn better manners, but that a horse that never had oates could eate none. Besides 'twas very timely notice indeed when the letter came by a Bazar Cosset,[1] and wee have tould you when twas received. Wee are very glad Mr. Chambers hath an Estate to pay for such Losses he putts upon the Company. Hee is just like the Fish that leaps out of the frying-pann into the fire; for fearing, for his former unjustifiable Actions, the Company may seize upon his money that hee may lend, hee will send a ship emptie home. But wee shall punctually acquaint the Honble Company with what here mentioned, that at home they may provide for their own indemnity. . . .

'Next, that you do not send all your Councell from you, that you may alone Act as you please. . . . And Lastly, wee acquaint you that, if you Act not better to the Companys Benefitt, but take so great care of your owne, to their Loss, wee shall provide for a remedy. . . . MATTHEW ANDREWES, JOHN LAMBTON.' (*O.C.*, No. 2909, 15th Dec., 1661.)

Chamber then became frankly insubordinate:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Wee tearme still Mr. Andrewes President that wee may not derogate from his Command, but . . . it Cannot be prejudiciall to tell him, without boasting, that our Masters wrote us in their last letters that we had noe Coequall to contend withall in what should be acted on this Coast and Bay Bengalla. . . . In another clause of the same letter they institute Mr. Andrewes their Chiefe in Surrat, which is all the mention they ever made of you or Surat in any of their despatches, except at the Commencing of this new Stock they say all their Agencyes should be accomptable to their Presidency of Surat; but this order you have Cancelled long since, and turned us to graze in the world and shift for ourselves. . . . THOMAS CHAMBER, THOMAS SHINGLER, WILLIAM GYFFORD.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 7th April, 1662.)

On the representations of the Presidency, the Company ordered Chamber's dismissal. Edward Winter, who had gone home in January, 1660, to explain the affair of the Nawab's junk, and meet charges of private trading, pleaded his cause so persuasively that he was commissioned to succeed as Agent at Fort St. George. Knighted by King Charles II. at Whitehall in February, 1662, Winter started immediately for Madras. To avoid risk of delay, the Company despatched a forerunner in Mr. William Blake, who was charged to receive Fort St. George from Chamber, and

[1] *Cosset, cossid*, from Ar. *ḳāṣid*, a running messenger, dāk-runner.

dismiss Johnson, Chief of Masulipatam. Blake was then to go on to the Bay, dismiss Trevisa, and take his place :—

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Theis are to advise you that the ship good hope, Captaine Zachary Browne, in which wee Came, arrived here yesterday about noone. Ship Madras Merchant is daylie expected, on which Ship Sir Edward Winter, Knight and Barronet, and Agent of this place for the honble Company, takes his passage with some Merchants and writers. In his absence, by Commissions from the Company, Mr. William Blake is Agent: Mr. Thomas Chamber, late Agent, is discharged of his imploy. Therefore, on receipt of this, we require you not to observe any orders that shall Come to you from the said Mr. Chambers. . . . WILLIAM BLAKE, CHARLES PROBY, HANNIBAL ALLEN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 2nd Aug., 1662.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Thomas Chamber, by vertue of the Honble English East India Companies Commission given us, bareing date the seaventh day of february, 1661, wee discharge you, the said Mr. Thomas Chamber, of their service, and forbid you to act in anythinge as relateing to their affaires on receipt of this. . . .

'We require you, the said Thomas Chamber, to deliver up to us the Companys ffort St. George, with what belonging to it, and to acquaint the officers and Souldiers that the command now at present remaynes in Mr. William Blake, being by the Companie made Agent in the absence of Sir Edward Winter. . . . WILLIAM BLAKE, CHARLES PROBY, HANNIBAL ALLEN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol i., 1st Aug., 1662.)

Johnson's dismissal was next ordered, William Jearsey being appointed to succeed him as Chief at Masulipatam.[1] Mercantile business at Madras was left to 'Timane, the Companys Ancient Broker, a Person only experienced and to be trusted at present in the Extremitie of time.'[2] It being necessary for Blake to proceed to the Bay before the monsoon set in, orders were issued as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That what Claimes and pretences the Company has against the said Mr. Thomas Chamber . . . be left to be decided and examined at the arrivall of the right Worshipfull Edward Winter, Knt. and Bart. and Agent; and in Case hee should not arrive (which God forbid), then in like manner to remayne till Mr. William Blake shall retorne out of the Bay. . . .

'That the said Mr. Thomas Chambers bee not suffred to leave this place, or on whatever pretence to disert the Shore, or to send any part of his estate

[1] Johnson died on the 18th Aug., four days after his supersession.

[2] Beri Timmaṉṉa and Ḥasan K͟hān, *alias* 'Cassa Verona,' were now the Company's Chief Merchants. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 14th Aug., 1662, and *O.C.*, No. 3162, *circa* July, 1665.)

abord any Ship or Shipps, or out of this Towne or ffort, untill he shall have made full satisfaction for what he shall be found indebted to our Honble Employers. . . .

'That the said Mr. Chamber be secured with his estate in the ffort, in Case it can bee made appeare from this Date that he endevors to make an escape, untill he shall have Complied as before mencõned. . . .

'That all Civill respect bee shewd the said Mr. Thomas Chamber untill his actions shall otherwise Merrit, and that noe affront by words or actions be given him.

'That dureing the non arivall of Sir Edward Winter, Agent, the Companys affaires, according to their directions, are to be managed in this place and Metchlepatam by the Joynt approbation of Mr. Charles Proby, Mr. Shem Bridges, Mr. James Noell, Mr. Thomas Stiles, which is to bee understood as to our Masters Generall affaires; though each Person is to officiate in the place as expressed in a Commission or Instructions Left by Mr. William Blake. . . . WILLIAM BLAKE, CHARLES PROBY, SHEM BRIDGES, JAMES NOELL,[1] THOMAS STILES, HANNIBAL ALLEN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 27th Aug., 1662.)

[*Enclosure.*]

'*Orders and Instructions given by Mee, William Blake, now proceeding for Bay Bengall on Ship Coronation.*

'The keys of the Companys ffort St. George I have delivered to you the said Charles Proby, and [desire your] actions to bee suteable to a place of such trust, takeing care that yourself, with others of the Companys Servants, bee present at those tymes that are set apart for Godly Worshipp, and that noe man absent himselfe without a lawfull excuse. For your accommodation their, you are to take the Seconds Chamber, where you are not to absent yourselfe at nights. To avoid any differences that may arise amongst you touching Superiorities, as the place at Table, or in such like Case, I appoint the said Mr. Proby to have the respect as Cheife, and soe each person to take place as here mencõned, I mean as his name is first written. . . .[2]

'You are to keep in pay what souldyers, whether English or Portigues, are now listed in the Companys books, serveing in the ffort, or ffortification of the Towne. Also, wheras Mr. Thomas Chamber, late Agent, entertayned a Nomber of Piones or Lascarrs to Secure the outworkes of the Towne, in regard the Towne was Threatned by an enemy that Lay before St. Thoma; now, the said ffeares being over, you are to discharge all those excepting 40 persons, which are to keepe the 5 gates belonging to the Towne,[3] and to stand in the Cheife Streets, so to secure and have an eye of what Goods shall bee brought in or Carried out of the Towne, that soe our Masters be not abated in their Customs. Piones for attendance, or to Carrie Letters, or other Casuall bussines, you are to keep but 14; those to bee the Companys old servants. . . .

'To leave you larger advices, suppose needless, in regard Sir Edward Winter is daylie expected. . . . WILLIAM BLAKE.'

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[1] Bridges and Noell were young assistants, engaged locally in 1660. (*O.C.*, No. 2865, 11th Jan., 166$\frac{0}{1}$.)

[2] Bridges was to be Accountant, Noell, Warehousekeeper, and Stiles, Secretary, with Edward Herrys as his assistant.

[3] The gates are referred to below.

Chamber was detained at Madras for a considerable time. In 1663 he was directed to meet Mr. Blake in Bengal and settle the affair of the junk.[1] The Company's claims against him were afterwards examined at Fort St. George, and it was not until January, 1665, that he sailed for England. He departed with *éclat* as 'Admirall of the fleete' of five ships.[2] In the following year Thomas Chamber, then of Bromley, Middlesex, received knighthood. He was still living in 1691, when his name appears in a list of the Company's shareholders.[3]

The Fortifications.

Before the events of Sir Edward Winter's administration are described, it will be convenient to discuss the condition of the Madras defences. The subject presents difficulties, partly through the absence of maps and plans, but mainly because of the remarkable reticence which is observed regarding the fortifications in the letters to England. Between 1653 and 1661 the despatches contain only two allusions[4] to new works, although it is certain that much was constructed during the interval. The local letters are altogether barren, but one or two incidental references occur in the consultations.

The gradual erection of the small square fort projected by Cogan and Day has already been described down to its completion in 1653. That fort will henceforward be designated the *Inner Fort*, the name by which it was actually known at a later time. Between 1644 and 1648, some years before the Inner Fort was finished, an earthen wall or rampart had been built by Agent Ivie for the defence of the whole town, including both its European and Indian sections. The existence of this wall is proved by the following allusions made in the course of the disputes of Baker's time. These allusions all relate to the period of Ivie's government:—

(1) 'Towards the Building a Mudd wall about the Towne, there was seized from severall people 1345½ pags.; and Mr. Ivie appointed Sesadra to sett a man to take

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2970, 26th Feb., 166⅔.
[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 10th Jan., 166⅘, and *O.C.*, No. 3046, 12th Jan., 166⅘.
[3] Communicated by Mr. William Foster.
[4] *O.C.*, No. 2610, 28th Jan., 1657, and *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Nov., 1661.

Accompt of the Charges.' (The Painters' Petition, *O.C.*, No. 2542, *cir.* 1654.)

(2) 'Sesadra made a broyle with causeing the Mooree weavers to pass with burialls through the West gate.' (The Brahmans' Charges, *O.C.*, No. 2441, 4th April, 1654.)

(3) 'Chena Cittie was inticed away By Rustom Begues People, whoe conducted him, his people and Lumber over the Towne Walls.' (Greenhill's Answer to Charges, *O.C.*, No. 2442, 10th Jan., 165$\frac{4}{5}$.)

The extent of Ivie's wall is matter for surmise; but details of later date lead to the belief that the rampart bounded the north and part of the west side of the town, and probably the south side also. The northern wall, it is conjectured, ran from the sea along the present China Bazar to the end of Popham's Broadway, and the western rampart from this point southwards till it encountered the river. The south wall would be a short length traversing the spit of sand south of the Inner Fort.[1] That part of the perimeter of the town which was bounded by the sea and river was probably sufficiently protected by natural obstacles. The gates in the town rampart appear to have been three in number, two in the north face, and one in the western. The last, called the 'West gate' in the second quotation, is believed to be that which was afterwards known as Armenian Bridge Gate.

Directly the Inner Fort was finished, outworks were begun, which ultimately took the form of four bastions, two by the sea and two on the river's bank, constituting an irregular quadrilateral, and surrounding the European quarter of the town. From the Hague records we learn that, in 1653, President Baker erected 'a Bastion close to the Sea,' which was 'flanked by a dozen cannons.' This work was, it is thought, the bastion which afterwards marked the north-east angle of the Outer Fort. Early in 1657, during Greenhill's second administration, mention is made[2] of 'the outworkes which were lately made defensible, and four pieces of ordnance out of the Nabobs Junck planted thereon.' These outworks were probably two in number, and both close to

[1] The space enclosed thus included both the White Town and Black Town of Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 2610, 28th Jan., 1657.

the sea, for there is evidence that the two river bastions were built later. The Dutch archives show that, by the end of 1657, the British had 'thoroughly fortified the town of Madraspatam' and had 'raised a wall round the Castle.' The *Castle* was doubtless the Inner Fort, and the wall was a masonry structure of considerable height but slender thickness, which served as an enclosure wall, but not as a defensive rampart. Later records show that it extended along the north, east and south sides of the European quarter of the town. It constituted a curtain to the outer bastions built and prospective. Hence Greenhill is deemed to have erected the south-east or St. Thomé bastion, and subsequently 'the Towne wall.'

In 1659 we find Roger Myddelton writing from his 'lodgeings in the Castle within Fort St. George.' If by the *Castle* he meant the Inner Fort, then his *Fort St. George* would imply the outer fortifications. His remark that 'foxes come to the Castle gates' is comprehensible only if the word *Castle* in this sentence means the Outer Fort.

The next reference is Chamber's allusion of 1661 [1] to 'finishing the Outworkes about the Christian Towne.' Much of the expenditure, he says, was incurred in Greenhill's time, and the balance will be reported when 'the Point by the River side is finished.' This Point or Bastion was almost certainly the one marking the north-west angle of the town, and it is considered to be identical with the work which, ten years later, was designated 'Sir Thomas Chambers point.' The European quarter is, in 1661, for the first time, differentiated from the rest of the city, and denominated the 'Christian Towne.' This quarter was thus not only independently protected, but was shut off from the native town, which preserved its earthen rampart on the north and west. The last of the four outworks, that at the south-west angle, is attributed to Winter for reasons which will be given later.

The general conclusion is that, while Ivie built the rampart defending, first the whole town, and afterwards its native quarter only, Baker, Greenhill, Chamber and Winter, but principally Greenhill, were concerned in the construction of the Outer Fort.

Finally, we have William Blake's orders [2] of 1662, directing

[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Nov., 1661.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., 27th Aug., 1662.

that all specially enlisted peons be discharged, 'excepting 40 persons which are to keepe the 5 gates belonging to the Towne, and to stand in the Cheife Streets' to prevent evasion of the Customs dues. At a subsequent period the Christian Town certainly possessed five gates, but as late as 1673, according to Fryer's account, it had only three. Hence the word *Towne* in Blake's order is considered to apply to the whole city, to which Fryer assigns six gates, namely, the 'Water-Gate' in the sea face of the Outer Fort; in the north curtain, or dividing wall between the European and native quarters, 'two Gates, and Sally Ports to each, for to enter Maderas'; while in the native town, which is 'walled with Mud,' were 'two great Gates of Brick' on the north, and 'one on the West where they wade over the River[1] to the Washermens Town.' This west gate, afterwards called *Bridge Gate*, was in existence as far back as Ivie's time; and the *Sea-Gate* of the Christian Town, which Fryer calls the 'Water-Gate,' must have been constructed when the town was walled by Greenhill. The same may be said of *Middle Gate* and *Choultry Gate* in the north curtain of the Outer Fort, which gave access to Middle Street and Choultry Street, the two principal north and south thoroughfares of the native town. Egress from these streets to Muthialpetta through the north rampart was gained by *Mud Point Gate*,[2] which terminated Middle Street, and was easily accessible from Choultry Street. The last of the six gates was situated by the north-west angle of the native town, near the English Burial-ground. It was known as *Tom Clarke's Gate*,[3] and was probably the last to be built of the six. This gate is considered to have been non-existent when Blake issued his orders.

[1] Not the Elambore River, but a drainage channel bounding the native town on its west side.

[2] *Mud Point Gate* opened on the present China Bazar, opposite Tambu Chetti Street.

[3] *Tom Clarke's Gate* opened on the present China Bazar, opposite Popham's Broadway.

CHAPTER XVI

1662—1665

GOVERNMENT OF SIR EDWARD WINTER—PUBLIC WORKS

Government of Sir Edward Winter.

Sir Edward Winter reached Fort St. George from England in the *Madras Merchant* on the 22nd September, 1662,[1] and assumed charge as Agent. Finding no responsible Councillors at Madras, he re-embarked within three days, and proceeded to Masulipatam to confer with Blake and Jearsey. Proby accompanied the Agent, and Fort St. George was left in charge of Shem Bridges. James Noell, the next senior, died at Madras on the 30th October.

Masulipatam Consultation.

'Agreed uppon as follows; That in as much as Sir Edward Winter, three dayes after his arrivall at Fort St. George, beinge the 25th of September, embarqued himselfe againe upon the Madras Merchant for Metchlepatam, it was unavoydable, findinge Mr. Blake gone, and none except Mr. Charles Probie and Mr. James Noell at the Fort to consult with about what had passed and what was necessarye to be acted for the future. . . .

"That whereas the Hoñble Company have exempted Mr. William Gifford from beinge one of our Councell, beinge Jealous that he had wronged them in his Macassar Voyadge, . . . wee have called him strictly to account, and cannot finde him guiltie in the least of any unfaithfullness, but rather that he hath done our Masters eminent service, as per his answers to us in writinge appeares; and therefore we doe not onlye Cleare him of his accusation, but Confirme him as formerly as one of our Councell, and have elected him Accomptant Generall of Fort St. George, hopinge that he will Rest very well sattisfied in this our vindication of him, notwithstandinge his reputation hath beene called in question without cause. . . .

'That havinge received severall abuses from the Governor [of Masulipatam], or by his order, as beseidginge the factorie, not sufferinge for many daies any thinge of provitions to be brought, raisinge batteries and plantinge great Gunns against the house; and at another time, comminge home from the Garden,

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[1] *O.C.*, No. 2964, 2nd Jan., 166$\frac{2}{3}$.

without any occation given, assalted us in hostile manner, Kild one of our Company, an englishman, and dangerously wounded our Agent in severall places; that we write therefore to the Kinge of Gulconda, and acquaint him with these affronts, and require Justice. . . .

'That the undermentioned persons are to take place in order as they are underwritten in each place, vidiz:

'*Fort St. George.* Sir Edward Winter, Knt. and Bart.,[1] Mr. William Gifford, Shem Bridges, James Noell, Nathaniel Budlie, Thomas Stiles, Robert Dearinge, William Dawes, Edward Harris, Thomas Haselwood, Stephen Charlton, John Grover, John ffeild, Isack Jones, John Hopkins.

'*Metchlepatam.* Mr. William Jearsie [and five others].

'*Mettapollum.*[2] Mr. John Niclaes [and two others].

'*Pettepolie.* Ambrose Saulsbury [and another].

'*To go downe into the bay.* Mr. William Blake' [and three others]. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol i., 20th Oct., 1662.)

At a consultation held on board the ship *Coronation* on the 4th November, it was stated that two attempts had been made to murder Winter and Blake while they were travelling in their palankeens; and the governor of Masulipatam was credited with the intention of arresting the Agent and attacking Fort St. George. It was resolved that Winter should return at once to Madras, while Blake, Jearsey and Gyfford remained with the *Coronation* at Masulipatam to make reprisals. The governor, however, came to terms, and promised satisfaction.

During Winter's absence, the condition of affairs at Fort St. George was reported as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Agent at Masulipatam.

'According to your Worships Etc. Order, wee have layed aside and are provideing necessaryes for defence of the Fort; but wee hope, and upon probable grounds Conjecture, that they will not trouble us here. For the Gentue is something powerfull about the Tangore Countrey, and if hee Overcomes Balle Caun, the Vizapore's servant, 'tis thought hee'll meete with litle or noe Opposition in all these parts. To which purpose Raja Cooly's[3] Camp is fix'd about Trivaloore, and the consequence will prove too dangerous to spare any of his force to beseidge us. Wee have not declared any thing to the

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1 Winter styled himself Baronet, although the title does not seem to have been conferred by authority. Jeremy Sambrooke, one of his Council, deposed that 'Sir Edward Winter, to confirme that hee was a barronett, did then produce a commission from his Majestie, granted upon the desire of the honourable Company and given to Sir Edward Winter, their Agent then goeing for India, to send home Englishmen that piloted Moores junckes, in which hee is stiled only Sir Edward Winter, Knight, and the word Barronett was interlined above the line, and as plainely appeared to bee done with another inke.' (*O.C.*, No. 3231, *cir.* 1670.)

2 *Mettapollum*, Madapollam, a factory lately established under Masulipatam.

3 *Raja Cooly*, Riẓā Kulī, afterwards called Neknām Khān.

Towne's People concerning the Inthimation wee received from you, nor have the ffrench Fryers, whoe Concurre in Opinion with us. But wee shall privately (as before mencõned) make provision of Victualls in a large quantity, that if Occasion should bee, wee may furnish those of whose Assistance wee may stand in need, and whoe will bee something Unprovided by reason of litle or noe warning. . . . SHEM BRIDGES, JONATHAN BUDLEY, WILLIAM DAWES, ROBERT DERING.'[1] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 16th Nov., 1662.)

After his return to Madras, Winter wrote as follows to Jearsey and to the Company:—

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'To prevent the worst, wee are daily makeing Provision against whatsoever Enemy shall assault us ; yet at present Wee doe not suspect that there is any will attempt it. As Concerning the Agent's goeing up to Golcondah, Wee shall say litle to it untill our businesse bee Over, and afterwards it may bee debated amongst us whither his goeing may be requisite or not. In the meane time wee have returned our Answere unto Sied Mier Jaffer[2] and Christopher Wilkins,[3] which would have you send forward per first Opportunity. . . . EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM BLAKE, WILLIAM GYFFORD, SHEM BRIDGES.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 17th Dec., 1662.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'For the saifguard of the Fort it is absolutely necessarie, and tis not fitt your garrison should be unprovided of such things to defend ourselves against all attempts whatsoever ; . . . we shall desire your Worships to send out about 100 good swords for the souldiers, for at present they are furnished with noe other then butchers knives. . . .

'Wee must not omitt to acquaint you that wee have received most unsufferable abuses from the Governour of Metchlepatam, backed up by Seid Meir Jaffer, the next man to the King and Renter of all their Countreys, such as besidgeing the Factorie, not suffering for five or six daies any provitions to bee brought, raiseinge batteries and plantinge great Gunns against the House ; and at another time, without the least occation given or that they can pretend, sett upon us, killed our Trumpeter, and wounded our Agent in severall places ; one remarkable one he carrieth in his face, which will allwaies prompt him to a revendge whenever your Worships shall enorder it, which wee hope you will, that we take sattisfaction of them while their shippinge is in Port. . . .

'Wee have not above 26 Englishmen in the Fort ; therefore we are forced

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[1] In a letter of the 8th October, the factors announced that 'two of our English Souldiers, haveing obteyned Lycence of Captain Axtell to goe to drinck toddy at Tribblecane, are slipped away from the Companys service ; after whome wee sent some Peons and Talliars to make search. Their Losse is of noe greate Import, for they are Notorious Rogues, and their names are Robert Oldfeild and Thomas Betty.' This tends to show that Triplicane was outside Madras limits.

[2] Sayyid Mīr Jaffar appears to have succeeded Mīr Jumlah, or perhaps Sayyid Mīr 'Alī, as Nawab.

[3] Christopher Wilkins, late Gunner of Fort St. George, was in the Nawab's service.

to take as many Portugalls as formerly to maintaine the outworkes, but their pay is most of them but one halfe of the English pay, and some of $\frac{3}{4}$. We have the greater confidence in them now because of their alliance to the Crowne of England. But if you please to send us about 20 or 30 more Englishmen, it will be much for your honour and safgard for your Worships garrison; for the Moores have played so unworthy an act in takeinge of St. Thoma from the Portugall, contrarie to the Kinges firmaund, that there is no trusting of them; and soe we are necessitated to be at great expence to provide ourselves for the worst that may fall out. We thinke their intent is to Cutt us of all priviledges, and make us pay Custome. The King hath sent for the Agent up to Gullcondah. Wee have not as yett resolved upon his goeing; but we thinke it will be verrie necessary that, either by fare meanes or fowle, wee may bring things to a better passe, or elce farewell the trade to East India. . . .

'Of all the men, viz. Gunner, Minister, Armorer, and souldiers, your Worshipes sent out this last yeare, you appointed none theire Sallarie but the Captain[1] and the Minister. We desire to knowe what it is, that they may be allowed theire thirds. . . .[2]

'In the foregoing we writ for 100 swords. We want also as many musketts, and desire they may be fire locks, for most of the musketts we have now are neare eaten through with rust; and verrie often, in discharging them, they fly about their eares; so hope your Worships will firnish us with better, and about eight or ten drum heads. If som of the shipps that shall come out after this weare Kintelledged[3] with flint stones and Choake,[4] twould doe verrie well. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 10th Jan., 166$\frac{4}{5}$.)

Doubtful of the loyalty of some of his subordinates, Winter wrote privately to the Company as follows:—

Sir Edward Winter to Sir Andrew Riccard.

'I feare there are some not soe reall and faythfull to the Company as I could wish, for I have very small assistance from any of them, and great cause to believe they mind more theire owne businesse then the Companyes; which you may please to beleive I shall never doe, nor bee guilty of breaking that oath and promise I made to them, but indeavour faythfully to serve them as long as I am here. But unless you send out two or three able and honest men to assist mee, I shall hartily wish I had stayed at home, for I find soe many selfe interessed and fickle minded men here that I shall be wearyed out of my life. And you may please to take notice that, as I am ordered not to act without Councill, I know not, out of these men with us, how to make choice of such as are faythfull and true to the Company, but are soe farre carryed on by selfe interest that, if I should propose anything for the Companyes advantage, and not consistent with theirs, I should bee out voted. Wherefore there is a necessity that some honest and able men should bee found out fitt for the Councill, and otherwise to bee employed as occasion should offer.

'Since the Moores have taken St. Thoma, they keep there constantly 500 or

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[1] *The Captain*, Captain Thomas Axtell, who was appointed by the Company in February, 1662. He died at Madras in 1664.

[2] Two-thirds of the soldiers' pay was reserved as deferred pay, or for issue to the men's families in England.

[3] *Kintelledged*, ballasted.

[4] *Choake*, chalk.

600 horse, soe that wee are in danger of our lives if wee doe but goe out farther then the reach of our Guns, which makes our lives very uncomfortable to us; though at present they pretend fayrely with us, and I shall endeavour as fayrely to continue it.

'The charges wee have been at this yeare may bee lookt upon as something extraordinary; but I hope the reasons wee have given for it in our Generall Letter will bee satisfactory, and the next yeare I doubt not but to make the Towne, by an honest and just way, to bare good part of the charge. And be confident your goods shall be sent you home next yeare at least 15 per Cent cheaper then now they are. . . . EDWARD WINTER.' (*O.C.*, No. 2967, 30th Jan., 166⅔.)

The principal events of 1663 were the conclusion of peace between England and Holland, the death of Nawab Mīr Jaffar, and negotiations with his successor, Neknām Khān,[1] regarding the control of Madras. The negotiations were interrupted by another insurrection of the Naiks against their Muhammadan conquerors, and protracted until 1672, when agreement was finally arrived at, after payment of the 'Town Rent' of Pags. 380 had been withheld for eleven years.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 2983, 20th July, 1663.)

'We had latl[i]e newes from Mr. Blake that the Nabob[2] was very ill . . . but by latter newes from Golquondah it is very certaine that hee is dead. . . .

'Our last gave your Worships notice of some differences wee had with the Moores, which is now in a faire way of Composure, the Kinge haveing sent our English Residentary downe (which wee kept at Golquondah for the same purpose) to Invite the Agent up to Courte, haveinge honnoured the said person before his cominge with a Tasheriff,[3] promiseinge us as full and ample reparacon and satisfaccon for all injuryes and wrongs (as can possibly be desired or expected from us), his Majestie haveinge put his hand upon his heart, and sollemnly protesting upon the word of a Kinge that our Agent should not have the least haire of his head to perish, and hath Commanded 30 or 40,000 of his Horse men to meete him on the way, and to Conducte him up. Besides, hee hath received many amicable invitations from the Grandees and favoritts at the Court; whereupon our Agent hath entertained thoughts of goeing up thither (this Kinge haveinge promised to make a league Offensive and defensive with us), and wee hope hereby to obtain such priviledges for your Worships. . . .

'EDWARD WINTER,
'WILLIAM GYFFORD.'

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[1] The late Mr. William Irvine ascertained that Rizā Ḳulī, a noble serving Shāh Abbās in Iran, transferred his allegiance to Shāh 'Abdullah of Golconda, from whom he received the title of Neknām Khān.

[2] Mīr Jaffar is considered to be alluded to. Mīr Jumlah, whose connexion with Golconda had long ceased, appears to have died in 1662.

[3] *Tasheriff*, a complimentary gift, from Ar. *tashrīf*, conferring honour.

Winter does not appear to have visited the King, for at the end of the year we find the Nawab conducting negotiations at Madras:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee must Confess that wee have detained hir [the ship *George and Martha*] here much longer than wee should have done, in regard that Yecknam Caun,[1] the new Nabob, is within one league of us with an Army of about 40,000 men, and wee are in Treaty with him concerning the Rent of this place. And wee doe believe, before wee doe period these, shalbe able to advise you what contract wee have made with him (before which wee esteeme it something hazerdous for us to dispeed the said ship); for in her absence wee doe not know what they may attempt to doe, in regard their demands are soe great that wee can by noe means Concent thereunto, vizt., That they should have a Governour within our Walls, a bancsall,[2] and receive the exact moiety of the Customs, which wee think but little reason, in regard your Woorships have bin at such vast expences to bring this place to the perfection it is now Come to. It were better they would pay but one half the charges, as wee have proffered to leave the place and repaire to some other, rather than to yeild to their unreasonable demands. . . .

'Haveinge a long time observed the care and diligence of Captain Thomas Axtell in the well disciplininge of your Soldiers in this Guerrison, we are become suitors to your Woorships on his behalfe that you would be pleased to make an augmentation of his Salary, which at present is but 25*l.* per annum, and the place that hee is in requires great expences. And that your Woorships may be moved thereto, hee tells us of above 200*l.* that hee lost [by] beinge Absent from England, which otherwise in all probabillity Hee might have saved. This wee leave to your Woorships serious Consideracon, accountinge it our dutye, however, to encourage such whome wee esteeme deserveinge. . . .

'Wee did hope, ere the conclusion of this, to give your Woorships an Accompt of the issue of our Treaty with the New Nabob, Yeckman Caun, but as yett wee have received noe satisfactory Answer. Their demands are high and Demurs tedious, yett wee doe not doubt but Wee shall make good Conclusion. . . . In the Interim your Woorships need not to feare, for wee are in a good posture of Defence. . . . EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, EDWARD READE.' (*O.C.*, No. 2983, 10th Dec., 1663.)

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Wee understand by yours that Oringall[3] is with you at Metchlepatam. Wee knowe him to bee a rogue that hath much prejudiced the Companys Affayres, and put us to vast Expence in our Treating with Yeacknam Caun, wherein our Expectations are Quite frustrated by his recounting fallsityes unto the said Yecknam Caun, whoe otherwise had granted us his phirmaund, which was once writen, Signed and Sealed for the purpose. And whereas hee pretends hee is now in Yecknam Caun's Service, It is only that hee may abide there securely

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1 This is the first mention of Riẓā Ḳulī's new title.

2 *Bancsall*, a warehouse, storehouse for grain.

3 *Oringall*, perhaps for Alangād, a name often written Allingall.

from us. But in Consideration of the abovesaid, and that hee is gone away in our merchants Debts (whereof they did dayely make their Complaints), wee would have you to Seize uppon his person, And send him hither uppon your Shipp (if shee Comes). If not, however, to keepe him aboard untill you give us advice and Receive our answer Concerning him. EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, EDWARD READE.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 3rd May, 1664.)

Jearsey's neglect or refusal to carry out this instruction was the occasion of a bitter quarrel between him and Winter.

PUBLIC WORKS.

During Winter's rule a great impetus was given to the construction of public works and the development of useful institutions. The Fort House was enlarged, a chapel built, a hospital founded, a library established, warehouses erected, and quarters provided within the Castle for the chaplain and senior civil servants. The garrison was increased by about forty-five men sent out from England in 1664 and 1665. The privates, who were shipped as 'Landmen,'[1] were assigned pay at 13s. 4d. per month, sergeants at £1 5s., and armourers at £1. Accompanying the batch of 1665 was Philip Bradford, 'Chirurgion to the Fort.'

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When your Woorships shall receive our Bookes of Accompts, you will find the Charges of diett for the Agents table, in the moneths of January, February and March, somewhat to exceed your alowance; but it could not bee Avoyded in regard of the great Company which was then here, as Mr. Jearsey, Mr. Blake, etc. Besides, your Worships may please to take notice that provisions are extreame deare in this place since the Moores had St. Thoma. The charges of building and reparation allsoe we must needs confesse are very greate; but that not to bee valued in respect of the Convenyent Accomodation that there wilbe now within the Fort for your Worships Agents, etc., as allsoe a couple of large godownes for the preserveinge and better securitye of your goods. Wee have endeavoured (as you will find) to ease that charge as much as wee could another way, by enjoyning the Merchants[2] to pay 1000 Pagothaes towards it, soe that wee hope your Woorships will not bee much offended.

'The Mansion Howse is very noble, wherein may Constantly Abide the Agent, Second, Third, or Fowreth; Besides a very beautifull Chappell for Divine Service, and Convenyent Lodgings for the Minister, as alsoe a faire dineing-roome and Celler. And round about the said Mansion-howse are

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[1] One of the Landmen was James Betts, who afterwards rose to be commander of the garrison.

[2] *The Merchants*, the Company's native Merchants.

good Accomodations for about ten Factors; and the Fort within all paved with stone. . .

'It did lately happen that severall of our Souldiers have received great Mischeifs by the Breakeing of their Musquetts, whereupon one ended his Life. Soe that wee made a generall search and triall of them all, and there was noe lesse than 53 of them that would [not] endure the same, but breake to peeces; soe that it would bee convenyent that wee were recruited, but not with the Like; as allsoe some good swords, for what they have now are little better then Butchers knives (as wee formerly advised you). . . .

'Captain Thomas Axtell, of whome wee wrote to you in our last to make an Augmentation of his Salarie, is since departed this Mortall life, though very well at the writeinge thereof: soe Leave it to your Worships care for the sendinge out some other able and Civill man.[1]

'Mr. Thomas Whitfeild, Minister, is with us at present, and willinge to staye here untill your Worships please to send out another to supplie his place; which wee desire may bee by the next shipinge, because hee is very importunate with us to goe home then. His Bookes wee have thought requisite to buy of him, to bee Continued as a Standing Library in your Fort for the better Convenyencie of such as shall succeed, in case they bring them not with them: We hope that your Worships will approve thereof. . . . EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, EDWARD READE.' (*O.C.*, No. 2983, 6th Jan., 166⁴⁄₅.)

The account of the chapel is noteworthy. The present church of St. Mary, built by Streynsham Master outside the fort proper or citadel, was not begun till 1678. Divine service appears to have been originally held in the dining-hall, but Winter alludes to 'a shedd' which had lately been used for that purpose. The new chapel, which is believed to have been a timber structure, was situated within the Castle, and it was afterwards used as a Court of Justice. At a consultation held in 1678 it was resolved 'that the Governour and his Councell do sitt in the Chappell in the ffort upon every Wednesday and Saturday to judge all Cases.'[2] Daniel Havart, one of the few early travellers whose recorded impressions of Madras have come down to us, wrote as follows[3]:—

'Having passed the Mount, one arrives at the town of Madraspatam, which is very strongly built like a castle in the European manner, and provided with four bastions. Inside, there is a little fort, also with four bastions, built of ironstone,[4] but without a moat. Within this dwells the English Governor and certain English of note. The remaining English (for they possess the whole town) live outside, or in the city. The Castle is called St. George.

'Inside the small fort is a little church, very neat, and prettily built of wood,

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[1] Lieutenant Francis Chuseman was sent out in Axtell's place.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 18th March, 167⁷⁄₈.

[3] *Op-en-Ondergang van Cormandel*, Havart, 1693. Havart's visit to Madras is judged to have been made between 1670 and 1678.

[4] *Ironstone*, laterite, a ferruginous claystone.

and inside so beautiful that it is a pleasure to peep into it. I do not know that I have anywhere in the whole of India seen a finer; and I must acknowledge, in respect of this fort, that it far surpasses the Dutch one at Palleacatta.'

Regarding the difficulties with which he was beset, Winter wrote privately to the Company:—

Sir Edward Winter to Sir Andrew Riccard.

(*O.C.*, No. 3013, 7th Jan., 166⅔.)

'Wee are at this tyme in treaty with them [the Moors], and they set a very high rate upon the Customes of this Towne; and because wee refuse to rent it at that rate, they press us to have a Governour of theyr owne placed here, which I know will be very prejudiciall to the Company; and it haveing bin free hitherto, shall never be allowed of by me without the Honble Companys order for it. . . . I am very sencible of the great charges we are at in Maineteining the Garrison, but hope the Company will take the cause of it into theyr Consideration; for the New Nabob hath long threatned, and lately come with an Army within five miles of us, and at this tyme lyes neare us, and what their intents towards us are wee cannot tell. . . . These troubles in the Countrey, and the small assistance or trust I can find from those Factors lately sent out, much discourages mee; and had I knowne I should have mett with such interuptions here, I should not upon any termes have undertaken the employment; and hope the Company will think of some other to succeed mee when my tyme is expired, for I shall be very loath to exceed that tyme above one yeare, which, rather then theyr affaires here shall suffer, I will stay so much longer. . . . Wee are forced, upon the differences with the Moore, to keepe Rashputts,[1] and other servants, to defend the Towne without, at as much charge as the Garrison within, which the Towne pays that they may keepe themselves from ruine. . . .

'EDWARD WINTER.'

Towards the end of the year, when Winter was visiting Masulipatam, the Fort St. George Council reported the establishment of a hospital at Madras:—

Fort St. George to the Agent.

(*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 10th Nov., 1664.)

'The Souldiers in the Fort, since your Worships absence, hath bin something strictly held to their duty, and according to your order they had noe free guard;[2] soe that the fresh souldiers which came forth this year, takeing up their habitation in the bleake winde in the hall, fell sick. Four of them are dead: aboute tenn remaine at this time very sick, and complaine (and it seemes not without reason) that the wages are not sufficient to supply them now in this

[1] *Rashputts*, Rajputs.

[2] The Free Guard was the portion of the garrison off duty. Ordinarily, the garrison was divided into three reliefs, of which one was on duty, one next for duty, and the third off duty.

time of their sickness. Soe, rather then to see Englishmen dropp away like doggs in that Manner for want of Christian Charity towards them, we have thought it very Convenient that they might have an house on purpose for them, and people appointed to looke after them and to see that nothing comes into them, neither of meate nor drinke, but what the Doctor alloweth. And have for that purpose rented Mr. Cogans house at two pagotheas per moneth; which we hope you will so well approve of as to continue it for the future.

'And in regard wee esteeme ourselves to bee in a very quiett condition, not feareing any disturbances, wee thought good, as formerly, to appoynt them a Free guard againe for their encouragement; for it seemes they were much disheartened, and have long prayed for your Worships comeing. . . .

'Nothing in a manner hath bin done since your goeing hence towards the finishing of the Fort buildings for want of Chanambe. . . .[1]

'WILLIAM GYFFORD.
'JEREMY SAMBROOKE.'

The Company, while desiring that Madras should be made defensible, and advocating the training of native soldiers, considered that Winter's expenditure on buildings was excessive:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The next thing that wee recommend unto your cares is the secureing of yourselves, our Fort, Towne and Estates on Shoare. And because wee know not what attempts may bee made by the Dutch or others, wee require that you endeavour fully to secure and strengthen our Fort and Towne; to which purpose, as an Adition to what you have all ready, wee now on these shipps send you severall peeces of Greate Ordnance, Musketts, Shott, Powder, &c. . . . The great Gunns which wee now send you, wee suppose will bee very propper to bee planted toward the Sea: however, wee leave them to you to bee disposed of in such places where they may bee most usefull. The musketts are some of them light, which wee have caused to bee soe made on purpose; and wee question not but they will bee as serviceable as those which are heavier, and more pleaseing to the Natives or others that shall make use of them. And therefore wee require you to traine up the Natives in the use of Armes, and Arming them and such other of the Inhabitants as may bee most usefull unto you, and such as you can best confide in; and getting in a good stock of rice and other provisions in case of a seige. . . .

'As to the Greate Charge of Building and Reparations, wee cannot at present give our allowance thereunto till wee shall know of what use and benefitt they will bee unto us, and then wee shall give our resolution: till then Respite the same. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. iii., 21st Dec., 1664.)

A fresh insurrection of the Hindus against their Moslem conquerors is mentioned in a letter from Edward Winter to his brother Thomas in England:—

Sir Edward Winter to Thomas Winter.

'The Company have desired that the charge of the Garrison may be Lessened, but are not sensible of the danger we lay in, the Jentues being now

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[1] *Chanambe*, *chunam*, lime, from Hind. *chūnā*, Malayal. *chuṇṇāmba*.

fallen on the Moores again, and its said are likely to overcome them and Redeeme this part of their Countrey again. Which if they should, we may expect they will doe us all the mischiefe they can, by reason formerly President Baker and Agent Greenhill did lend the Nabob some of our men and Guns to assist him against the Gentues when he overcame them; for which cause they owe us noe good will to this day. Therefore I thinke it not convenient to discharge any of our men as yet; but if I see that noe danger is likely to come uppon us, I shall soone lessen the charge; or, if the Company enorder that noe souldiers nor Peons shall be kept, it shall be satisfactory to me what I doe is for the preservation of their Right.

'Perhaps Mr. Buckeridge[1] may give the Company a Large Accompt of my building here; but my last years Letters told them the truth, and necessity of all. For what was done in the Fort is for a place to serve God in (which before was only a shedd and would not keepe us drye), and Lodgings for their Servants, and Godownes for their Goods, and are all soe necessary that it Cannot but be allowed and liked off; and yet we have soe little houseing that we are forced to hire rooms for our sicke men, eight or ten being downe together. I am soe willinge to give the Company Content that, if they shall not allow of what is built without the Fort,[2] being onely Warehouses and a Stable, that I will, if they shall like of it, take that buildinge to myselfe and pay them the money it Cost. And yet, that is soe necessary that the Company Cannot be without it; for they want Roome soe much that I am forced to let Mr. Sambrooke have the use of most part of my house[3] to keepe the Companyes Cloth in, and lodging for himselfe, by Reason those buildings are not yet finished.

'Mr. Sambrooke will write as much to some of his friends, and I have desired him to acquaint the truth of whatsoever businesse he hath bin Conversant in since his Arrivall, for I take him to be a very understanding, discreet, and honest young man, and very fit for that Imployment[4] the Company ordered him, or any other; and I wish the Company had sent out two or three more such as he is, instead of such shatter braynd fellowes as Proby and Niclaes.' (*Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. iii., 12th Jan., 166$\frac{4}{5}$.)

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[1] Mr. Nicholas Buckeridge, a Commissioner sent out from England.

[2] *The Fort—i.e.*, the Inner Fort.

[3] Probably Winter's private residence.

[4] Sorter of cotton cloth.

CHAPTER XVII

1665

SUPERSESSION OF WINTER—THE COUP D'ÉTAT

SUPERSESSION OF WINTER.

DISSATISFIED with Winter's government, and influenced by insinuations made by Jearsey and others, the Company sent out Mr. Nicholas Buckeridge as 'Supervisor' to investigate matters on the spot. The Commissioner arrived in the middle of 1664, and sat, during his stay of six months, as Second of Council. The first matter discussed related to an English captive with the King of Golconda, who was in due course released:—

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'There is one Simon Heaman whoe is kept prisoner in some Castle betweene Gulquondah and Metchlepatam, aboute whome the Company hath wrote unto us to disburse between two and 300 *l.* for his Releasement. Wee desire you first to Enquire whither hee bee liveing or not, and then if hee bee willing to Depart from the place; for wee have intillegence that hee is turned Moore. And you may advise him . . . that his Deceased father hath left him an Estate which hee will Injoy if hee Retorns for his Countrey, otherwise not. EDWARD WINTER, NICHOLAS BUCKERIDGE, WILLIAM GYFFORD, CHARLES PROBY, WILLIAM DAWES.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 4th July, 1664.)

To facilitate the Supervisor's inquiries, Winter, Buckeridge and others proceeded to Masulipatam. There the quarrel between the Agent and Jearsey broke out afresh. As Buckeridge sided with the latter, Winter declined to associate with them, and retired in dudgeon to Madapollam, where he remained some three months, corresponding with Gyfford, Sambrooke and Dawes, whom he had sent to Madras. Charges against the Agent took shape, and, from the following letter, it appears that the chief accusations were that he had appointed his relatives to the service, failed to procure a

settlement of Chamber's debt to the Company, exceeded the prescribed allowance for the general Table, neglected to attend divine service, and exhibited a leaning towards Roman Catholicism. The letter went home with a fleet of five ships, which carried the Supervisor, Gyfford, ex-Agent Chamber, and two factors. Having reason to think that piratical craft might be encountered, the Council notified the commanders as follows[1]:—'Wee doe absolutely order Mr. Thomas Chamber, late Agent, to be Admirall of the fleete, and to ware the flagg weeresoever he goeth; who at present is in the Coronation, a Shipp of fforce, and none of you (wee doe beleive) will object against the Couradge of the Commander.'

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Although much discouraged that our best endeavours are so badly approved of, and that your Worships are so ready to Creditt misinformacons and false reports, rather then to referr yourselves to your servants owne advices; but to pass by the discredit your Worships have done your Agent in being so mistrustfull of him as to send a Supervisor, it concernes him, &c., now to vindicate their reputacon, and make appeare that their actions have not deserved such hard sensures. . . .

'The Agent hath not received any of his Relacons into your Worships Imployment except Mr. Edward Reade, which was done by a Generall Consultacon, and therefore allowable by your owne order. And concerning the Money which is reported that the Agent should force from Mr. Chambers and Tymonah, and is the mayne business that is so much harped upon by his advisaryes, and therefore may in your Worships esteeme at present obnubulate all his good services; but let it please you to rest sattisfyed concerning that, in regard Mr. Buckeridge hath had the oportunity severall tymes to examine both of them. . . .

'The Agent doth humbly advise your Worships that hee hath refused to Act anything with the Councill you have appointed him, for hee lookes upon many of them [as] not capeable of advising anything for your good, and most of them his utter Enemys; so that, let him propound what he will for your benefitt, yet they will not assent to it. Therefore hee esteemes it too great a shame for him to bee an Agent of Wax to bee moulded into what shape they please. . . . The truth is, tis not unknowne to your Worships what differences hath a long tyme bin betweene the Agent and Mr. Jearsey, which is now growne to that hight that there is no reconcilement. . . . The difference being thus continued, and Mr. Buckeridge, whome you now have sent out, joyneing with him for some reasons touching his owne Intrest, which the Agent will make knowne to those of his acquaintance among you; and there are others of the Councill which have byn supplyed in their necessityes, and so, right or wrong, are obliged to their beneffactors; and thus they are tyed togeather in a string, so the Agent leaves them to doe their worke, and hee will doe his. And hee doth not question, but expects, that there will goe more storyes this yeare again

[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 10th Jan., 166⅘.

of him to your Worships then is true, or at least that hee need vallue. Tis their common Custome, knowing the Agent to bee a passionate man, to provoke him to speake many things, on purpose that they might lay hold of them, either to advise your Worships in Generall, or some of you in particuler ; but hee hopes that his carefullness in his business and Complying with your Worships as to the mayne thing required, will not permitt one thought upon these vaine differences, which tend not to your proffitt. . . .

'The Agent never pretended any other then your Worships owne Commission for the sending such of your servants home which were refractory. His Majesties Commission hee made use of for the sending home of English Pilotts not enterteyned in your Worships service.[1] But his Commands in that particular, and said Commission, were both alike regarded : the world is now come to that passe that all are Councellors, and there's scarcely any left to bee Commanded. . . .

'As touching your Worships last Accusacon, that informacon is so ridiculous a falcity that the Agent almost thinkes it better to answer it with silence ; therefore will say no more then this, that Mr. Whitefield, who was our Minister, can testify to your Worships that the Agent constantly himselfe attended publique prayers, except some dayes during the Churches repaire, and Commanded all under him soe to doe, and punished them with an amercement if they neglected ; insomuch that thereby wee have a small stock of Money geathered for the poore.[2] And for the Popish Religion, hee hath publiquely shewed his distaste against it by banishing the Towne two of their Bishops[3] who would have byn tampering with some who were Baptised into our Religion. . . .

'Notwithstanding your Worships have taken care to furnish us with men for the Fort, yet wee may expect, according as tis usuall, that most of them freshmen will Dy; so that wee cannot well discharge any of the Portugues soldiers. Twere good indeed if wee had all our owne Nacon ; but these Portugueses have now no other habitacon,[4] and there's no doubt but that they will bee faithfull to us against the Moores, espetially since their Allyance. But if it be your Worships pleasure to have all English in the Fort, then you would doe very well to send over people sufficient both of Men and Women to inhabit here. The Women may bee such as have byn brought up to spinning and knitting, and then they may be imployed in makeing of Cotton stockings and Gloves, which in tyme may prove a good manufacture for your Worships accompt both for Europe and India. . . .

'The Agent doth not, nor never did, charge your Worships with more than 200 *l.* per annum for his Dyet,[5] except in two or three moneths at Mr. Blakes and Mr. Jearseys being here, and that should bee no wrong, for they ought not to charge it in their owne Factoryes for the tyme of their absence ; but the Agent hath just cause to Complaine for your Worships short Allowance, in regard that, since the takeing of St. Thomay, all provisions are so deare that three tymes the summe doth not excuse him. . . .

'Your Worships may please to take notice that there will be a necessity of

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1 The King's Commission authorized Winter to deport British pilots who served Moslems.

2 The beginning of the Church Stock, of which more will be said in the sequel.

3 Fathers Ephraim and Zenon.

4 Owing to the expulsion of the Portuguese from San Thomé.

5 *His Dyet*—*i.e.*, the maintenance of the General Table.

keeping our Servants, in regard of the troubles are like to bee in the Countrey betweene the Gentues and Moores, and that, notwithstanding our Large expence at the Camp, they will expect at Length to receive the 380 pagodas yearely agreed with them[1] for the Rent of this Towne, which hath not byn paid them for these three yeares past, because they Demaunded a greater summe contrary to their Cowle. . . .

'Wee give your Worships thankes for sending us so able and painefull a Minister.[2] The Allmighty direct us to follow his Doctrine. . . .

'The Agent hath received no advice from Mr. Buckeridge, or any of the rest of them, how they have concluded, so little it seemes they esteeme him to be concerned in that business; yet hee hath thought convenient not to impede the said Mr. Chamber proceeding for England. Sir Edward wholly referrs himselfe to your Worships to consider how hee hath byn abused, and is not desireous to serve your Worships longer then hee can give you Content, and earnestly beggs the favour that you would not pass any harsh Censure on him untill you have his reply unto what Mr. Buckeridge shall reporte. . . . EDWARD WINTER, WILLIAM GYFFORD, JEREMY SAMBROOKE, WILLIAM DAWES.' (*O.C.*, No. 3046, 12th Jan., $166\frac{4}{5}$.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'In our last wee advised of a small stock that wee had gathered for the reliefe of our poore and sick souldiers here . . . you may bee pleased also to take notice in what want wee are of Englishmen for Souldiers by the Mortallity that hath hapned amongst those last sent out, as per list of Dead men herewith sent,[3] though wee Cannot but Confess that their owne ill liveing and Debauchedness was the Cheife outward cause that brought them to their ends. And therefore shall desire your Worships that, if possible, you would send us out such civill persons as might not be the cause of their owne ruine. And if they were decayed handicraftmen, as shoemakers, Taylors, Carpenters, Smiths and such like, they would bee very usefull here, and in a capacity of getting more then their wages. . . .

'Your Worships formerly provided for the Padary which is now gon home[4] a parcell of bookes, being in parte the returnes to him for a bale of Cloth which hee sent home to you. The Agent, not knowing your resoluc̃ons of sending out another Minister, contracted with Padra Whitefeild, upon condic̃on that hee should stay heere, to allow him the Cost of the Bookes, and they to remaine here as parte or the beginning of a Lybrary for your Worships Accompt, and paid him the full amount of them, as appeareth by the bookes. . . . EDWARD WINTER, JEREMY SAMBROOKE, WILLIAM DAWES.' (*O.C.*, No. 3038, 21st Jan., $166\frac{4}{5}$.)

The departure of Gyfford, who had exceeded by a year his covenanted term of five, caused Winter keen regret.[5] There

[1] By Greenhill in 1658.

[2] The Rev. Simon Smythes, appointed by the Company in January, 1664.

[3] The list includes Captain Axtell, one sergeant, two armourers, and five rank and file. All but two died within six months of their arrival.

[4] The Rev. William Whitefield.

[5] In fact, a valedictory order was penned for the first time in Madras history. *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xv., 10th Jan., $166\frac{4}{5}$.)

remained only Sambrooke and Dawes in whom the Agent placed confidence. To them he explained his position as follows:—

Sir Edward Winter to Jeremy Sambrooke and William Dawes.

'You cannot but bee sencible how much I have byn discouraged by Mr. Buckeridge, Mr. Jearsey, Mr. Proby and Mr. Niclaes in the manadgement and transacting the Honble Companys Affaires, and how they have combined against mee and thwarted whatsoever I have proposed, though very apparent to the Companys benefitt; and you have heard also how some of them hath formerly maliciously and falcely accused mee at home by their Letters; and that the Company were apt to give Creditt to them was seene by their sending Mr. Buckeridge, who exceeded his Commission dureing his stay, and at his Departure, by his Letter tooke upon him to prescribe mee rules and Orders, [and] is now returned undoubtedly with a resolučon farther to practice what hee aymed at and endeavour[ed] here, namely to make all my actions crimes, and, as much as in him lay, to Discreditt mee to the Company. Wherefore I have seriously Considered with myselfe and resolved that, unless the Honble Company shall Confirme that power they formerly gave mee as their Agent by the next shipping, and enorder some meanes to prevent those abuses to them (which I advised were practized by Mr. Jearsey and Mr. Niclaes and others), I will by the next shipps returne to my Countrey. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3048, 23rd Jan., 166⁴⁄₅).

The Company, however, waited for neither Buckeridge's report nor Winter's justification, but sent out Mr. George Foxcroft to supersede Sir Edward. Foxcroft reached Madras on the 22nd June, 1665, and at once assumed charge. Winter was permitted to continue at Fort St. George as Second in Council until the expiration of his contract period of three years, and thereafter to reside at Madras until he could realize his private estate.

Sambrooke, the Sorter of cloth and Winter's quondam *protégé*, considered the arrangement unsatisfactory. Writing to his father, he refers to 'not a few Rogues' who stand between the Company and the native Merchants, cheating the former and ruining the latter. Himself and Dawes, he says, are the only persons who will hinder them, as Sir Edward supports them. Sambrooke then darkly hints that these persons were responsible for the death of Mr. à Court,[1] and that Sir Edward, knowing of the matter, hushed it up. He adds:—

[1] At the time of its occurrence, à Court's death was thus recorded: 'The 4th of the moneth of May [1661] It pleased the Allmighty to free Mr. William a Court from the troubles of this world, being sick of a feaver about 14 dayes before, and by the Divine Providence the 4th July following arrived in this roade the Royall James and Henry' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 28th Nov., 1661).

Jeremy Sambrooke to Samuel Sambrooke.

'I looke upon the Company as having bin especially overseen in three things; in sending an Agent out that was never in India; in continuing of Sir Edward, giving him leave to stay in the Country, and yet by their letters, if guilty, they enorder him amongst the rest to bee sent for England; the last, that they did permitt the Agents sonn[1] to come along with his Father, fearing that, what betweene Sir Edward's underhand dealing with him, both by his discourse and presents, and hee working thereby upon his Father, that the Company may have cause to repent. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3052, 11th July, 1665.)

The Coup d'État.

New to the country, Foxcroft set himself to learn the details of Madras administration. Directing Proby to examine Winter's accounts, he speedily discovered that the late Agent was indebted to the Company in several matters. Winter, who was serving as Second of Council, entertained no very friendly feelings towards the man who had supplanted him, and when awkward questions were asked regarding his own conduct, he resolved on the bold step of usurping the government. It was not difficult for an ardent Royalist to discover a pretext where a Puritan, whose sympathies had lately been Cromwellian, was concerned. Conversation at the general Table sometimes turned on politics, and the younger Foxcroft was alleged[2] to have made observations which were defended by his father, but which Winter professed to regard as treasonable utterances. In September, with the aid of the commander of the garrison and other friends, Sir Edward caused the Agent to be arrested and imprisoned, and himself seized the government.

Several accounts of the revolution are extant. One is contained in a General letter to England from the new administration, dated the 30th September; another is a 'Narrative' signed by Winter and others; a third is by Captain Chuseman, and a fourth by Proby; while a fifth is a very prolix communication from the captive Foxcroft to the Company, dated the 26th September. At a later date Sambrooke also supplied a deposition. The Narrative, which contains a concise relation, is here transcribed first, and extracts from the other accounts follow it.

[1] Nathaniel Foxcroft.

[2] Sambrooke, however, deposed that the whole story was a fabrication.

'The Narrative.

" Bee it knowne unto all men, by these presents, to whome it may concerne, that whereas, upon the 22nd June last past, in the yeare 1665, there arrived in the roade of Madraspatam on the Coast of Choromandell, on the Shipp Greyhound, Captain Browning Commander, one Mr. George Foxcroft, deputed by the Honourable English East India Company to succeed Edward Winter, Knight and Barronett, in the Agency of Fort St. George on the Coast aforesaid; that he, the said George Foxcroft, according to the order and Commission by him produced, had the said Fort, together with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, delivered up unto him : when presently after his being put into full possession of all those rights and interests which the Honourable Company by his Majesties grant enjoye in these parts, begun for to discover that temper of spiritt which, as it could not but bee troublesome to all Loyall hearts, soe it gave the necessary occasion to those ill Consequences that have since hapned.

' But more especially in or about the midst of the month of August 1665, as by depositions upon Oath sent from hence to England doth most evidently appeare, things came to that open boldnesse and extravagancy that Simon Smythes, Minister of the aforesaid Fort, did publiquely at table warne Nathaniell Foxcroft, sonne of George Foxcroft above mentioned, not to use any such lavish expressions as he then vented, and withall told him they would beare no lesse then the weight of treason against his Majestie in England. Which reprehension George Foxcroft, his Father, was soe far from approving that, instead of checking his sonne Nathaniell Foxcroft, he openly Commanded the said Simon Smythes to hold his peace as to that matter; and presently thereupon, by words of the same effect, both abetted and asserted the former treason. Whereupon hee, Simon Smythes, the same afternoon acquainted Edward Winter, Knight and Barronett, second of the Generall Council and the next person in power in these parts, of what had hapned, and how it concerned him, and his Majesties honour, and the Companies interest not to suffer words of soe bad and high a nature to passe without a publique notice. Whoe, in order thereunto, shewed himselfe very chearfull and ready to assert his Majesties interest with what hazard of his owne person or estate soever. And though at first he were in some doubt whither to make the charge by Letters into England, which would prove tedious and uncertaine, it being in the power of the adverse party to suppress all pacquetts which he disliked of, or whither to impeach the said George Foxcroft and his sonne of sedition and treason here upon the place, which was dangerous, as appeared afterwards, to himselfe and both his Witnesses;[1] yet resolved afterwards, with what perrill soever to impeach him, the said George Foxcroft, and his sonne Nathaniell openly and in the face of the Councill.

'And in order thereunto, on the 14 day of September 1665, about 9 of the clocke in the morning, being accompanied with the two witnesses only, went up into the Councill Chamber, and there, in the presence of Charles Proby, Jeremy Sambrooke and William Dawes, Francis Chuseman, Captain of the soldiery, Simon Smythes, Joseph Farley and Francis Berwicke[2] did impeach

[1] The Rev. Simon Smythes and Mr. Joseph Farley.

[2] Proby, Sambrooke, and Dawes were Foxcroft's Councillors; Farley was a factor lately arrived, and Berwicke was the Agent's servant.

the said George Foxcroft, Agent, of severall seditious and treasonable words by him spoken against his now Majestie Charles the Second, King of England, etc. Whereupon the said George Foxcroft was soe farr from submitting to the charge or offering to cleare himselfe of it, that hee flew out into severall wilde and abusive words; and in fine, upon the whole matter, hee and Jeremy Sambrooke and William Dawes, two of the Councill, refused to heare anything of a charge against the said Agent, though the witnesses voluntarily and of their owne accord offered to make it good upon Oath; and stood peremptorily to this position, that the Agent, during the time of his Agency, could not be charged with treason, though it were in the King's name. And imediatly the said Edward Winter and the two witnesses, goeing to the Corps du guard,[1] published the impeachment among the soldiers, demanding their assistance in the securing of them; but offring to goe out, were seized upon and confined close prisoners to the Fort, with[out] any reason soe much as alleadged for it.

'Friday, September 15, 1665, after all faire meanes of Legall and quiett proceedings were thus utterly denyed, he, the said Edward Winter, and Simon Smythes, one of his witnesses, drew up a charge in his Majesties name upon Charles Proby, Merchant, and Francis Chuseman, Captain of the Soldiers, to use the utmost of their power, dilligence and interest for the seizing and securing of the persons of the said George Foxcroft and Nathaniell Foxcroft, his sonne; which they readily and chearfully accepted, and resolved to put in execution when the first oppertunity should present.

'And accordingly, on Satturday September 16, 1665, about 9 of the clocke in the morning, Francis Chuseman, in obedience to the charge given in his Majesties name, calling out the soldiers, and, that all bloudshed might be avoyded, intended himselfe with a file of musquetiers to have seized the said George Foxcroft and his sonne in their Chamber in the Fort aforesaid. But they, having some underhand notice, together with Jeremy Sambrooke and William Dawes, as Generallity of the soldiers affirme, came hastily running downe, with pistoll cocked and swords drawne. And notwithstanding that the said Francis Chuseman did severall times command them, in his Majesties name, to keepe the peace, yet they, the said George Foxcroft, his abettors and complices, fired severall pistolls and made severall passes at the person of Francis Chuseman, against whom all the weapons were directed; who, notwithstanding, behaved himselfe with soe sedate a valour that he kept himselfe all the while on the defensive part, put by all their thrusts without making any attempt. The dispute was very short; and it pleased God soe to enorder the issue of it that there was no person hurt in the whole broyle save those that were the authors, who were all of them wounded, and William Dawes, one of the Councill and an abettor, since dead of a shott through the body. The other three, vizt., George Foxcroft, Nathaniell Foxcroft and Jeremy Sambrooke, are in safe custody untill wee receave some order from his Majesties Generall at Bombay,[2] to whom wee also now send dispatches, or else awayte his Majesties perticuler pleasure out of England. . . .

'This unhappy difference being, by the providence of the Almighty God, composed with soe little dammage as could not in humane reason bee expected,

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[1] *Corps du Guard*, also called the 'Court of Guard,' the Main Guard.

[2] Humphrey Cooke, who succeeded Sir Abraham Shipman, first 'General and Governor,' held Bombay for the Crown.

our next great care and trouble was how to settle the Honourable Companyes both civill and military affaires as that the like inconveniences for the future might be prevented, and that their present negotiations in these parts be as evenly continued as if this accident had never hapned. In order whereunto, wee the Subscribers, being the factors, servant[s], etc. officers of the Honourable English East India Company in Fort St. George, having unanimously agreed, and doe conjunctively and severally agree, that Edward Winter, Knight and Barronett, late Agent for the aforesaid Honourable Company, be requested, and and accordingly doe request the said Edward Winter to accept and take into his care the manadgement of their affaires, with the advice of the Councill here present[1] till the plurallity of the Councill now absent,[2] which are writt for, Contradict the same, or the Honourable Companyes imediate order to the end, which by the miscariadge of George Foxcroft would els have bin plunged into a Condition allmost desperate. And this advice not rashly or inconsiderately taken, but upon such grounds and reasons which (though wee willingly submitt to better Judgements), yet are confident withall that, being duely weighed, will justifie at least if not Command the Choice. . . .

'This is a true and Faithfull Copy of the Narrative of what hapned, published in Fort St. George since the time of these Disasters, as is attested by us whose names are under written, EDWARD WINTER, CHARLES PROBY, FRANCIS CHUSEMAN, STEPHEN CHARLTON, SIMON SMYTHES, RICHARD CLAY, JOHN WAINWRIGHT, the marke of FRANCIS HOPKINS, RICHARD HOW.'[3] (*O.C.*, No. 3091, *circa* Sept., 1665.)

Winter stated, in a letter to King Charles,[4] that the Foxcrofts employed words 'to the questioning and weakening of your Right and Title to the Crowne of England.' The actual terms used are found in Farley's attestation as follows:

Affidavit by Joseph Farley.

'I, Joseph ffarley, ffactor for the Honble East India Company in ffort St. George . . . doe declare and am ready to testifie upon Oath as followeth, vizt.,

'That the above named George ffoxcroft, Agent, being present at the same time and place of our usuall dineing, within the said ffort, about the middle of the month of August in the yeare of our Lord 1665, did in my hearing Checke Simon Smythes, minister of the ffort aforesaid, and expressly forbid him to speake any more when he was opposing and contradicting his son Nathaniell ffoxcroft in those two seditious and treasonable assertions of his then spoken, vizt.,

'1. That the said Nathaniell ffoxcroft was obliged to maintaine his private interest before the Kings.

'2. That the said Nathaniell ffoxcroft was bound to obey or serve the King noe longer than he could protect him.

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[1] Proby, Chuseman, and Charlton.

[2] Blake, Jearsey, Niclaes, and Bridges were eligible to sit in Council when present at Madras.

[3] The last four of the signatories were probably soldiers of the garrison.

[4] *O.C.*, No. 3100, *circa* Sept., 1665.

'And further, I doe declare . . . that the said George ffoxcroft, Agent, in the same usuall place of dineing (though at another time, yet in the same month of August . . .) did at Table publiquely say that he had purchased an estate in or nigh Totnesse in the County of Devon, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, for which he had not receaved as yet twenty thousand pence, though doubted not but in short time either himself or his eyres should enjoy it.

'And ffurther I doe declare that the said George ffoxcroft, Agent, did assert, after that his son Nathaniell ffoxcroft had maintained that the present King of England had no other title to his Crowne then that of Conquest, that the present Padre, Simon Smithes, could not prove that any King in Christendome had any Title to his Crown but by Conquest.

'JOSEPH FFARLEY.

'Sworne this 16th September 1665, in the presence of the Right Worshippfull Sir Edward Winter, Knight and Barronett, Mr. Charles Proby and Captain Francis Chuseman.'

Captain Chuseman's account of Foxcroft's arrest contains nothing new, but is here transcribed as a specimen of the composition of a military officer of the period:—

Francis Chuseman to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 3124, 15th Nov., 1665.)

'That which chiefely occasions these present addresses is to acquainte you (whatever may be alleadged to the Contrary) that I have bin reall and faithfull in the discharge of that duty which your Worships were pleased in England to conferre upon mee, remembering my Solemne engagement made unto you, which I heartily asure you, by the Almighties assistance, I shall ever be mindfull to performe.

'I am heartily sorrowfull for the late sadd and unexpected accident that happened in your Fort, which I presume you have long before this bin made acquainted with, which will save mee the laboure of repeating anything of it at this time: which the oftener I thincke of it, the more I am surprized with greife unspeakable to conceive that your Agent, Mr. George Foxcroft, his sonne Mr. Nathaniell, and Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke should bring themselves into such briars, and bee accessary to their owne troubles. I call God, the searcher of all hearts, to witnesse and record that I allwayes rendered (as it well became mee) an awfull and Civill respect to the Agent both in your Towne and Fort, . . . untill at length it soe unfortunately and unexpectedly happened, to my greate wonder and astonishment, that I with the rest was Commanded by Sir Edward Winter, in the Kings Majesties name, to secure the Agent and his sonne for severall treasonable words spoken by them, and sworne against them. Which being once divulged was the cause of the eruption of the late broyles, when your soldiers generally cried out, For the King, For the King, and there was a great hurley burley and Confusion in your Fort on the suddaine. What could I doe lesse then in the Kings Majesties name, especially being soe strictly required to command his peace to be kept? Which your Agent, his sonne, and Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke and Mr. Dawes heareing, came running downe staires from aloft in a furious and hostill

manner, with sword and pistolls; whoe alsoe I desired first, and then required in the Kings name, to keepe the peace. They neither said nor declared anything, whether for the King or against him, but rann violently upon mee, whoe only stood in a posture of defence and uppon my owne personall guard and preservation of myself, with your Fort and soldiers committed to my charge.

'In this uproare your Agent and the said persons were hurt, but not dangerously: what hapened to them they may thank themselves for, being the first beginers. Had I not stood in my owne defence (as I only did), my life had bin offered up a bloody sacrifice to them; but the name of God bee praysed for the delivery of myselfe, the rest of my Countrymen, with your Fort and Towne, from further danger.

'Thus in this short narrative have I justly vindicated myselfe from all false aspertions that may bee Cast upon mee, and doubt not but have rendered your Worships sattisfaction therein. I preseume further to acquainte you that the place I am in requires not only extraordinary Care and vigilancy, but much expences, which I humbly request your Worships soe farr to take it into your serious Consideration as to make an Augmentation to my Sallary. Concluding with sincere wishes to the Almighty for your health and prosperity, Remayne your Worships faithfull servant to be Commanded,

'F. CHUSEMAN.'

Proby, who seems to have entered the conspiracy with reluctance, wrote to Jearsey at Masulipatam on the 14th, 15th, and 16th urging him to come up at once. In the third letter he gives an account of the fight. Referring to allegations that the Agent and Sambrooke fired the first shots, he says:—

Charles Proby to William Jearsey.

'I cannot affirme that either of them had any pistolles, for goeing up to Church[1] with Mr. Sambrooke, I could see no other then a sword in his hand, and after awhile of my being above, Comeing down againe, I saw Mr. Sambrooke sitting on the staires all bloody, Mr. Dawes lying on the ground, and the Agents sonne bloody in the face and breast, and the Agent carried away to a Close Chamber, and then all things quiett. . . . In the heate of the hurley burley Mr. George Foxcroft hapned to bee confined to a lowe close roome, whence he will not as yett by all entreaties bee removed. I am heartily sorry for the brave old Gent that hee should bee traduced by others as to runn himselfe upon such Precipices and Premunires. . . . CHARLES PROBY.' (*O.C.*, No. 3080, 16th Sept., 1665.)

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[1] In another part of the letter he mentions 'goeing up to the Chappell,' and meeting with Mr. Sambrooke 'upon the staires returneing from the chappell.' Later, Proby 'mett him at my staires foote, and went up with him to the Chappell doore.' From these expressions it is judged that Winter built the chapel on an upper floor of the reconstructed Fort House.

CHAPTER XVIII

1665

FOXCROFT'S STATEMENT—SAMBROOKE'S DEPOSITION

FOXCROFT'S STATEMENT.

FOXCROFT's account of his arrest, and of the circumstances which led up to it, is embodied in a letter to the Company dated the 26th September, 1665, with a postscript of the 28th October. It is far too long to be transcribed in full, but it contains so many curious details that a brief abstract of its contents is here given, interspersed with quotations from the original document. Foxcroft indited his letter from his place of confinement in the Inner Fort, and found it necessary to write only at night. He certainly made ample use of his restricted opportunities:—

George Foxcroft to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 3098, 26th Sept., 1665.)

'The 14th present I wrote a few lynes by way of Surrat to give you advice that I had, for just cause, secured Sir Edward Wynter, not only for entring the Fort in a vyolent and outragious manner, openly and secretly armed, himselfe having six pistolls charged about him, with a retinue about him proportionably armed; but also for other practises I had then newly discovered and was in further search after, of his indeavours to make a mutiny among the soldiers and raise himselfe a partie; and for other informations I had of his purpose to possess himselfe of the Fort, or els to get it to be beseidged by the Mores, with whome he was makeing friends by entertainements, guifts, and other large promises to procure of the King of Golkundah the Government of this towne, Madapollon,[1] etc., into his owne hands, all in order to become Master of this Fort. For these and other matters which concern your Interest I did, the said 14th Instant, secure him with a purpose to have sent him to England; although this was not done without some demurr and difficulty,

[1] *Madapollon*, Madapollam, a factory under Masulipatam. The slender evidence of Winter's alleged design is recorded in a paper by Sambrooke (*O.C.*, No. 3162, *circa* July, 1665).

Lieftenant Francis Chuseman going slowly and unwillingly about it, being not then so thoroughly perswaded or prepared for what he afterwards acted within twoe dayes.

'The Pretence that Sir Edward had to carry on his secret intent to bee againe in power and possessed of the Fort, was a pretended charge of treason that he and the scandalous and debauched Minister of the Fort had against me and my son, by the cullor whereof and the artifice they used to corrupt Mr. Proby, the lieftenant and soldiers from their duty, obedience and loyalty, to rebellion and murder : then wounded mee, my son and Mr. Sandbrooke in several places, and murdered Mr. Dawes, as I shall further declare by and by; and secured us all, and so keepe us; and have sent after the Patamars[1] that carried my letter abovesaid, and intercepted the letters, and block up all wayes whereby I may give you a lightsome Account of their works of darkness; keeping strict sentinels upon us, and none to come nigh us but whom they please; and keep all my papers and writings from me, as they did Penn and ink for tenn dayes, which though they have now permitted me to have, yet under so strict a watch that it wilbe very difficult for me to give you full information in all particulars. . . .'

Foxcroft then recounts his doings from the time he assumed charge of the Agency. Complaints were early made to him against Timmaṇṇa and Verona,[2] the Company's Chief Merchants, who, though creatures of Sir Edward Winter, wielded great power in the town. Agreements for the provision of cotton cloth had been made with them by Winter personally, instead of by the Council, and the two principals sublet the contracts to sixteen junior merchants, who journeyed into the districts and purchased directly from the weavers. Foxcroft alleges that the rates paid by the Company were enormously in excess of those received by the weavers, and that the difference was absorbed partly by the itinerant merchants, but mainly by the two seniors, who divided their profits with Winter.

'After some examination, wee found cause to secure the said Timana and Verona, whoe were the cheife persons by whome and with whome Sir Edward had practised and joyned to defraud you; and this I did on purpose the better to finde out the practises by which you have been wronged (not a little). These twoe persons had the Government of your Towne of Madrass-Patan committed to them by Sir Edward, whoe, we were informed, did with tyranny keep this poore fearfull people in bondage, not suffering any freedom of trade in the towne; but whatsoever came in or went out must come through their hands at such prizes only as they pleased; and being fully countenanced by Sir

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[1] *Patamars*, messengers, dāk-runners, from Marāthi *patta-mārī*, tidings-bearer.

[2] Timmaṇṇa, who endowed the Perumāḷ Temple in 1648, has been named in earlier pages. Cassa Verona (Kāsī Viraṇṇa), his associate Chief Merchant, rose ultimately to a position of great influence.

Edward, no man durst presume to buy or sell anything without them under the danger of imprisonment or severe drubbing. . . . I also setled Mr. William Dawes (the only fit person of your servants) in the Chourtrie and governement of the towne; and at his solemne investment, assembled together the cheif of the inhabitants, and charged him in their presence that he showld take spetial care that there might no restraint at all, as had bene formerly, be laid or permitted, to hinder any person from coming into the towne to bring and dispose of any goods as he pleased for his best advantage. And to bee careful without partiality to administer equal justice to all men, without oppression or arbitrary will, which I doubted not but he would be careful to performe. And if any person should have just occasion of grievance, I would myselfe heare the case, and give such reliefe as should be right. These things, being new and strange to these enthralled people, did marvelously please them. . . .'

This extract recalls the practice which prevailed a dozen years earlier, when the government of the town was in the hands of the Brahman brothers Venkaṭa and Kānappa. Just as Baker substituted European for native magistrates at the Choultry in the persons of Leigh and Martin, so Foxcroft appointed Dawes in place of Timmaṇṇa and Verona. Foxcroft, moreover, provided for appeal from the magistrate's decisions. The letter continues:—

'Nevertheless, the people were possessed with such a feare of those persons,[1] least they should make their composition as they had done formerly, when Sir Edward had had them in prison and caused a Gibbet to be sett up, threatning to hang them (which still stands as a monument to the truth of the story), that no man durst adventure to come to make any proposalls to deale with us; and all manner of underhand devices were sett on foote to perswade or terrefy them into a combynation. . . .

'All these things considered, and what influence Sir Edward on the one hand, and Timana and Verona on the other, had to hold up the combination against us, fownd it necessary to continue their restraint, thereby and by all other assurances to gaine a full belief among them that, during my abode in this Agency, the said persons showld never be setled in the Choutry and Goverment of the Towne againe, or have the sole manadgement of all buying and selling with the Company as before: by which meanes at length we broke the combination. . . .'

Foxcroft then describes the difficulty he experienced in tracing the prices paid as the goods passed through various hands from the weavers to the Company, but he satisfied himself that great profits were made by the middlemen, and especially by Winter and the two Chief Merchants. The latter were bound by their agreement not only to supply cotton cloth for export, but to take in part payment the woollen cloth and other goods imported from

[1] Timmaṇṇa and Verona.

England at a percentage above invoice prices. Here, too, was opportunity for illicit gain, of which full advantage was taken. Foxcroft further avers that a system of cheating the Company in the coinage of gold at the mint was managed by Timmaṇṇa and Verona in conjunction with the 'Coyners and Sheroff.'[1]

The captive Agent mentions incidentally that 'in this towne itself (although I came informed otherwise) there is little or no cloth at all made, except some few paintings and such things that are very inconsiderable.' The composition which Timmaṇṇa and Verona had paid to Winter to escape being hanged was said to have been Pags. 30,000, and it was generally believed in the town that, in imprisoning these merchants, Foxcroft was aiming at a composition for himself. There existed, consequently, a reluctance to take advantage of the Agent's offers of liberty of trade.

Foxcroft says he did his best from the first to maintain good terms with Winter. He 'never broke out into any harsh and unpleasing language to him, but treated him with all mildeness and gentleness as a brother, which he often acknowledged to severall witnesses, professing he never recieved more cyvility and respect from any man, with large expressions of reciprocall love and affection.' Winter, of course, espoused the cause of the two merchants. While a petition from the prisoners was under consideration in Council, Sir Edward 'broke out into a most vyolent passion' on pretence that Mr. Dawes, against whom he ever displayed implacable hatred, was not interpreting correctly, and declared he would never attend Council again. Foxcroft, however, 'did on purpose invite a friend of Sir Edward's to that meeting, whom he himself made use of for interpretation, one Mr. Thomas Clarke,[2] whoe was borne in the Countrie and never out of it.' Clarke attested the correctness of Dawes's interpretation.

'Notwithstanding this heate of Sir Edwards, he came againe to us (though sparingly) at dynner and praier tyme, till some tyme about the middle of August, . . . after praiers, in some discourse that fell out wherein Sir Edward demanded his guns, which he pretended were in the Fort, because he said he had sold them to the Mores; which seemed strange to us all. . . . Hereupon

[1] *Sheroff*, shroff, an officer who checks the quality of coins.
[2] Son of Thomas Clarke, sometime Agent at Masulipatam.

there grew some hot discourse betwixt him and Mr. Dawes, . . . and Sir Edward flew out againe into a most vyolent passion against Mr. Dawes and Mr. Sambrook, and swore he would never come among us or act with us more. . . .'

Winter repeatedly expressed a desire to meet Foxcroft, yet declined to enter the Fort, and the Agent considered it unfitting to call at Winter's house.

'At length, about the 10th or 11th of August, he sent the same Message to me by Mr. Read, his brothers son in law, a very cyvil person and prudent. I then began to think, seeing he so often desired it, he might be prepared to receive some good advice. Therefore I contrived how we might speake together without my going to him or his coming to the Fort, seeing he so much declyned that; and I sent him word I would appoint some tyme when we would sup at our garden,[1] and send him word of the tyme that he might come thether, where we might privately retire into some walk among the trees, and be at lybertie to discors; which he was well pleased withall, waiting when I would give him notice of the tyme. But after I had further ruminated of the matter, I chose another way for our meeting and discourse, which I judged would be more private and of less observation, for that their would not follow me nor him such a traine of attendance to a private house about a particular knowen buisiness as used to Accompany us at other tymes. . . .'

Foxcroft had been commissioned by Samuel Sambrooke in England to take probate of the late Mr. Gurney's will. Winter and Smythes had part in the commission, so the arrangement was made that all the parties should meet at Mrs. Gurney's house.[2] The meeting, however, took place even earlier than was arranged:—

'For Sir Edward, instead of his tyme appoynted of meeting after praier, came that morning, being the 14th present, before praier tyme,[3] into the Fort armed, as I related in the beginning, with six pistols, sword, and dagger and buckler; Joseph Farley with four pistols, sword and buckler, with Mr. Smithis and a crew of his servants and black attendants armed also; and after a little stop in Mr. Probyes chamber where he had a conference with the Leiftenant, he, with Smithies and Farley, together with the Lieftenant, came soddainly up into my chamber, where were present Mr. Sandbrooke and Mr. Dawes and my man,[4] and in a most outragious manner said he came to accuse me and my sonn of treason, and had wittnesses ready to make oath of, and required Mr. Sandbrooke and Mr. Dawes to assist to secure me. . . .

[1] Probably the Company's Garden in the town, adjacent to the Burial-ground.

[2] Winter's house was situated in Middle Gate Street, probably on the west side of it, within the walls and close to the north curtain. Foxcroft says: 'Sir Edwards house was betweene the Fort [the Inner Fort] and the garden [the Company's Garden], and the other was Contrary, for the Fort was betweene Mrs. Gourneyes house and Sir Edwards.' Hence Mrs. Gurney's residence was in the southern half of the Christian Town.

[3] The hour of prayer was 9 a.m.

[4] Francis Berwicke.

After some hott words, Sir Edward, finding no such complyance with his intentions as he imagined the clamorous outcry of treason would have produced, went in anger out of my chamber. I had commanded the Leiftenant to cause all the gates of the Fort to be shutt, and to turne out all his black attendants, and to suffer none to goe in or out. Then I considered of the information I had the 12th of his practises to raise a mutiny in the Fort, and to seize on it or procure it to be beseiged. . . . Therefore I tooke up, by consent of the Councel present, an im̃ediate resolution to follow him and command him to be disarmed and secured; and accordingly made all haste downe. But he was gott to the gate before I came, and by the Leiftenants commands the gates were opening to let him out, the last lock being ready to be opened. I presently gave command to make the Gate fast, and to disarme and secure Sir Edward, whoe hearing it, presently retired to Mr. Probyes chamber, where he stood upon his guard. I commanded the Lieftenant and Officers to follow him, and secure him and disarme him, which after long demurr was done. Thus hee by his owne act fell into my hand, which I looked upon as a strange dispensation. . . .

'I shall now . . . without further Apologie proceede to what I promised in the second paragraphe of this letter, vizt., to acquaint you with the tragedie and Catastrophie of this buisiness. . . .'

Before Winter had been forty-eight hours in arrest he had prevailed on Proby and Chuseman to throw in their lot with him. Foxcroft avers that Chuseman had grave misgivings, but the other two engaged to indemnify him. The Lieutenant was dissatisfied with the amount of his income. He had been led to believe that his predecessors, and in particular 'one Captain Minos,'[1] had made from £500 to £600 per annum. Winter allured him with better prospects, as did 'a friende in his bosome, vizt. his wife, whom Sir Edward had obliged by fyne guifts and large promises, and by other cyvilities and good turnes more than ordinary.'

'Upon which he [Chuseman] presently that morning, being the 16th of this instant September, before praier tyme, called his select gang together (which were not many above twenty) to arme, and placed them conveniently for the purpose; the rest of the soldiers, both English and Portingals, knowing nothing of it, but stood in amaze to see what the matter was, which was soone ended.

'I being in my chamber with Mr. Sandbrooke, Mr. Dawes, and my sonn, hearing a noise in the Court, went down, and they after me, to see what the matter was, supposing that Sir Edward might be making some attempt to make an escape. Wee went downe only with our swords in our hands, according to an order I had very lately before made that none of the Factors or servants of the Company should walk without their swords. As soone as ever I appeared at the bottome of the staires entring into the Court, I saw the

[1] Captain Richard Minors, the predecessor and successor of Captain Martin.

Leiftenant, with his Pistols in his hand, and sword drawen and brandishing over his head, with his crew about him in like manner armed, some following him and some stood on eache side betweene the bottome of the staires and him.

'Upon which I did advance ymmediately towards the Leiftenant to know what the matter of that suddaine arming was; but by that tyme I could come up to him, who was brandishing his sword preparing to strike at me, I was shot at by severall shots, and wounded in severall parts, and strooke down by him or others, and seized. Mr. Sandbrooke was also sorely wounded and fallen, and Mr. Dawes mortally, of which he dyed in few houres after. My sonn, seeing me fall, and supposing me to have been slayne by the Lieftenant whoe struck at me, ymmediately started back into his chamber, being neere the staires foote, to recover his Pistols, which he having obteyned, advanced through them to the Lieftenant, and fired first the one, then the other Pistol; but neither tooke fire (whether by some legerdemaine or by the moistness of the powder, he having bene twoe dayes before abroad in the wett . . .), by which meanes the Lieftenant, by all likelihood, escaped a pasport out of this world (reserved to another reward). My sonn then closed with him, and narrowly escaped the turning him over into a greate deepe well in the Court; but he was rescued by soldiers, and my sonn wounded in severall parts, in his side dangerously, and knocked downe.

'And thus, in an instant, wee were all surprized and seized upon, and hurried into severall roomes apart, and strict centinells sett over us. For myself, I had twoe wounds on my right side that lighted upon twoe ribs, which bared them but went no farther; a scratch upon my forehead; all my clothes on my left side burnt by a shott levelled particularly at me, but did only burne my clothes and race[1] the skin off my side, and went forward to Mr. Dawes that was behind me, and went quite through him, in at the belly and out at the backe. When I was downe, I had more shotts levelled at me, the bullet of the one shot into the ground on the one side of me, and the other on the other side, so they both did marvelously escape me; wherefrom, and from many other like dangers, my life was eminently preserved. And thus they became possessed of the Fort by rebellion, blood and murder.

'Sir Edward, in the beginning of this buisiness, like an innocent good man in Mr. Probyes chamber, as if he had no hand in it nor knowledge of it, and tooke the Confidence to say it was all the Captaines doing (for so they stile your Lieftenant); but so soone as ever he heard the musketts and Pistols discharged, and that I was fallen, he springs out of Mr. Probyes chamber into the Court, frisking and Leaping with great joy (with sword and buckler in his hands), crying out, It is done, it is done; and how he came by sword and buckler in Mr. Probyes chamber you may easely ymagin. Out of his store he furnished Proby and Farley each with a silver buckler.

'We remained kept apart, none but whome they pleased permitted to come to us; deprived of penn, inck and paper, and all wayes besett, and other meanes used to watch us that we might give you no intelligence hereof. . . .'

Foxcroft opines that the charge against him of using treasonable words was merely a handle to enable Winter to regain power, and so build up his private fortune, which, through reckless speculation,

[1] *Race*, raze.

was at a low ebb. Had the language been really regarded as criminal, Winter and Smythes would not have remained silent for a month before they advanced the charge. The chaplain had cause of offence because Foxcroft refused to allow the password to be given him, and so exposed the reverend gentleman's attachment to late hours:—

'What I have further to say of Mr. Smythes, I doe assure you it is not by way of recrimination. My fidelity to you and your service, and compassion to your people whoe want wholesome foode for their soules, would have compelled me to say what I am about, had this occasion never fallen out. . . . It shalbe only this, that if he had so much sobrietie and Pyetie as he hath conceit of himself to be a witt, he might be serviceable to your people; but his intemperance and constant disordering himself with drinck with the most debauched of the soldiery, with whome he spends more tyme at nynepins then he doeth at his study, renders him such an evil example of scorne and contempt that you can never expect any good to be done by him to them, but rather to initiate them farther. I will say nothing of his other works of darkeness, but only tell you that before his late marriage with a kinswoman of Sir Edwards (for since, he lay wholie out of the Fort at his house), he was allwaies the latest that came into the Fort at night; insomuch that I was very often raised out of my bed to deliver the keyes of the Fort (which I commanded constantly every night to be brought to my bedside, and would not permit them to be carried to the Leiftenant, though he desired it, that I might the better observe if you had any night walkers), that so he might be let in, which was a greate griefe of heart to him to be exposed to such an observation, because no accounts could be given where his haunts were, which administred just cause of suspition of incontinency; but I leave him to stand or fall to his own Master.

'The other person whoe is joyned in the charge is that lewd young man Joseph Farley, whome I had the ill happ to bring with me as my servant[1] upon the high recommendation of Alderman Jefferis and Captain John Jones and others my worthy and good friends, whoe I believe were deceived in him, as myself was for some tyme. But he afterward on ship bord, before he arrived, broke out apparently into lewdness and wickedness to common observation and skorne. . . . Soone after he came ashore, he broke out into the same courses of drincking, lying, quarreling with everybody, and all other manner of impudence. . . . He soone made himself obnoxious and burdensome to all the Factors and other cyvill persons heere; and although at one tyme, in his rude fitts, he gave Sir Edward himself a challenge, whoe had more discretion then to regard it, unless it had bene to take lyberty for his sauciness to give him the correction of a boy with his breeches downe, which he would have made no difficulty to have done, being knowen to be a man of valour; yet finding this young varlet to be for his turne, . . . he made him his friend and companion, and further countenanced and debauched him; and by his guifts and flatteries and greate promises easely persuaded him to joyne in the conspiracye with him, and made him his instrument to debauch and seduce some of the soldiers. . . .'

[1] Private secretary, assistant.

Foxcroft then enumerates from memory some of the errors in the books and deficiencies in the Company's stock which he had detected, and mentions that 'there are about 20 peeces of great Ordinance wanting of your number, which he [Winter] hath imployed in his ships and his own house.' The captive Agent then alludes to the British tenure of Madras:—

'We were in dayly expectation to have had the arrears of Rent called for, about which Neckan Caun writ to me in his first letter, and I returned answere that it should be ready according to the rent formerly paid[1] whenever he would please to send for it; but he returned no answere thereto, which gives me to beleive that that would not satisfye. But I am apt to believe that I should have found faire quarter from him, and by a composition to have gayned a settlement of your antient priviledges, and the Goverment of this Towne confirmed upon you by a Firmand; which, it is true, you now doe execute de facto, but whether it be de jure I can finde no sufficient footsteps to proove. Therefore, if you shall continue your resolutions to hold this place and trade, it wilbe necessary to be done, least a Moore be imposed upon you for the goverment thereof, which in many circumstances wilbe prejudicial to you. But what you will doe under this juncture of tyme and usurpation of your authority I cannot divine; therefore leave to your wise and mature consideration. . . .'

Foxcroft closes his letter with a reference to renewed hostilities with the Dutch, and to the precautions taken for the safety of the Company's two ships then on the coast. These vessels were sent to the Bay, and escaped three sail which pursued them from Pulicat. A ship belonging to Mr. William Jearsey, bound for Acheen, had, however, been taken:

'The Dutch have seized on your Factory at Caulevele[2] neere Tutticoreen (which is their Factory) by force of armes, carried all that was in the Factory and Mr. Harrington (whoe came thither after the death of Mr. Travers), and stript and dealt inhumanely and barbarously with him, and caried him away in irons, and what is further become of him we heare not. And doubtless, if the warr continue, they will use their utmost indeavours to root us out of the trade of India, they having orders from Holland to take and seize whatsoever they can meet with by sea, will not scruple to doe it when they may dare to adventure with safety on land. . . .

'I have many things more to say, but my opportunitie, and constant observa-

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[1] Viz., Pags. 380 per annum.

[2] *Caulevele*, Kāyalvelli, now called Kāyal, near Tuticorin. The factory is first mentioned in 1661, when Walter Travers was in charge of it (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 25th May, 1661). Travers died in May, 1665, and was replaced by John Harrington from Porcat, who was seized by the Dutch and carried prisoner to Colombo (*O.C.*, No. 3147, 9th Jan., 166$\frac{5}{6}$). The factory was permanently absorbed by the Dutch (*O.C.*, No. 3238, 12th Nov., 1668).

tion of my actions, will suffer me to add no more but that I am, Right Worshipful, your faithfull servant, though a prisoner for your sakes,

'GEORGE FOXCROFT.

'Fort St. George, Madraspatan,
'September the 26th, 1665.

'I have only this request, that you will please to communicate this letter, or the passages that only relate to this action, to my deere wife, or to Dr. Whichcot[1] at Blackfriers to be communicated to her. I hope several Copies will come to your hands. . . .'

SAMBROOKE'S DEPOSITION.

Jeremy Sambrooke's account of the revolution contains certain additional particulars, especially in regard to the treatment of the prisoners during their confinement. His relation is contained in replies to thirty-nine interrogatories, made on oath in 1671 before Sir William Langhorn, a Commissioner who was sent out by the Company to enquire into Winter's conduct. After explaining that he had known Winter for ten years and Foxcroft for twenty,[2] Sambrooke proceeds:

Jeremy Sambrooke's Depositions.

'On the 14th September, in the morning, Sir Edward Winter, Frances Chuseman, Joseph Farley, &c. that came along with them, came all armed into the fort, this deponant being then in his chamber with Mr. William Dawes, and hearing from some that Sir Edward Winter, &c., were come into the fort and gone up to the Agent George ffoxcroft chamber there to charge him with treason, and that hee had comanded the Souldiers, in the Kings name, to assist him; Upon which Mr. William Dawes and this deponant went up to the Agents chamber, where they found Sir Edward Winter, Francis Chuseman, Joseph Farley and Charles Proby and Simon Smithes, &c.; Sir Edward Winter, &c., being soe high that nothing would serve them but to have the Agent secured presently, saying that Agent George ffoxcroft was noe longer Agent, but that hee himselfe was Agent. Upon which this deponant demanded of them for what, and what were the words; but was denyed by them, and that they would not declare them before they had given them their oathes. To that deponant answered that hee had noe power to give any man an oath, nor had the Agent himselfe; but told them, if they would give in writing what they had to charge the Agent with, or declare what the words were, they should receive an answere; but for the present securing of the Agent only for him [Winter] to bee Agent, and thereby keepe himselfe from being called to account for the wrongs charged on him by the honourable Company, . . .

[1] Sir Jeremiah Whitchcott was Foxcroft's brother-in-law.

[2] His acquaintance with Winter must have been formed when the latter was in England in 1661.

this deponant did then and there declare that hee could not nor would not give any consent, but would oppose them that should goe aboute any such thing, without they could produce a lawfull authority for it.

'This deponant . . . did then and publickly speake to the Agent, George ffoxcroft, that it was very fitting that Sir Edward Winter should bee secured from coming in soe armed into the fort and endeavouring to make a mutiny in the garrison. . . . Upon that, Sir Edward Winter asked this deponant if he would dare to doe it, laying his hand upon his sword and saying hee would bee the death of him that went aboute it. To which this deponant answered him that there was reason it should bee done, and if the Agent did enorder it, he would endeavour it. After some further words had past, Sir Edward Winter, &c., went out of the chamber downe staires, this deponant desiring the Agent to follow him lest hee should make a further mutiny among the Souldiers; where they found Sir Edward Winter, &c., calling on the Souldiers, commanding them to obey him as Agent, and to secure Agent George ffoxcroft as a traytor.

'Upon which Agent George ffoxcroft commanded them to shutt the gates and disarme Sir Edward Winter, who then past out of the guard into the open court, and seeing this deponant following of him, opened his loose coate, shewing his dagger and pistolls that were stucke round aboute him, bidding him if he dare. His servants, &c., armed, gathering about him, Sir Edward, seeing the Souldiers drawing out, passed on and went up into Mr. Probies chamber, where, by order of the Agent, hee was disarmed; and there remained till on the 16th in the morning when, aboute prayer time, the Agent being then in his chamber, and heareing a greate noise in the fort, and that the souldiers were drawne out, and severall swords drawne, hee went down to the bottom of the staires into the court, this deponant and William Dawes following of him; where this deponant saw severall of the souldiers drawne out and standing with their armes, and Frances Chuseman at the head of them, with severall of the confederacy aboute him, with their swords drawne and gunns and pistolls presented by them against them, some of them crying out, For the King, and some, Fire, and some, Knocke them down.

'The Agent George ffoxcroft passing forward to ffrances Chuseman, demanding account of him for what hee did: who upon that made at him with his sword and discharged his pistoll at him, which this Deponant saw discharged by him in his hand, and closing with the Agent George ffoxcroft, flung him to the ground. Severall peices, both gunns and pistolls, were discharged at them, and one of which shott Mr. William Dawes in the belly, this deponant being by him, of which hee presently fell downe, and dyed that afternoone. This deponant saith that hee was encompast by them, and received severall wounds, being runn in on each side, and by a wound received on his head (as it is said by a halbert) knockt downe to the ground.

'What afterwards passed betweene the Agents sonne and the Mutineers, this deponant did not himselfe see till hee was brought in wounded into the Docters chamber; The Agent George ffoxcroft being then haled along and putt into a little whole sometimes used for a cocke house[1] to punish the Souldiers. This deponant was also put into his owne chamber, with a centinall without at the doore and another within, who had order not to suffer him

[1] *Cocke house.* This term, here first noticed, is often used later in the records. It signifies a lock-up or guard-room cell. Its etymology is obscure.

to speake to anyone, nor anyone to speake to him but in English and in the hearing of the centinell.

'On the 18th day of the said month, being helped into his closett,[1] and goeing to answere a letter which hee had received, was forbidden by the centinell, who had order not to suffer him to write anything but what should bee shewne to Sir Edward Winter, who at that time sent downe order to them to take the Key of the closette from him (in which was all the Companie's Cash), which hee refusing to deliver, they forced it from him, taking him out, and carrying the Key, as they said, to Sir Edward Winter. On the 20th of the said month they removed him out of his owne Chamber, and carryed him into a roome which they had prepared with Iron barrs damming up the backe window, leaveing only one small window opened, not suffering him to take out any cloths out of his chamber with him; and was by Sir Edward Winter, ffrances Chuseman, Simon Smithes, Charles Proby, and Joseph ffarley denyed to have either pen, inke or paper, they saying to him that hee would give advice to England what was done. . . .

'This deponant . . . was some time permitted by them to have his doore opened for a little aire to come in; but that was but for a small time, the most part being shett up almost stiffeled with heate, not being able soe much as to weare any more then a longee[2] about him. . . . And soe this deponant continued till, what with ill usage and by the heate, hee was strucke into a spotted feavour, and, upon much intreaty, the Docter[3] was permitted to come to him; but after a day or two, when the spotts begun to come out, they tooke the Docter away againe, and would not for some time permitt him to come at him, soe that his spotts strucke in againe, which had neare been the death of him; till, as he heard, Sir Edward Winter was over perswaded by some of his party to let the Docter come to him lest hee should dye in prison; after which it pleased god to recover him of that sicknesse. Many times during their imprisonment would Sir Edward Winter, ffrancis Chuseman, etc., come to search him by force to see if hee could find any papers aboute him, sometimes forceing his Keyes from him, and then, removeing him into another roome, open his chest to see if hee could find any Letters they had writt; and this did hee severall times. . . .

'Agent George ffoxcroft and his sonn, with this deponant, were made prisoners . . . the 16th September 1665, and soe continued . . . untill the [22nd] August 1668, with continuall and strickt watch, not only of the souldiers belonging to the fort, of whom hee [Winter] began to mistrust some, but above twenty Mooremen with their swords, targetts,[4] Lances, and bowes and arrows, watching at their doore and windowes, lest some of the souldiers should conveigh any Letters or papers for them; and Sir Edward Winter threatning this deponant that if hee spoke to any one or writt any Letters, that hee would clapp him in Irons and send him downe to the Choultry.

'To the fifteenth interrogatory this deponant saith that hee saw out of his window Richard Shepheard, Joshua Procter, John Hull, Nathaniell Bonus, William Richardson, Benjamin Brond[5] one day brought into the fort and shett

[1] *Closett*, writing-room, office.
[2] *Longee*, loongee, from Hind. *lungī*, a waist-cloth.
[3] Dr. Philip Bradford.
[4] *Targetts*, shields.
[5] Brond was Purser of the *Greyhound*, and the others were soldiers of the garrison. They were imprisoned in April, 1666, after an unsuccessful attempt to restore Foxcroft.

up in one of the godownes, the Smith following afterwards with Irons for their leggs: but to this the severall prisoners and others that were more eye wittnesses then hee was, being himselfe kept prisoner, can further and fully testifie. . . .

'To the eighteenth interrogatory this deponant doth alsoe declare that Simon Smithes and himselfe both came out for India in the ship Coronation, and that, during their said Voyage, hee, the said Simon Smithes, was severall times drunke, not being able to stand on his feete, but falling severall times upon the decke; and sometimes continued drunke for some dayes together, more particularly for six dayes together at one time, the Lords day being one of them. They both lay in the greate cabbin, and to all appearance not lesse drunke in the morning when hee rose then when he was carryed to bed, it being the usuall custome of his companions to come first and see whether this deponant was asleepe, and then betweene two of them to hall him into his cabbin. . . . This deponant . . . doth alsoe give in upon oath that severall times here in India hee hath seene him soe drunke that hee hath not bin able to stand, it being his constant custome to spend his time in the bunch house,[1] and to bee sent for from thence usually most nights to come to supper, and this by Sir Edward Winter himselfe. . . .

'And this deponant doth further declare that, upon their coming out of England, the ship lying in the downes aboute a fornight for a faire wind, doe all this deponant or the Captaine could doe, they could not prevaile with the said Simon Smithes to lodge in the house of Mr. Calmer where they Lay, but hee tooke up his residence in a house of ill fame, publickly noted soe by the townes people. And during his stay there, this deponant saw him more then once drunke, and particularly, the wind coming faire and the Captaine often sending for him, could not gett him away, it being at the further end of the towne; who would have left him, but that this deponant prevailed with him to have the boate rowed towards the house, where it was some time before wee could gett him out, and in such condition that it was a shame to see him.

'To the ninetenth interrogatory this deponant saith that hee hath knowne and doth beleive the said Simon Smithes to bee a very invious and malicious person, and that hee doth know that hee once, upon this shoare, challenged Captaine Charles Throwgood to fight with him, and had gotten one ffrances Nelthrope[2] to bee his second. . . .

'To the threeantwentieth interrogatory this deponant saith that, to his knowledge, the said Agent George ffoxcroft did, from the time of his arrivall unto the Surprize of the fort, use the said Sir Edward Winter with all civillity imaginable, ordering the souldiers allwaies to draw out a guard at his coming in and goeing out of the fort, permitting him to goe abroad with his flagg, drums and trumpetts, and pipes, and with a farr greater number of peons to waite on him then the Agent himselfe had, of which this deponant was severall times an eye wittnesse. . . .

'To the 34th interrogatory this deponant saith that hee was at the Table when those words were pretended to have been spoken by Agent George ffoxcroft and his Sonn, haveing never bin absent at dinner from the table with the said Agent George ffoxcroft from his arrivall to the surprize of the

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1 *Bunch house*, punch-house.

2 Nelthrope or Nelthorpe was a factor at Tuticorin, who quarrelled with his superior, Walter Travers, and was sent a prisoner to Madras.

fort but one day at a wedding in company with Simon Smithes. And this deponant doth further declare that the Agent George ffoxcroft and Sir Edward Winter satt together at the end of the table, and this deponant and Charles Proby next to them, Simon Smithes and Joseph ffarley setting lower; and that hee did not heare any of those treasonable words objected against Agent George ffoxcroft, etc., which in reason hee may be supposed to have heard before Simon Smithes that satt lower, and Joseph ffarley at the Lower end. . . .

'To the thirtininth interrogatory this deponant saith hee knowes nothing but by report what hee heard when hee was in prison, that hee [Winter] did burne the faces, drub and otherwise punish severall persons that came in as wittnesses aboute abuses done to the Company. And this deponant hath since seene theise men that were soe burnt, which still appeareth both in their cheekes and foreheads to have bin done in a most cruell manner. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3231, *cir.* 1671.)

Sambrooke further relates how the Agent, on an information sworn by William Alley, had ordered Chuseman to search Winter's private residence for concealed arms. After an interval, Sambrooke was directed to follow and see the order executed. He took 'a file of musqueteirs' to the house, where he found the soldiers standing outside, and Chuseman upstairs talking to Sir Edward over a glass of wine. On the opening of the rooms and godowns, a store of 'pistolls, musketts, small peices, greate and small shott, blunderbusts, pikes, halberts, etc.,' was seized, and a list thereof made for the Company. Sambrooke mentions that no incivility was shown on the occasion 'either to Sir Edward Winter, his Lady, or any of his family.'

CHAPTER XIX

1665—1668

THE USURPATION

APPOINTING Proby, Chuseman and Charlton his Councillors, Winter drew up a long despatch to the Company, dated the 30th September, 1665, in which he gave his version of the revolution, and explained his reasons for assuming the government after Foxcroft's arrest. He wrote also to King Charles II., and to the Governor of the Crown colony of Bombay. The communications for England, which were sent overland by way of Aleppo, failed to reach the Company until the beginning of 1667. Meanwhile Blake at Balasore, who was the officer next senior to Foxcroft on the Coast, entered a protest against Winter's usurpation, and summoned him to deliver up the Fort to Jearsey, who was at Masulipatam.[1] The latter warned outward bound ships to avoid Madras, and so deprived Winter of supplies; and, at a later date he took active, though inadequate, measures for the release of the prisoners. Sir George Oxinden, President at Surat, published a declaration against the usurper. Bombay showed itself indifferent as long as it was governed by Sir Gervase Lucas, Cooke's successor; but Henry Gary, who followed Lucas, proved sympathetic towards Winter, and issued a warrant against Foxcroft for treason, and against Jearsey for conspiring to release him. Before dealing with these matters, however, we give Winter's account of Fort St. George affairs:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee should have now drawne to a Conclusion but that the Continuall clamoring and petitioning of those soldiers your Worships sent out of England, who are dayly troubling us for their entire wages to be paid them here in the

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3151, 18th Jan., 166⅚.

Country, which they say was their agreement with your Worships, as knowing of no thirds, nor yet will they be contented with halfe, which now you give licence for them to receave here; the major part of them, as they affirme, having left no Attorneys for their receaving any part in England, and are such blades of Fortune that they care not much whither ever they returne to their Country or no. They were murmuring presently after their arrivall the last yeare, and so something was writt about it by the then shipping; but that would not satisfie their greedy desires, or content them till your answer came. But ever since the new Agent's[1] arrivall have they often petitioned for their arrears and an addition of diett money, not being able to live with the poor pittance of forty fanams[2] a month, which is not sufficient for victualls without drinke, and was the allowance when provant was three times cheaper then now it is.

'They would not be answered with bare hopes of greater allowance, and their arrears paid them when your Worships shall fully understand their wants, but are continually craving of it now, saying that they had rather desert and leave the Fort to go into the Moores service then to continue here and not to receave what is due to them. Not a few of them are of this minde, which in this juncture of time wee could not deny them, by reason of the warr betweene us and the Dutch, and their combineing with the Moores to beseidge us by land. Wishing for the future that such as you shall send out may fully know upon what termes they come, rather that they may receave their entire wages here, which will prevent discontent and division amongst them. Which will now be the Captains care to hinder, especially since he findes a generall love and feare from all of them towards him, who will make it his endeavours to keep them so that they shall have no cause to goe to the Moores. . . . E. WINTER, CHARLES PROBY, FRANCIS CHUSEMAN, STEPHEN CHARLETON.' (*O.C.*, No. 3103, 30th Sept., 1665.)

Early in 1666 Winter and his colleagues, after commenting on the action of certain ship captains whom they suspect of defaming them to the Company, describe the political situation and recur to the question of the garrison :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When such pratling tarrs can upon all occasions have such free access, and when such readie eare is given to theire aspersions, such your servants can have but little hopes of a favorable construction of theire actions. It was never better with Merchants then when Masters of Shipps, or Skippers, were in no higher esteeme then really theire industry deserved, and looked upon as servants onely to Pilott the shipps whither the Merchant should send them. But now, every skipper, Master or Pilot stiles himselfe Captain, nor is con-

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1 *The new Agent*, Foxcroft.

2 Equivalent to 10s. per month. This was apparently half-pay, so that the rate of 13s. 4d. entered by the Company for 'landmen' appears to be the two-thirds pay designed for issue to the men's families in England.

tented with his bare sallary or allowance, but will capittulate with the Merchant, and not goe the voyadge unless he may have a share both in shipp and stock; and this stock is to be manadged by them, or at theire disposeing. And if wee are not mistaken (as sure wee are not), this hath partly occasioned the ruine of the East India Trade. . . .

'Yecknam Cawne's[1] approaching the Towne with his Armey, and his high demands, did not a jott affright us; but hee was soone called away by his Master to the Court, and since wee have heard no further of him. This wee must needs say, that this your Fort, for which you are annually at so much charges, serves for no other purpose then the security of our persons and your Estates, whilst wee are constantly abideing in it; for neither the greate strength, whatever wee can make, can any way offend the Moores should they be our enemy, whilst they, onely with a few of theire Servants, and by a word of Command, can stopp or prevent either releife or provisions from comeing neere us. And though the Sea lye open and free to us, yet is but of little helpe in regard you will not allow us vessayles to releive our necessities upon any occasion. Indeed it is somewhat a Terrour to the Jentues, but the Moores are warrlike people, and make it a common saying that two Peons will starve us to a composition. But now for honours sake it must be maintained, which otherwise were better to be razed to the ground, you being at so vast and unnecessary a Charge about it.

'Two shipps well man'd would more terrify the Moores then twenty Forts, and augment our priviledges in what wee would desire ourselves, and procure full sattisfaction for past injuryes. But since your Worships are so unwilling to heare of that way, our endeavours shall not bee wanting to keepe the fairest and most amicable correspondency with them that may bee. And though the present danger of a Dutch warr, and their endeavours to perswade the Moores against us, which makes us the more circumspect, yet still wee shall not be wanting to the utmost of our powers fully to preserve those rights and priviledges which you have so dearly purchased, accompting the whole and not the halfe Custome due unto you, you having so long enjoyed it. But some of late were very forwardes to part with them, and so farr as to have permitted the residence of a Moore Governour in the Towne, when as your Fort then would be but of small consequence either to the maintenance of your priviledges, or Defence of your Estate or our Persons. . . .

'You . . . suspend your approbačon of the 1000 pags. spent in Building and Repaireačon (things so necessary for your Conveniencey), both what is done within and without your ffort, as questionless Mr. Buckeridge hath ere now given you ample sattisfaction as to this perticuler. The 2000 pags. spent for Peons Wages, which you count so much Extravagancy, nor will approve thereof without better Sattisfaction, wee can only say that the necessity your Towne and ffort then was in, by reason Yecknam Caune's appeareing so neere the Towne with a Camp of about 40,000 men, not knowing his intentions or what could be trusted to, it was for the Security of your Towne and Estates to get as many men as wee could to hinder and prevent such insolencyes which otherwise might have hapned. . . .

'It will bee much to your sattisfaction and prevent many discords and disturbances amoungst the souldiers, that to ascertaine those that are sent from Europe hither what sallaryes they are allowed, and how much to receive here. For

[1] *Yecknam Cawne*, Neknām Khān.

though your Worships prescribe them the halfe here, yett they will not bee sattisfied, but are continually clamouring for the whole, as saying theire contract and agreement was soe. And, they are persons of that nature they will not be sattisfied with bare hopes of awayteing 18 moneths, but are ready either to breake out into open fury or elce to run away, which is the most likely and easy to be done. Indeede their pittance for dyet is soe small but that wee cannot but commiserate theire condicon. Were they such who had Familyes to maintaine, wee beleeve they would bee much more frugall in theire expences; but being for the most part otherwise, and those few that are soe are at so great a distance from theire Wives and families that the old Proverb is verified in them, Out of sight, out of minde.

'Wherefore conceive it very necessary that such who have families to maintaine should likewise be sent out with them, when, if a number of them were, in a few Lusters of yeares your Towne might be populous with a brood of our owne and not a mixt Nacon, and such who by theire industry might get a better Livelyhood then commonly your private souldiers doe. And many such wee beleeve may be found that would gladly accept of some certaine assurance of so much monethly to bee allowed them, besides ground to build on; and if handicraftsmen, if ingenious and willing, might also advantage themselves by their industry; and more trust may be given to such then to others who, upon the least misdemeanour, will hazard theire Libertyes by running to the Moores then to undergo any Punishment. . . .

'Mr. Simon Heaman[1] tooke his Journey from hence to Goa, and soe to take passage home for England. Wee heare, since his departure, that some English are imprisoned at Gulquondah for his comeing thence without his Lycence of the Greate men who freed him from the Castle where he had remained soe many yeares a prisoner, expecting he should first have given them notice of his intentions of Leaveing that place (which indeed was both requisite and convenient). Christopher Wilkins, formerly Gunner of Fort St. George, being security for his appearance, who, upon his goeing away, was sent after him as farr as Metchlepatam, and returneing back without him, is there confined and kept Prisoner in the Camp. He writes he is likely there to continue till some money which Mr. Heaman was formerly engaged to pay should be sattisfyed. . . . EDWARD WINTER, CHARLES PROBY, FRANCIS CHUSEMAN, STEPHEN CHARLTON.' (*O.C.*, No. 3147, 9th Jan., 166$\frac{5}{8}$.)

Later in the year Foxcroft writes from his prison of other matters.[2] Reports of reprehensible actions on Winter's part have come to his ears:—

George Foxcroft to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 3184, 8th Sept., 1666.)

'I shall not give you the trouble of the relation of the barbarous and uncivil usage wee that are still continued close prisoners have received in all the

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[1] Heaman had, through the influence of Mr. Buckeridge, been released from a nine years' captivity at Golconda. He was the bearer to England of some of the papers relating to the revolution.

[2] Foxcroft's letters were conveyed, by the aid of the Capuchin fathers, to Jearsey at Masulipatam whence they were forwarded to England.

particulars thereof, which would swell the contents of this letter beyond my purpose or intentions. And indeed I take no pleasure to rake in such dirty kennels for anything that concernes myselfe in particular. So that your interest might be satisfied, I could well be content to burie it in perpetuall oblivion; and whatsoever they have done or designed to doe for my life, libertie and estate, I shall not recompense evil for evil, but commit myselfe to Him that judgeth righteously. Therefore I pass over those things, and shall onely acquaint you with some passages that, in the consequence of them, have relation to your affaires, as their continuing a strict and severe watch to prevent and intercept all letters and papers goeing from us and comeing to us. For which end Sir Edward, besides his spies centinells about us and over us, maintains continually about 60 Peons to intercept all going from us or comeing; by which he would keep you from all true intelligence, and plainely bewrayes that he is conscious that his deeds of darkness will not abide the light.

'Presently upon our confinement Sir Edward seized and imprisoned severall of the merchants that had dealt with us, by which that generall combination I formerly advised you of was broken, and frightened them out of town, that soe they might not be able to comply with their agreement. . . . Other persons that he suspected to have given information of his frauds he imprisoned, and afterwards, having cruelly and barbarously burnt, and mangled and cut their bodies, disgracefully turned out of towne while they were sore, with their wives and families, to shift for themselves; and seized on their houses and what elce they had, and hath since sold and disposed of the same to his own use; and all this to strike a terror into others, that how greatly soever you should be abused, none should dare to give any information of it.

'He seized also on Mr. Dawes his house and all he had, leaving his wife destitute wherewith to feed her family. He turned out of the Fort severall of your soldiers that were faithfull to your interest and would not subscribe to comply with him and justifie his usurpation, and exposed them to starve, denying them their wages nor giving them any allowance by which they should live. And others that were acquainted with his crueltie would not abide his mercie, but made their escape out of towne: some of them had wives and children, as your old Lieftenant the Gunners mate, and Mr. Hopkins, one of your young men. He also imprisoned Mr. Crandon, whoe was secretary, because he would not owne his authoritie; and, because he had more then ordinary courage and mettle, he loaded him with chaines, and for a tyme fastened him to a stake, and said he would tame him before he had done with him.

'And after all this, he imprisoned in a noysome prison (where also Mr. Crandon is) nine or ten more of your soldiers for returning to their obedience to you and resolving to use their endeavours to rescue your Fort out of his power, and laded them also with yrons, exposing them, as the former, to starve, without making any provision for them or suffering anybody to come at them. At the same tyme also he imprisoned Mr. Edward Herris for his faithfulness in your service and not complying with him. . . . He hath bene now neere six monethes kept prisoner. At this tyme also hee imprisoned Mr. Benjamin Brond, the purser of the Greyhound, for his endeavour to doe you service in recovering your Fort, for which they had a designe, but miscarried and was discovered. . . .

'I might acquaint you with many more of Sir Edwards pranCks in imprisoning men, or turning them out of town, or to fly for feare of his tyranny and

crueltye, as Mr. Sambrookes and Mr. Herris his peons for being instrumentall in carrying notes betweene us, by which we held communication while we were asunder, and selling the poore mens houses and what they had in them. As also of their turning the French Padres[1] out of towne, that have lived quietlie and peaceablie in it above 20 yeares, and have done much good not onely to the Portingalls but also to the natives, being men of prudence and great cyvilitie and very inoffensive. Yet because in reference to that protection they have all along had under your goverment, and seeing and well understanding the practises of Sir Edward, because they could not nor would comply with him in his usurpation of your authoritie, but were willing to doe me any good offices, they are by him turned out of the towne, stript of that little sustenance they had. But first he brought in another turbulent Preist to set up his Church to affront them, and gave him the house of Modana (one of those persons they so burnt and mangled) to make their church for their meeting.

'By all those passages and others of like nature it is no hard matter to divine what Sir Edwards intent is, namely to nest himself in this Fort and not to obey any of your Commands. For so he hath said in express words, that if you command him to surrender the Fort, he will not doe it unless there come an express order from his Majestie; and if any should come cross to his humour and expectation, I doubt he would give as little obedience to it.

'He hath buisied himself in making bulwarks and fortifications without the Fort, and pulling downe hundreds of houses as if he meant to make it the place of his rest;[2] and fills the Fort with Portingalls in Liew of the English that are gone and in prison and dead. . . .

'Your ship Constantinople appeared here the 16th of May and, but very lately before, here came and rode at anchor five Dutch ships, on purpose to waite for any ship that should come hether; and presently upon making of her, set saile in chase of her; but she put out to sea againe, and by night they lost sight of her, and came againe to an anchor in sight of the Fort to watch for her if she returned. Sir Edward, hearing they were to the Southward, sent Mr. Probye and Smythis with about 80 soldiers, English and Portugalls, with an intent to have possessed himself of your treasure in her either by fraud or force, and staid abroad about ten daies; and in the meantyme made lights and fires every night in the Fort to intice her in, notwithstanding the Dutch lay in waite. . . . But the ship went for Mechlepatan, and by the mercy of God arrived there.

'Your faithfull servant,
'GEORGE FOXCROFT.

'Fort St. George,
'Madraspatan, 8th Sept., 1666.'

'That part of my salary, vizt 100*l*. per annum which I reserved and appointed to my deare wife, as I doubt not but you have begunn to pay it, so I

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[1] Ephraim and Zenon, who retired to San Thomé, where they received Foxcroft's letters, and forwarded them to Jearsey at Masulipatam.

[2] The bastion called the Round Point, at the south-west angle of the Outer Fort, is attributed to Winter. It could not have been built later than 1668, and in 1672 it is referred to as a new work. The demolished houses mentioned by Foxcroft must, from their number, have been native habitations. They may have been removed to form the wide 'Parrade' or market-place between the Christian and native towns which is described by Fryer.

pray that you will continue to doe with freedome, and with as little trouble to her in giving attendance as possible you may, then which nothing can lay a greater obligation upon me. G. F.'

Benjamin Brond, whose attempt to recover the Fort is mentioned by Foxcroft, was the purser of the *Greyhound*, the ship which had brought the Agent to India. Writing to the Company from Balasore, he says:—

Benjamin Brond to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 3193, 14th Oct., 1666.)

'In hopes of getting a supply of men and what needfull for the said shipp, I did take upon mee to goe for the Coast of Cormandell. The 18th March 1665 [1666] I arrived at [your Fort] St. George, where I found your Worshipps Agent, George Foxcroft, Mr. Nathaniell, his sonne, [and Mr.] Jeremy Sambrooke (one of your Councell) all close prisoners. . . . The Agent sent out many papers privately to advise me to try if I could draw the souldiers off from Sir Edward, and so to turne the tide; which papers I accepted, and thought it my duety towards [your] honours to use the best of my endeavours in prosecuting the same; which (with the assistance of Mr. Edward Herris) wee in a very short time had drawne the stronger of Sir Edward[s] Gu[nners] [1] to be on our side, so that wee had nothing to doe but to waite for a good opportunity for the prosecuting our intentions without bloudshed, which was alwaies the desire of the Agent [in] his papers to us.

'So, on the 7th Aprill 66 a faire opportunitie did present, Sir Edward, Mr. [Proby and Mr.] Chuseman all out a hunting. Then wee resolved to fall on our designe, all meeting [at] Mr. Grinwells [2] house (the place appointed for all persons that were freinds and at liberty to ap[peare] there) to stay till the Guard had shutt the Fort gate, And I should have published Sir G[eorge] Oxindens Declaration. For I had made the whole In-Guard that were on due[ty] our freinds, except one John Bossill, a Sergeant, to whom wee dared not reveale [it; but] wee might easily have stowed one man without bloudeshed. So it was agreed on th[at, when] I came in to the Fort, I should bringe Hugh Dickson in with mee, who allwaies seem[ed] forward till it came to the time appointed. Then hee cried out of his wife and children, and [if] hee were killed, they would perishe. . . . After that, I went into the Fort, but could not perswade the men to any [action] by reason Dickson came not in. All the cry was, that he came not in; wee might take [it], but cannot hold it without a very good Gunner. So was nothing acted; but all were desir[ous] it might soe die. But wee had made such preparations for it that gave mistrust, and with some examination it was discovered by one John Dunn, an Armorer, one of our Crew.

'The next [day] Mr. Edward Herris and myselfe, and 15 or 16 Englishmen more, clapt into prison. . . . After 24 daies imprisonment I gott libertie, giving them my bond for 5000*l.* sterling. At present Mr. Edward Herris and the rest are in Irons in the Choultry, amongst severall Blacks that are accompted

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1 Gunner Hugh Dixon. 2 Greenhill's.

for Traitors against Sir Edward Winter. . . . When I was at liberty at Fort St. George I heard Sir [Edward] say that, should his Majesty of England send his positive order for the delivery of the Fort, . . . he would not obey it unless his Majestie should send answer to one particular letter which [he] was so audacious (after hee had committed his treachery) to send to his sacred Majesty. There is one Richard How, on this occasion now in prison. Hee was one Sir Edward looked highly on. . . . I heard him say to Sir Edward that hee promised him one hundred sixty new Pagothes to give his assistance for securing the Agent; but hee told him hee had not performed it so large as his promise, therefore hee confided no longer in him. Hee is in Irons amongst honester men.

'I hope your honours will not passe by such murderers and usurpers of your power, I am sure to your greate damage. . . .

'BENJAMIN BROND.'

Surat to the Honble. Company.

'Concerning your Fort . . . wee can give you no further Account then what wee have received from Travailers that have come from thence, not having heard any thing from Mr. Jearsey of it upwards of 12 months since. The report is That Sir Edward hath Concluded with the Dutch to deliver it up to them, and that hee only waits the Governour of Ceilon's Answere for the resigning it. It is also said that hee hath a ship or Vessaile of his owne in which hee intends to make his escape, but it is not said whether. Wee doe not heare but that Agent Foxcroft is still living, but a close Prisoner, and wee heare so are all the rest, as well souldiers as ffactors, confiding altogether in his black Guards. The Preist that fomented and managed the whole Mutiny hath forsaken the Place and fled, it's not knowne whither. And this is what wee can heare of this unfortunate Business.' (*O.C.*, No. 3213, 26th March, 1667.)

In August, 1667, Henry Gary, formerly a Company's servant, who had succeeded Sir Gervase Lucas as Governor of Bombay, issued a proclamation against Foxcroft and Jearsey.[1] It was read in the chapel of Fort St. George on the 16th September, a date of ill omen, and then posted at the 'Corps du guard.' The Rev. Simon Smythes, to whose lot it fell to read the document, trembled so much that he could scarce accomplish the duty, and Captain Chuseman 'dropt downe from his Seate in a swoune . . . and broke his head.' Foxcroft wrote to Gary doubting the authenticity of the proclamation, which he assumed to have been fabricated by Winter.[2] Gary's attitude may be judged from the opening sentences of his reply, which run as follows :—

[1] A copy of the warrant, which is dated 8th August, 1667, is found in *O.C.*, No. 3219, 8th June, 1668.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 3221, 8th Oct., 1667.

'The Honble. Henry Gary to George Foxcroft.

(*O.C.*, No. 3219, 8th June, 1668.)

'Mr. Foxcroft, I received the 30th March, by the hands of Mr. Joseph Hynmers from Goa, your—I know not what to call it, for it surpasses immodestly the Limitts of a Letter, and is extravagant in the License of a Libel. If you know not of what spirit you are yourself, being blinded by that thick and noysome fogge of your passion, yet I and others doe; and soe, being acquainted with the principalls and sentiments of your heart, out of the abundance whereof your fowle mouth speaks, I wonder not at that your sordid language and dirty dyalect that is the true Sibboleth of a person of your party. Your stile is rampant now as it hath been rampant formerly. . . . With how much effrontery doe you brand a person of so much worth that his Majestie hath bene pleased to signalize with the marks of Honor! No other words will fill the capacity of your mouth but Murder, blood, Mutiny, felony and robbery, fraudulent practices, clue of fraud, &c., as if there were no Law for which you could be accomptable for words. But such language is proper Lettuce of your lips,[1] and one day you may finde that your lips have devoured you. Can you deale so roughly with one of his Majesties faithfull Subjects placed in a farr brighter Sphere then your selfe, notwithstanding all that vanity of a painted taile of titles wherewithall, Peacocklike, you pride yourself, never humbling your thoughts in the meane time to and by the Contemplation of your black feet, coloured by the foule patches of your former practices? . . .

'This I convey to you by Sir Edward Winter that it may come sooner to your hand then if sent (as you desire) to Mr. Jearsey. . . .

'HENRY GARY.'

The captive indited a dignified reply to this abusive letter, but Winter objected to its terms, and it was not despatched until September, after the lawful Agent had been reinstated.[2] In a postscript Foxcroft was able to point to the Company's confidence as proof of the falsity of Gary's position.

Unconscious of their Agent's predicament, the Company, in 1666, with the King's special authority, sent Foxcroft a fresh commission constituting him Governor, with power to try persons charged with capital offences.[3] The documents in due course reached Jearsey, who endeavoured to use them as means for Foxcroft's release. Winter was not to be cajoled. In his final despatch to the Company he thus describes Jearsey's attempt:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Prolix wee shall not be, . . . intending cursorily to Treat on Mr. Jearseys continued projects for setting free of Agent Foxcroft, etc., and the troubles

[1] In allusion to the proverb, 'Like lips, like lettuce'; to the ass, thistle is lettuce.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 3219, 15th July and 15th Sept., 1668.

[3] The origin of the Commission will be explained in the sequel.

hereby arriseing to ourselves. . . . Wee proceede to matter of Fact, wherein your Worships are more neerly concerned, being made the Author off a Commission and Warrant issued out by Your Order in His Majesties name for setting free of the Agent, etc., and that by vertue of the Kings Letter, or rather Commission, which accompanyed it. Wee were a long time allarumed with it before it came, and were sufficiently prepared to bare the Event.

'All the English in and about Gulcondah and elsewhere in these parts were summoned by Mr. Jearsey to accompany him hither, giveing out hee would himselfe be the bringer of it; and soe much of truth in appearance seemed to be that none could Imagine it otherwise then it was reported. Forty English Soldiers and Seamen were, with Armes and Ammunition, sent before from Metchlepatam to awaite the comeinge of Mr. Jearsey, Etc., to make his Entrance here in the greater State; but they, poore men, after a month beating the hoofe in this hott Climate in expectation of his comeing, receive their Missive to return back, and hee, not dareing to venture his Carkasse beyond the limitts off his owne doores, sends Mr. Fleetwood with full power and authority (as by vertue of the Kings Letter and that Warrant brought with him) to Reinvest the Agent in his place.

'His arryvall here was the 28 March, and noe sooner come hee into Towne but wee accompanyed him to the Fort, where he (to avoyd all annimosityes off what disafected persons might presurmise) was permitted to deliver the Kings Letter to the Agent, and afterwards Publickely to Read it on the Corps du gard. The Contents of which, as itt proved contrary to the Generall expectation off all, soe it confirmed our Opinions touching the Comission and Warrant in your Worships Name, which from the beginning wee Judged to bee counterfeit; yet wee resolved to have obeyed them had they agreed with the Tennour off his Majesties Letter. The Coppyes are herewith Remitted for your better satisfaction, wondring with what boldnesse hee durst presume to make use of your name in Issueing out Warrants of such high consequence, which commands the setting free of persons comitted on a Charge of high Treason against his Sacred Majestie, and avouching coppies of them under his owne hand to be the true coppies of the Originalls.

'The troubles hereby arising to our selves have not bin few, first in respect of the Soldiery who, as little children, are always taken with noveltye, and ever greedy of Change though from better to worse, especially the wavering and disafected party who have bin ensnared by Mr. Jearseys instruments head long to precipitate themselves, but now to[o] late acknowledge their Error. Then the continuall great charge which, in respect of the Dutch Warr, the Projects of Mr. Jearsey Inviting the Moores to assist him in his designes to gett this Fort, together with the frequent bribes distributed amongst some of the Souldery (ever greedy of what they can catch, seldome or never regarding what they goe about), causes our Vigilences to be the greater, and our expences to run higher then otherwise they would; the greatest part of which your Worships will have cause to thanke his irregular and unnaturall Transactions, our maine business haveing bin constantly to compose such distractions as his Invetyrate malice . . . hath broacht.

'The only favour that wee desire is that you will be pleased to suspend your Censure till that wee may have a faire and impartiall hearing, when then the Justnesse of our actions and intentions will be manifest to all. Whatever letters, etc., have come from your Worships, either by Marine or overland

Conveighance, hee hath all along made Seizure off, and kept them to himselfe, soe that wee are altogether unacquainted with any of your orders. . . .

'The fifteenth of the last month (amongst severall other papers from Bombay) wee received the Governors Warrant for the Secureing and keeping in safe Custodye Agent George Foxcroft, Etc., till His Majestie shall be pleased otherwise to dispose of them ; and would have Convey'd them thither were there any safe Conveighance by Land or Sea to effect it. . . . EDWARD WINTER, CHARLES PROBY, FFRANCIS CHUSEMAN.' (*O.C.*, No. 3222, 29th Oct., 1667.)

CHAPTER XX

1668

SUBMISSION OF WINTER—HIS CAREER

SUBMISSION OF WINTER.

THE Fort St. George despatches of September and October, 1665, were held back by Winter, and the first intimation of the revolution reached England on the 18th January, 1667, by way of Aleppo, from Sir George Oxinden at Surat.[1] The Company at once presented a petition to the King, who directed the Chancellor and Lord Arlington to investigate the matter. Thomas Winter represented his brother Sir Edward, and Sir Jeremiah Whitchcott appeared for his brother-in-law Foxcroft. It was not until the 4th December that a commission was issued for the reduction of Fort St. George and restoration of Foxcroft. The commission was entrusted to Capt. John Brookehaven, Mr. William Jearsey, Capt. Robert Price, Capt. Henry Risby, Capt. Thomas Harman, Capt. Richard Goodlad, Capt. William Wildey, Mr. John Niclaes, Mr. Walter Clavell, Mr. Roger Broadnax, Mr. John Bridger, Mr. Richard Smithson, Mr. Joseph Hall, Mr. Mathew Manwaring and Mr. Thomas Moore.[2] Five ships and a frigate were fitted out 'for warfare or trade,' and Price was nominated Admiral of the fleet.

On the 24th January, 1668, minute instructions were issued regarding every contingency. If, on the arrival of the fleet, Winter refused to yield the Fort and release Foxcroft, the garrison was to be offered all arrears of pay and a gratuity of 2,000 pagodas. If this bait failed, seamen were to be landed

[1] The India Office copy of Winter's Narrative is endorsed as received on the 13th April, 1667, and Foxcroft's statement on the 31st May.

[2] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. xxvi., 4th Dec., 1667.

in five bodies, and the Fort was to be attacked by sea and land. If the fortress had been given up by Winter to the Dutch, application for its restoration was to be addressed to the King of Golconda or the Dutch Government, according as the surrender had taken place before or after the date of the treaty of Breda. If, in the former event, Madras could not be recovered, San Thomé was to be purchased from the Nawab and fortified. Failing San Thomé, a settlement was to be formed elsewhere on the Coast. Advices were despatched in advance to Jearsey at Masulipatam, who forwarded them to Winter, but the latter treated the intimation with contempt, and denounced the commission as a forgery.[1]

On the 21st August, 1668, two of the ships arrived at Fort St. George; and we have the following narrative of events from the pen of Mr. Joseph Hall, one of the Commissioners :—

Joseph Hall to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, No. 3241, 8th Dec., 1668.)

'Haveing by Gods blessing on the 20th instant night arived nere Fort St. George one the Coast of Choromondell in the ship Raineboe and in company with the ship Loyall Marchant, did both one the 21th morneing in August last past weaigh anchor and come very neere the roade. There being no other of our Consarts arived, and the Raineboe being headmas ship, there came of from the forte aboard said ship Mr. Charles Probie and Mr. Edward Locke, the former second to Sir Edward Winter, and the latter a grand Councellor. Intimated the same to Captain Goodlad, desireing him to secure them tell wee went aboard the Loyall Marchant. Which was Immediately don, Mr. Manwaring and our Captain and myself goeing aboard the Loyall Marchant, Captain Risbe, who was then under saile, standing into the road. . . . And then a Consultation being called about the persons wee had secured aboard the Rainboe by reason of Sir Edward Winters being in possession of the forte, . . . it was thought good to detaine aboard both the before mentioned persons, and to send for them to be brought aboard the Loyall Marchant, which was accordingly performed, and then and there did shew unto Mr. Probie and Mr. Locke His Majesties Commission. Mr. Probie did yeald all reddie obedience theireunto, further saying that, although t'ware to his Rueing, hee would yeald obedience to His Majesties Commission. Whereupon wee desired his letter to Sir Edward Winter to signifie hee had read the same and Complied theirewith one his parte, and that Sir Edward ought to doe the same by his reddie Compliance and surrender of the forte in obedience to His Majesties commands. After said letter was writt by Mr. Probie, . . . did send ashoare His Majesties Commission, enordring the same to be read before the

[1] These particulars are taken mainly from notes of Court Minutes, supplied by Mr. William Foster.

said Sir Edward Winter and all others within the forte, as also Mr. Probies letter sent to Sir Edward Winter.

'After they had donn readeing, Sir Edward did seemingly well receave said Commission, as by his sending a letter aboard the same day, being the 21th, desireing som person mentioned in said Commission to come ashoare and reseave possession of the forte. Upon sight of said letter wee called a consultation, and theire it was ordred that Mr. John Bridger, Mr. Matthew Manwaring and Joseph Hall should goe ashoare to receave possession of the forte, notwithstanding the advice wee had reseaved by the Agents Foxcrofts servant and the Seccretarie that Sir Edward would make prissoners of us. . . . Whereupon we went that night, and got ashoare aboute two houres after candle light. Att our landing weare Conducted up to Sir Edwards house, wheare Sir Edward and one Mr. Smythes met us in the inward yard or Courte, wheare, after salutation, wee tould him wee weare come ashoare, enorder to his letter, to take possession of the forte ; . . . to which hee returned noe answer, onlie askeing whether wee had brought Mr. Probie ashoare with us ; to which I answered hee remained aboard with Mr. Locke. Imedeately spakes Smithes the minister, saing, Sir Edward, doe not discourse heere, but lett us goe up staires first. After which, Mr. Smithes did desire, soe soone as wee came up, the sight of the King's Commission, which, after a little lookeing over, found hee did not like it, as by his makeing many quarreling Exseptions against it, and further saing that Commission had never came or binn granted If Sir Edwards letter and charge against Mr. Foxcroft had come to the Kings notice. Uppon which, after answering him, desired his Compliance with the Kings Commission. . . . In Answer to which, Sir Edward and the prest said it was to late that night, and that in the morneing it should be donn soe soone as wee would. In the Intrim, wee desired to see Agent Foxcroft and have him released out of prison. Sir Edward and the prest would not condesend to, nether by noe perswations, deferring all to the morning, and then, if wee sent for Mr. Probie ashoare, it should be donn ; but without Mr. Probie, saith the prest, they could not deliver the forte, because it was delivered Sir Edward by Mr. Probie ; therefore Sir Edward must deliver it up to him againe, and both joyne in the surrendering and deliverring it up to us. . . . To all which we Answred, seeing that he would not deliver the fort that night, we would goe aboard. But coming downe to the sea side, wee found it so darke, and the surfe and sea soe much increased, that no boate would carrie us of ; for which cause we returned againe to Sir Edwards house, and lay there that night, he putting a guard of armed men in the roome we lay.

'The following morneing, being the 22th of August, about six in the morning wee demanded possestion of the forte, and soe Continuing with our demands and Answering the objections of Sir Edward and Mr. Smithes the prest, tell aboute seven a clocke, there Cheefe objection being that, in case they delivered the forte, they might be Imprisoned and their Estates seased on, and without an assurance to the Contrary they would never surrender the forte. Also that they would have Mr. Probie come ashoare first. Our Answer was that there persons should be free without any Molestation, to remaine there, or to transport themselves for Urupe, without any let or Molestation ; to which Smithes replied that, unless they had an assurance of there Estates as well as there persons, and Mr. Probies coming first ashoare, it should not be delivered, which Sir Edward Confirmed.

'And thus we parted, goeing downe to the sea side to goe aboard ; but our

first attempte proved not succesfull, being driven to and againe by great sease and surfes Comeing over the boate, soe that the boate was forced backe againe ashoare before we could gett aboard; but Considering time was pretious, . . . as also that it might be dangerous the given Sir Edward any long time of debate and Consultation with his Adherance and that trecherous, pestifferous villian Leftenant Cheesman, put of to sea againe in another boate well maned, and a Cattamaran before us to take us up in Case the boate overset. This way proved efectual to the Acconplishment of our desire in gitting aboard the Loyall Marchant by God's Assistance, and there calling a Consultation, which did hould it to be verie pernitious to the buissines in hand any delay or deferring, as also being noe more ships, the unlikenes of doeing anything per forsce of Arms, and the lateness of the yeare, . . . wee were Constrained to Joyne with them, and put in Execution our resolutions in sending ashoare an Ingagement, under all the Commissioners hands and seales, to Sir Edward Winter for the freedom of there persons and Estates, being there one[1] proper estates, with liberty to reside there, or to transport themselves for Urupe, without let or mollestation. This paper being sent with a second letter from Mr. Probie, . . . also sent Mr. Locke, . . . also then sent, in Case of non Compliance, our Declaration, to be read in publicke, to declare him and all his Adherance trators and rebels to his Majestie.

'Said Locke went upon his perroule to returne; also haveing good security for him by a vessell in the roade of his, and the master being our prisoner, had the more Confidence in his fidillitie and indeavers with Sir Edward and his Adherance; whoe, after two houres Consideration and Consulting Mr. Probies Letters from England, finding all his Contrivances and ploting noe wayes takeing the Efect he Amed at in England, and Locke workeing verie Efectually with Sir Edward and the padre, did at last prevaile with him, and returned aboard the same day with a letter from Sir Edward that, soe soone as three of the Commissioners came ashore, hee would surrender the forte; which he performed and did that night with all the formallities ussallie. After the surrender, the Soldgers being turned all out and the gates all locked, the Commissioners opened the Prissons, letten Mr. Foxcroft out, and deliverring unto him the keayes of the forte. That night Agent Foxcroft called twenty soldgers into the forte for a present gard. And the following morning, being the 23, the soldgers of both ships went ashoare, and with what other men he made choyce of, made up his Coplement for settleing and keeping said forte and out workes: which being donn, the Raineboe and Loyall Marchant was dispatched by the Agent in thirteen dayes after, being the 4 of Septamber in the Evening, when we set saile from fort St. George for Metchlapatam. . . .

'JOSEPH HALL.'

Foxcroft himself considered that the terms made with Winter were too liberal. Writing to England he says:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Commissioners spake not at all with us untill they had past the said engagement, and had the ffort delivered up into their possestion; which being done, all the souls being turned out of the ffort excepting ourselves, who were kept Prisoners under Lock and Keay untill this was done. All others then

[1] *One*, own.

being turned out, they then opened our prison doors, set us at Lyberty, and delivered the possestion of the ffort into our hands.

'We shall not insist upon the Eagerness of the engagement they made; though in few words, yet extends farr; but inasmuch as we doe hope and beleive that the Commissioners intended it for the best and compendious way for regaineing of your ffort without bloodshed (which was allways the desire of us your servants their prisoners), and haveing, as they said, sufficient authoritie to make what termes they pleased with Sir Edward, we shall not dispute or question: only we shall observe that, if the letter of it be strictly observed, it will be at the Libertie of Sir Edward whether he will ever goe into England according to his Majesties Comãnd, since he may, by the tenour thereof, remove and transport himself and his Estate into any part of India or Europe, which, as it hath alreadie begot troble to us and prejudice to you, soe it is likely to doe more. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 6th Oct., 1668.)

Winter's Career.

Before the prominent figure of Sir Edward Winter passes from the Madras stage, a few additional facts may be recorded concerning this remarkable man. Born about 1622, the son of William Winter, and great-grandson of Admiral Sir William Wynter, Edward Winter embarked on an Indian career at an early age, under the care of his elder brother Thomas.[1] In 1644 he was junior Assistant at Masulipatam; from 1652 to 1654 Chief at Verasheroone, and Chief at Masulipatam in 1656. After the affair of the Nawab's junk, his services were dispensed with, and he sailed for England in January, 1660.[2] On the grant of a new charter in the following year, the Company selected Winter for the Coast Agency, the King knighted him, and he duly took charge of Fort St. George. His subsequent stormy history down to 1668 has been already related. On Foxcroft's restoration, Sir Edward was, under his agreement with the Commissioners, allowed to reside at Madras, where he became an object of some anxiety to the Government:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Sir Edward Winter went from hence aboute the 12th of October to Pullicat to the Dutch, where he staid 8 or 10 daies, and returned againe to this place; but in regard he went thither without our consent, but not our know-

[1] The late Mr. William Irvine ascertained that Thomas Winter, born in 1616, went to India about 1630. After twenty years' service, he returned to England, and resided at Fulham House until his death in 1682. A monument to his memory may still be seen at Fulham Church. His will of 1679 mentions 'my brother Sir Edward Winter, Knight' (*Fulham, Old and New*, i. 109, 264, Feret).

[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 10th March, 166½.

ledge, and had spent so many daies in caressing and being caressed by the Dutch, and having no businesse there but his divertisement, we did not think fitt to permit at his returne to come within the walls to his owne house,[1] but permitted to be where he would without the walls, where he tooke up his station for many daies. And the 21th of November returned againe to Pullicat, with a purpose to go to Mechlepatan, upon what designe we know not. And [on] his way from Pullicat towards Mechlepatan, hunting a wild hogg, got a fall, and his horse falling and lying upon him sorely bruised him, &c., so that he was forced to give over his intended journey, and returned back to Pullicat, where he remained many daies for his cure. And this day, being the 6th of January, he is come from thence to Trevitore,[2] a town within fewe miles of this place.

'The reasons why we permitted him not to come within the walls to his owne house were severall: first because he had arms and ammunition therein, and besides had vapour'd and given out that in fewe daies there would be another change in this place; so knew not what designes he might have. And though we feared not what he could do, yet we thought not fitt to put any shew of an opportunity into his hand, being a rash man, and ready to put in execution what comes in his mind. . . . Besides, we considered that the engagement from the Commissioners was not broken thereby; for although in it they granted to him and his adherents to stay in Madraspatan or depart from thence into any part of India or Europe, yet they made no grant to him to go and returne at his pleasure; so that, being once departed, we were at liberty to suffer to returne or not. Yet he was still in Madraspatan; that gardenhouse wherein he was and might have remained at his owne pleasure, and did, is within the Compasse of Madrasspatan, and so no break of the engagement. What further he hath in his minde we knowe [not], but do think the least part of his intention is to go to England this yeare, if ever. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3247, 23rd Jan., 166$\frac{8}{9}$.)

The allusion here made to the situation of Winter's house confirms the view that the Christian Town had been completely walled prior to 1669. If Fryer's plan dates from the Doctor's visit of 1673, the walls must have existed in that year. They were certainly not built by Foxcroft, so that they must have been erected earlier, perhaps begun by Chamber and finished by Winter. Foxcroft's statement of 1665 proves that Winter's house lay between the Fort and the Company's Garden,[3] and there is reason for believing that it was situated near the northern wall of the Christian Town.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Sir Edward Winter is gone from hence by Sea in a Vessell of his owne to Metchlepatam, and sent his wife overland, whoe made haste after Mr. Jearsay

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[1] In Middle Gate Street.

[2] *Trevitore*, Trivatore, a large village, five miles north of the Fort.

[3] A report by Streynsham Master, of later date, shows that the earliest Company's Garden was located near the Burial-ground.

and his wife when they departed from hence, and over tooke them about Armagon, and soe went in their Company to Metchlepatam ; and Sir Edward, goeing by Sea from Pullicat, was there three dayes before them. Before he went, he made his complaint that he did it because he had not wherewith to sustaine his family. What he may meet with there, or have in returne of all his adventures wee know not, but feare little of it will come towards your sattisfaction, and of many others unto whome he is indebted. What his further purposes are wee cannot guess, but beleive his returne to England is least in his intentions, at least till he heare from Smythes and Chuseman,[1] whome, wee heare, he furnished with Dymonds and Jewells to make his Cause good. But it is not unlikely but that he may have as bad an accompt of that as of his other adventures if he trusted any into their hands. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3171, 15th April, 1669.)

Winter finally left India early in 1672 :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Sir Edward Winter desireing an Order to Captain George Erwin, Commander of the Bombayn Merchant (now in this Road and ready to depart for England) to receive him aboard his said ship, it was, upon due consideration, resolved to be granted to him as follow, viz.—

'CAPTAIN ERWIN,

'Sir Edward Winter having made choice of your ship the Bombayn to take his passage on for England, these are to enorder you to receive him on board your ship with such provisions needfull for his passage, allowing the greate Cabin, and accommodation, and respect befitting his quallity, and the same for his Lady and Child if hee desires it ; and he hath also leave to carry of his Estate in any fine Commodities not prohibited. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 19th Jan., $167\frac{1}{2}$.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'And now the danger ceasing, are lesse concerned in oppoesing the Return of severall your English soldiers whose three yeares time is expired, and others, all Sir Edward Winters Freinds and Guests at Chere Entiere,[2] so much oblieged to him that must needs go home with him and in no other ship, which that he may complain without Cause (and truly the Bombayn having some want of men) hath produced these inclosed Consultations, orders to Captain Erwin, . . . also a discharge to the men therein mentioned, Paying their debts, with Licence to the Captain to take them in, not order, their Patron being as free to Pay as deare as he pleases for persons whose testimonies he fancies, or designes so much use of. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3620, 23rd Jan., $167\frac{1}{2}$.)

Apparently Lady Winter did not take advantage of the permit, for she was still in India at the end of 1674. Fort St. George

[1] The Rev. Simon Smythes and Captain Chuseman sailed for England in January, 1669.

[2] *Chere Entiere*, full cheer, sole charge for entertainment.

wrote to the Company[1]:—'The Lady Winter has notice given her of your order in her favour as to her embarquing, but do not find she has any thought that way, though, if Sir Edward be but kept at home, she will be glad to take it into further consideration.'

On arriving in England, Winter had a protracted dispute with the Company, which was eventually settled by arbitration and the award to Sir Edward of £6,000. Being refused permission to return to India, Winter established himself at York House, Battersea, where he died on the 2nd March, 1686. He was buried in Battersea Parish Church, where a fine monument was erected to his memory. The monument is placed high up in the south gallery, and is surmounted by a bust, of which a representation[2] is here given. The face is of a masterful, almost truculent type, and is an index of the man's character. The first part of the inscription runs as follows:—

'P.M.S. Edvardi Wynter, Equitis, Qui adhuc impuber ex patriâ proficiscens in Orientalibus Indys, mercaturam feliciter exercuit, magnas opes comparavit, Majores conflaturus si non sprevisset. Ibidem splendide vixit & honorifice. Post annos 42 Angliam revisit. Uxorem duxit Emmã filiã Rich. Howe, Armig: Norfolc: Decessit Mart: 2do A: ætatis 64. Dõ. 168$\frac{5}{6}$.'

Then follows a eulogy in rhyme, of which these are the last few lines:—

'Nor less in Martiall Honour was his name,
Witness his actions of Immortall Fame:
Alone, unarm'd, a Tygre He opprest,
And crusht to death the Monster of a Beast.
Thrice-twenty mounted Moors he overthrew
Singly on foot, some wounded, some he slew;
Dispers'd the rest:[3] what more cou'd Sampson do?
True to his Friends, a Terrour to his Foes,
Here, now, in peace his honour'd bones repose.'

At the foot of the monument is a relief representing these two exploits. The lady mentioned in the inscription was Winter's second wife. The name of the first, whom he married in India, has not been traced. She was apparently connected with the country, for we hear of her coming down from Masulipatam in 1659 to visit her aged and infirm mother at Madras. Winter's

[1] *O.C.*, No. 4044, 20th Nov., 1674.

[2] From a photograph of the original, kindly obtained by Mr. H. C. West.

[3] The allusion is perhaps to the attack on Winter and Blake at Masulipatam in 1662.



J. J. Bayfield Photo. Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Sir Edward Winter

From the monument in Battersea Parish Church

will mentions a son Edward, and two daughters married in India.[1] The first Lady Winter, who did not accompany her husband to England, appears to have been living at Madras in 1681, five years prior to Sir Edward's death :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Sir Edward Winter makes it his request that, in case his Lady should dy there,[2] some special care might be taken of his Son and Daughter, and of the Estate she shall be possessed of at her death, lest it should fall into the hands of ill men, touching which he will write to you more particularly himselfe ; which we recomend to you [the] furtherances and assistance you can therein.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 10th March, 1681.)

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[1] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Sir Edward Winter,' by Mr. William Foster.

[2] *There*, Fort St. George is alluded to.

CHAPTER XXI

1668—1672

ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE FOXCROFT—COURTS OF JUSTICE

FOXCROFT'S ADMINISTRATION.

FOXCROFT'S earliest efforts were devoted to the restoration of the *status quo ante.* Proby received notice that his services were no longer required. Fathers Ephraim and Zenon returned to Madras from San Thomé, and were indemnified for their expenditure on messengers between the Fort and Masulipatam during the period of the Agent's confinement. Smythes and Chuseman were allowed to proceed to England. The former was succeeded by the Rev. William Thomson, a Nonconformist, who was looked at askance by the factors. Chuseman was suspected of having added to his income by illicit methods :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

As touching the full attestations you require about the bribes, espetially to Chuseman, though haply we may not finde such dyrect proofs as wilbe good in Law, yet the circumstances and consequents of it make as cleare as such works of darkness can be under the clouds that such subtill and thinn spun hypocryse with which he hath seemed to cover his actions. For it is a plaine case that he brought not over with him the value of 200£, a good part whereof were in old long lane[1] black clokes, which, in a piece of waggery, one perswaded him to in jest, knowing them altogether improper for this country, but he tooke it in earnest and made his provision accordingly. Besides them he brought over nothing but a few sword blades, some few ribbins of an inconsiderable value ; and for gold, as none ever appeared, so it is cleare they brought none. But since this rebellion, he hath bene the only man flash of moneys, haveing besides adventures he made and moneys let out upon correspondentia,[2] store of moneys to buy cloth cheape when there were no other buyers, in such quantities that his wife and hee kept constantly, (if not yeares) yet many months

[1] *Lane,* from Fr. *laine,* woollen.

[2] *Correspondentia,* or respondentia, the security of a ship's cargo.

together, to make petticotes, shirts, &c., for to send to England, above thirty taylers. . . . By all which and other circumstances it appeares that he could not be so abundently furnished in those particulars, and in richer garment then suitable to his place (though not to his pride), as also his wife was with variety of rich jewells, gold chaines, and change of apparrel far beyond her ranck; all which plenty could not be extracted out of a few long lane Clokes which many if not all of them are like never to sell, but the memory of them remaine as a proverb upon him for giving credit to the waggery put upon him. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3238, 12th Nov., 1668.)

The main feature of Foxcroft's administration was the protracted dispute with Nawab Neknām K͟hān regarding dues payable to the suzerain. The successive cowles received by the British since their first settlement at Madras provided that half the customs received on the goods of strangers should be paid over to the native government. In 1658 Greenhill compounded for this half-share by a fixed payment of Pags. 380 per annum, which was called the Town Rent. Four years later, the Nawab disputed the adequacy of this sum and refused to receive it. Neknām K͟hān, who acceded about 1663, not only demanded the whole of the customs, but claimed to establish a Havildar[1] at Madras to check the receipts. Winter interposed delays by professing to refer the question to England, but after Foxcroft's restoration, the Nawab again pressed for a settlement. While strenuously resisting the demands as an infraction of the early cowles and subsequent agreement, Foxcroft endeavoured to procure a new *farmān* confirming and extending existing privileges. The negotiations were conducted partly with Nawab Neknām K͟hān, and partly with 'Chinapella Mirza who hath the Comãnd of the Souldiers in this Country.'[2] In 1670 relations became so strained that this officer imposed a strict blockade on Madras, which lasted a month.[3] The dispute was not finally arranged until after Foxcroft's departure. Its progress will be understood from the following extracts:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Whilest this is writing there come a letter to your Agent from Chenappellee Mirzah in answer to one lately sent him about the customes, whereby you will

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[1] *Havildar*, from Pers. *hawāldār*, one holding an office of trust.

[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 6th Oct., 1668. The late Mr. William Irvine suggested that the seemingly hybrid name of the General may be a corruption of Janāb 'Ali Mirzā. M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari points out that there is a village Chennupalli in Guntur. It was not, however, the practice of Moslems to assume place-names.

[3] *Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. iii., 19th July, 1670.

perceive a necessity of coming to some end about that business. We give his own words as neare as we can have it translated, vizt.,

'"When the Nabob was at Punamalee with his Army,[1] intending to keepe an Avaldore in the towne of Madrass, the Captaine[2] then made his request that, without your Kings[3] leave, he was affraid to keepe an Avaldore in the towne, and after he had given him to understand of all things, he would get an answer to have one of the Divans[4] people, as it hath bene accustomed formerly, both for matters of your Merchandize and about its customes to the Divan. From that day unto this tyme, which hath bene five or six yeares, I suppose there would have bene some answer from your King concerning this business. Seeing this, your Worship would doe well to send one of your people with a copie of all what your King writ about this business unto the Nabob, and to make an end of it. . . . And if your Worship should despise to doe the same, you would be charged with great summs of mony, and you would receive the Nabob's discontent and anger upon you, and this your Worship must understand."'

'Thus far out of his last Letter. Many other letters from him and others about the same thing; and the Nabob himself, in none that your Agent hath had from him, would take notice of the agreement of 380 pagodes per annum, although in every letter to him your Agent made mention of it. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3238, 12th Nov., 1668.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'By the Letters (Copys whereof you will herewith receive) which have past betweene your Agent Governour[5] and Yecknan Caun Nabob, and Mirza Chinapella and Hassan Caun,[6] &c., you will find in what state we stand concerning the Rent of this Towne and a Governoure they would have to reside here. . . .

'You will finde that your Agent Governoure hath fully endeavoured . . . to perswade him to put an end to this business. . . . It hath procured an answer from him by which you may perceive what he expects, vizt. the full Custome, and setling of a Governoure heere. The last letter our Agent Governour writ to him was sent by our Bramine, who is our servant to be alwaies resident there[7] to give intelligence of what passeth there at no great charge. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3247, 23rd Jan., 166$\frac{8}{9}$.)

Fort St. George to Masulipatam.

'Pleasing (wee hope) letters have been sent to the Nabob wherein our desires are sent for the accomodateing of the matters in difference about this

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[1] *Vide O.C.*, No. 2983, 10th Dec., 1663, previously quoted.

[2] *Captaine*, the Agent, Sir Edward Winter.

[3] *Your King*, the King of England.

[4] *Divan*, Ar. *dīwān*, the Minister of Revenue; hence Fr. *douane*, It. *dogana*, Hind. *dukān*.

[5] *Agent Governour;* the origin of this designation is explained below.

[6] *Hassan Caun, alias* Cassa Verona, who seems to have been employed as British political agent.

[7] At Golconda. The British Resident's name was Venkatapati.

Towne, and for procureing a new Phirmaund or grant of the Priviledges hitherto enjoyed, and the addition of such others as may not be prejuditiall for them to grant, but may be of use to the Company to have. . . . Wee have promised to pay the arreares of Rent of 380 [pags.] per annum when hee shall please to require it, which wee have alwaies showed our readiness to have paid him if hee would have accepted thereof. Wee have also writ to Baba Ibrahim and his two cheife Bramines, whoe . . . have been instrumentall in the procureing his effectuall order for the removeing of the late Siege, and preserveing the Nabobs good opinion, notwithstanding those falce storyes which the Aveldore of St. Thoma and Mirza insinuated. . . . Wee have sent, as a Present, pledges of respects to each of these persons, some yards of Scarlett. . . . GEORGE FOXCROFT, JEREMY SAMBROKE, JOHN BRIDGER, TIM^o. WILKES.' (*Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, vol. ix., 11th July, 1670.)

In a letter to the Nawab a few months later, Foxcroft plainly set forth his case:

George Foxcroft to Nawab Neknām Khān.

'I well understand what you say that this ffort is not soe greate a thing to be much vallued by your Greatnesse, and therefore doe hope, it being of such little consideration to you, that you will not think much of continuing the priveledges the English have soe long enjoyed, and which the honorable Company have been at so greate a charge in erecting the ffort and maintaining the greate charge thereof for soe long a time, and that, after all their expence, you will not think it fitt or just to doe any thing to disturb the possession thereof.

'The priveledges the Company hath enjoyed are chiefly these. That they should have the towne and the government thereof in their own hands, and no other Avaldore or Governor to have any thing to doe or intermeddle therein. That the English should have all the goods and moneys belonging to them and their inhabitants, whether imported or exported, to be free from all custome. That they should not be interrupted in their traffique or Merchandize by any Commanders or Governors. That for all other customes besides those that are freely granted to the English aforesaid, they shall enjoy the one halfe of them freely to their own use, and shall also enjoy the other halfe upon their payment of 380 pagodas per annum. Unto this your Excellency acknowledge[s] that you had heretofore given your consent. . . .

'[According to the British political agent at Golconda, the Nawab represents that] "So long as the Kingdome of Cornat was under the Gentue King, you well know he wholy gave the rent of the towne and such priveledges to the English, but that it being now under the government of the Moores, they could not consent to the same, but must doe in all things as Pullicat. . . ." Unto which I add by way of answer, besides what I have said above of the former grants, that when the Moores conquered the Gentues, yet the English in this ffort remained still upon the same termes in which they stood in the Gentues time, and never consented nor were forced to any alteration or surrender of their priveledges. Therefore it is all justice they should still continue in the same condition they were, and your self have acknowledged that you gave consent for the same in the time of Ackapanague . . . GEORGE FOXCROFT.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxvi., 10th Nov., 1670.)

These arguments did not prevail with Neknām Khān:—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'The Nabob insisting to have an Avaldare for the Government of this Towne, and the Coustoms, after the manner of Pullicat, which, being an innovation of the priviledges long enjoyed, hath bred some contest and produced a very angry returne, with some unhandsome reflections on the Governor, who returneing such answere as was meet to be given, letting him know that he resented such Indignity comeing from him contrary to the fame of his honour and wisdome, hath produced a change in his stile by a kind letter and pishkashes sent the Governor to pacify him; but how farr this will extend to the Confirmac̄on of our priviledges, or the grant of new ones, we cannot tell. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 11th April, 1671.)

In November, 1668, Madras was visited by a cyclone, the third of which we have any record:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'A dreadfull storme, or rather Hurricane, which hapned here the 22th of November, the like hath not beene knowne here in any mans memory. The tempest of wind and raine was so exceeding violent that nothing could stand before it; men and beast[s] carried into the Sea by the violence of the winds and floud. The generality of the houses in this and the neighboure Townes were ruined: scarse any trees left standing in gardens or elsewhere: the walls of this Towne laid flat in severall places: your Godownes and other houses in and aboute the Fort uncovered and exceedingly shattered: no place in the Fort where we could keepe our persons, bookes or papers free from the wind or raine, nor scarcely any doores stand against the violence of it, and we hourely feared the falling of the Fort downe upon us, it was so exceedingly rockt, and yet abroad we could have no shelter, nor were able to stand against it. The repairing of the Damage will necessarily require a greate charge, which at first we thought should have amounted to 3000 pagodas, but hope it will come short thereof. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3247, 23rd Jan., 166$\frac{8}{9}$.)

In January, 1669, an indent for stores of British manufacture was sent home. The following are some of the items:—

'*A List of things wanting in the Fort.*

(*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., Jan., 166$\frac{8}{9}$.)

'Beames and scales for Gold, exactly made with exact weights.

'A Lanthorne to light the Ships coming into the Roade in the Night, and other Lanthornes to light to the Chambers in the night.

'Here we find not a dish, spoon, bowle, or any plate at all. If you please to send furniture thereof, it will save charges: the plate will allwayes remaine, and the breaking of earthen or China ware will be farr more chargeable then the Interest of the valew of the plate.

'Sadles and Bridles, two dozen.

'Mum[1] and wine, beare and brandy.

'2 large perspective glasses[2] for the Forts use, of the best sort to spy ships, &c.

'What medicines now come out spoiled.

'Garden seeds, &c. for phisick—Radish, Carrot, Parsnips, Parsly, Angelica, Turnips, marsmallards seede, cabbige, marygold Flowers, tyme, Winter Savery, Lavender, Sage, Hysop, Pennyroyall, Mint, Balme, Rue, Carduns, Benedictus, Rosemary, Sorrell, Purslen, Lettice, Sparrow grass, Bett Coultsfoot, Scurvy grass, Plantan, Wormwood.

'*An Account of necessarys wanting in the Fort for the Gunners Store.*

1 Deme cannon - - - - - -	[6 in., 36 pr.]
1 D^{a}. for culverine - - - - - -	[5½ in., 18 pr.]
1 D^{a}. for demeculverine - - - -	[4½ in., 10 pr.]
1 D^{a}. for Saycor - - - - - -	[3½ in., 5 pr.]
1 D^{a}. for Minion - - - - - -	[3 in., 4 pr.]

2 Globe Lanthornes to show a light when the ships come in the Roade in the night.'

The Civil servants at Fort St. George in 1669[3] were fifteen in number—viz., George Foxcroft, '*Agent Governour*'; Jeremy Sambrooke, Nathaniel Foxcroft, Edward Herrys, Richard Smithson, and John Bridger, '*of the Councell*'; John Crandon, Stephen Charleton, Thomas More, Timothy Wilkes, and Francis Langston, *Factors*; John Nicks, John Davis, John Thomas, and William Probat, '*the four youthes*.' These last were sent out as apprentices. Their training was regulated with solicitude:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The young lads which you sent over, who had their education in Christ Church,[4] are towardly boys heatherto, and we hope will soe continue, and prove as fit for your servise as any you send over in that Capacitie, and being plyable and brought up to your hands by good education, may in tyme prove good servants in further imployments. And we shall take all care in their education, and so keepe them in full imployment, they being very willing unto it, and doe not fall short of any in doeing their share, as the rest alsoe are whome we have keept in this place. The one of them, John Nix, your Agent hath taken into his particular care, and is always under his eye, and can give a good Account of his service. The others are distributed under the particular care of others, one to Mr. Sambrook, another to Mr. Nathaniell ffoxcroft, and the other to Mr. Edward Herries whome I have desired to look strickly after them, and

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[1] *Mum*, from Dut. *mom*, beer made from wheat.

[2] *Perspective glasses*, telescopes.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 15th April, 1669.

[4] Probably Christ's Hospital. They are afterwards referred to as the 'Hospital youths.'

take care that they read the Scriptures dayly morning and evening, which I alsoe doe to my boy ; and although he cannot dayly have the rest in his eye, yet every Lords day he calls them all to account of what they have heard, and of everyone their Chapter learned by hart, which they performe to good satisfaction, by which the Scriptures becoming familiar to them while young, may abide with them when old. . . .

'We have alsoe acquainted you of the necessity of another able Chyrurgion that we may not wholy be destitute in case of sickness or death of Mr. Jordain,[1] who is only we have to make use of since the death of Mr. Phylip Bradford, who was eminently for his yeares skillfull and successfull in Chyrurgery, and physick alsoe. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 29th Jan., 166 8/9.)

The chief events of 1671 were the arrival of Sir William Langhorn from England and of Mr. William Jearsey from Masulipatam, and the death of the minister, Mr. Newcome. Langhorn was sent out as Commissioner to investigate the conduct and affairs of Sir Edward Winter, and to succeed Foxcroft as Agent when the latter's term of office expired. Langhorn's enquiries were pursued at Madras and Masulipatam. When at Fort St. George, he sat as Second in Council.

Fort St. George to Surat.

'About a month since, it pleased God to take Mr. Newcome, our Minister, a worthy person of great deserts for learning (for a man of no older yeares), of sound principles, and of a most meek, peaceable and sober spirit and blameless conversation. . . .

'Mr. Wm. Jearsey is newly arrived at this place from Metchlepatam, and haveing made provision for a house, we are apt to believe he intends to take up his habitation here untill his departure for England the next yeare, if he shall not desire to have liberty to stay a yeare longer. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 11th April, 1671.)

Frequent mention is made of Jearsey's house in the sequel.

The time for Foxcroft's departure was now approaching, and certain concessions were granted as to the goods he might take home with him :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'You were pleased to grant your Agent George Foxcroft to bring home at his returne 12 Tonns without the mulct of 40*l*. per Tonn, but haveing no liberty for any of your Commodities,[2] hee knowes not how hee shall fill up one halfe of that tonnage, [even] if hee reckon into it his Chests and Trunkes, [and] Scretores[3] which may serve for presents to such of whome hee hath received kindness

[1] Called Jardin in *O.C.*, No. 3247.

[2] *Your Commodities*, the commodities which were the Company's monopoly.

[3] *Scretore*, writing-desk.

And hee hath sent seven small fardells containing each tenn peeces of Moorees a peece, for tokens to severall friends, besides some that are in a bale, and hopes you will not be offended at it, haveing no other thing from hence to shew my thankfullness for civillityes ; and I cannot suppose that you will lay a necessity upon him to be unthankfull by denying him the opportunity of such small gratifications. . . . GEO. FOXCROFT, WM. LANGHORNE, JEREMY SAMBROOKE, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIM°. WILKES.' (*O.C.*, No. 3575, 6th Sept., 1671.)

On the 18th January, 1672, Foxcroft sailed in the *Sampson*, and was succeeded as Agent by Sir William Langhorn. Sambrooke departed the same day on another ship, and Winter followed with his train in the *Bombayn* a week later.

COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Foxcroft was the first Agent to be created Governor of Fort St. George, a title which was transmitted to a long line of distinguished successors. To modern occupants of the gubernatorial chair it is probably unknown that they owe their designation to a Madras murder. Such is the fact ; but, to explain the sequence of events, it will be necessary not only to advert to the judicial powers exercised at Fort St. George, but to enumerate the successive charters [1] from which those powers were derived.

Charter of Elizabeth, 31st December, 1600.—This, the earliest charter of the Company, constituted the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies' a body corporate, and granted it the exclusive right of trading to the East Indies for a period of fifteen years. The charter gave the Company power to make laws for its own government and for that of the factors, masters and mariners employed in voyages, provided such laws were not repugnant to the laws of England. It also conferred authority to punish offenders by imprisonment or fine.

Charter of James I., 31st May, 1609.—This charter confirmed and extended that of Elizabeth.

Charter of Cromwell, 1657.—No copy of this charter has yet been traced.

[1] *Charters granted to the East India Company.* Printed for the Company, 1774 *Charters relating to the East India Company* (John Shaw, Madras, 1887) is a reprint, with additions, of the above.

Charter of Charles II., 3rd April, 1661.—This important charter gave the Company authority over all forts and factories in the East Indies, empowered it to appoint Governors and other officers, and authorized the Governor and Council of a place to judge all persons living under them in all causes, civil or criminal, according to the laws of England, and to execute judgment. The Company was given power to send out ships of war, men and ammunition, to erect fortifications, to provide men for their defence, to govern the forces by martial law, and to make peace or war with any non-christian power.

Charter of Charles II., 9th August, 1683.—This charter authorized the establishment at any factory of a Court of Judicature, consisting of one person learned in the civil laws and two merchants. It was designed primarily as a Court of Admiralty.

Charter of James II., 12th April, 1686.—This charter confirmed those of 1661 and 1683, and empowered the Company to appoint admirals and other sea officers, who might raise naval forces. The Company was also authorized to coin any kind of money issued by the princes of the country.

An important charter which was issued by the Company in 1687, for establishing a Mayor and Corporation at Madras, will be considered later; and subsequent royal charters granted to the Company will be enumerated in due course.

From this brief abstract it will be seen that the charters of Elizabeth and James I. contemplated merely the framing of by-laws and the maintenance of discipline during voyages. Concerning the terms of Cromwell's charter we are ignorant, but it is probable that, prior to the issue of the charter of 1661, the Agent and Council possessed no judicial authority over the inhabitants but such as was derived from the native suzerain. The mode in which justice was administered is nowhere described, but it can be inferred from sundry allusions in the records.

The case of 1641, where a native woman was murdered by a man of the same race, has been mentioned on an earlier page. Some sort of trial took place, and the finding was immediately reported to the Naik, who commanded that justice should be done according to English law. The criminal was thereupon hanged. In 1642, when Antonio Mirando slew a British soldier, the Council were unwilling to deal summarily with a European subject of a

foreign power. The Naik, however, insisted on his immediate execution, and Mirando was accordingly shot. In 1644, when Sergeant Bradford inadvertently caused the death of a native, the case was referred to the principal inhabitants, who brought in a verdict, under native law, of accidental death. Offences by British subjects in which Indians were not concerned were dealt with by the Agent in Council. Thus Thomas Paine and Thomas Morris, found guilty of sedition, were punished with the lash.

From a very early period, and probably from the first settlement of Madras, justice was administered to the Indian inhabitants by a native Adigar, or Governor of the Town, sitting at the Choultry or Town-house. Kānappa, a Brahman, was appointed to this post by Ivie between 1644 and 1648, and there is evidence that his father held office before him. President Baker ousted Kānappa, and appointed Captain Martin and John Leigh to sit as magistrates during alternate weeks. Sir Edward Winter, who came out armed with the charter of 1661, reverted to the old plan, and appointed Timmanna and Verona to rule the town. Foxcroft, however, dismissed the two natives, and gave judicial control to William Dawes.

About 1665 a Madras slave-girl came by a violent death, and her mistress, Mrs. Ascentia Dawes, was accused of the capital crime. Uncertain of their powers, the Agent and Council asked for instructions from England. The Company replied as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee are very sorrie for that Inhumane Act Perpetrated by Mrs. Dawes in Murthering of her Servant, which at present is under our consideracion, to give you Advice and Orders how to proceed with her and others (if any) that were assisting to her in the Murther, And how to prosecute such persons in the future that shall Committ the like horrid Actions within the Lymitts of our Fort and Towne of Madrass. Our Shipp, on which we send you this our letter, beeing so suddainely to depart, wee know not whether wee shall give you directions how to prosecute her. But if wee should not before finishing hereof, you may expect all things at Large in relacion thereunto by our next.' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. 4, 7th March, 166$\frac{6}{7}$.)

After deliberation, the Company resolved that, under the authority given by the charter of 1661, the Agent at Fort St. George should be created Governor, with judicial power to try this and similar cases:—

The Company to Fort St. George.[1]

'Having received from you an account of that Cruell act laid to the charge of Mrs. Dawes upon one of her Slaves, we thought it our duty that the Law might have its due procedings in that case upon her. For that end we serched our Charter, wherein we find that the respective Governours and Councells Established by us in any of our fortes, Townes, etc., have power to exequute Judgment in all Causes Civill and Criminall. Neverthelesse, for our and your better satisfaction herein, wee thought fitt not onely to advise with his Majesties learned Councell upon the Clause in our Charter which giveth such power, butt also to make our addresses unto his Majestie for his speciall allowance and direction, as you will perceive by his Majesties letters and by a Coppie of the said Clause of our Charter, together with the Sollisitor Gennerall his opinion thereupon and directions in the Case, which wee have herewith sent you. And to the end wee might the more exactly persue the words of our Charter, Wee have thought fitt to Constitute you Governour of our Towne and Forte where the fact was Committed, as well as Agent, and to appoint you a Councell under our Seale, which, together with some Instructions and directiones how to proceede in the Triall of this woman, and of such as were Assistants to her, if any were, wee have likewise herewith sent you.' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. 4, 10th March, 166$\frac{5}{6}$.)

This despatch reached Madras during Winter's usurpation, but it was designed for Foxcroft, who must accordingly be regarded as the first of the long line of Governors of Madras. Mrs. Dawes was not tried until Foxcroft had been reinstated. As the first trial by jury in Madras, the proceedings therein are worth recording :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'In pursuance to your order and His Majesty's Commission to that purpose, wee proceeded to the tryall of Ascentia Dawes about the murther of Chequa alias Francisca, and did therein in all points proceed with as much exactness as we could, according to the instructions you gave. Her Indictment was made according to the forme you prescribed, a precept issued out, and 24 Persons summoned for a grand Jury, whoe returned the Indictment billa vera, whereupon a precept was issued to summon a Jury of 12 Persons for her tryall. There were 36 summoned, and appearing, the indictment was read, and shee, as they came to be named, being told shee might except against 20 without shewing any cause, but shee excepted onely against three, vizt., Sir Edward Winter, Mr. Robert Fleetwood[2] and Hugh Dixon.[3] And 12 being sworne, six English and six Portingalls, and the Indictment read againe, we proceeded to examination of the witnesses before the Jury, whoe goeing apart, after about two houres time sent a note into the Court subscribed by their foreman,

[1] This letter is addressed to 'Our Governour and Agent and Counsell in Fort St. George.'

[2] Robert Fleetwood was in 1668 Chief at Madapollam, where he died in 1676.

[3] Hugh Dixon was the Gunner of the Fort.

wherein they say they finde her guilty of the murther, but not in manner and forme, and therefore desired directions from the Court. Answer was returned that they must bring in a verdict guilty or not guilty without exception or Lymitation. After some small stay they came in with a verdict. Being asked whoe should speake, they answered their foreman Mr. Reade,[1] whoe, contrary to all expectation, gave in the Verdict not guilty. The Court, supposing it was a mistake, asked him againe, and he continued to give the same verdict not guilty, and the whole Jury, being asked, said soe too, whereupon she was quit; but for your further sattisfaction you may please to be referred to the narration[2] of the whole procedure drawne up by the Clarke that attended the Court. Wee found ourselves at a loss in severall things for want of Instructions, haveing noe man understanding the Laws and formallityes of them to instruct us, as . . . whether anything more had been to be said to the Jury when they brought in such an unexpected verdict. Wee proceeded in those and other particulars according to the best of our Judgments, . . but if any like case shall occurr, wee shall neede the direction and assistance of a person better skil'd in the Law and formalityes of it then any of your servants here are. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3171,[3] 15th April, 1669.)

On his reinstatement, Governor Foxcroft appointed two justices to the Choultry. Thomas Clarke and Nathaniel Foxcroft appear to have sat there until the latter died on the 26th October, 1670. At Clarke's resignation shortly afterwards, Messrs. Hynmers and Bridger were appointed:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Mr. Thomas Clarke hath made it his request to be freed from the trouble of the Chowtrey, to which the Governour hath consented, although he be still retained for Persian, Jentue, and Portingall Letters, the translaĉon whereof and of their answers gives him full imployment. The Governour hath ordered Mr. Joseph Hynmers to take the care of the Chowtrey, and hath joyned Mr. Bridger with him. Mr. Hynmers is a person very able and very sedulous in business, and loves to be at it, and gives a quick dispatch to what hee hath under hand. Hee doth also take the care of the coyneing, which is no small trouble to him, notwithstanding the helpe hee hath provided by Mr. Gofton[4] and Mr. Keble, the first whereof is under so deepe a Melancholy that makes him avoid all company or converse. I have appointed Mr. Hynmers to put him fully upon business about the coynage, if it may be to divert his Melancholy.

'Mr. Bridger is of a considerate, sober and sedate spirit, of experience, knowledge and understanding, and agreeing with Mr. Hynmers with all friendliness, they will together make a fitt mixture to carry on cases and affaires in the Chowtrey with better content and sattisfaction to the People then they

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[1] Mr. Edward Reade, a son-in-law of Thomas Winter, was third of Council in 1663.
[2] Not preserved.
[3] In the *O.C.* Series this paper is placed among documents of 1666.
[4] John Gofton was a writer, lately arrived from England.

might have had in either of them alone; and with just and equall sattisfaction to the People will continue the honor of our nacon, which was upheld and no ways stained by their Predecessor now Deceased, although some black mouth did endeavour falsely to asperce him to your Worships, to which your Agent will say little (though hee might much), least you should interpret that his relacon to him should make him partiall; but were any of you here to understand the generall esteeme he had amongst the Portugueses, Jentues and all others, by which hee obtained a good report amongst all men, and from all English with whome hee converst in this and your other Factoryes, I dare be bold to Prophesy that, had it pleased God to have lengthned his life to arrive in England, you would have found good cause to abate of any hard thoughts his envious detractors had prepossessed you withall of him. . . .'[1] (*O.C.*, No. 3575, 6th Sept., 1671.)

Nawab Neknām Khān had for years been urging the acceptance of an 'Aveldore'[2] or native governor of the town. Foxcroft sturdily resisted the demand as an infraction of authorized privileges; and relations became strained. The Company imagined that the native population of Madras desired a Havildar, and the Council wrote to disillusionize them:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee humbly conceive you mistooke our meaneing when you say the Natives desire to have an Aveldore and a Government amongst themselves. They are well sattisfyed under your present Government, and dread nothing more then to have an Aveldore set over them, from whome they expect, according to the manner of the Moores, nothing but Tirany and oppression at the Will and pleasure of Governors who are ready to give large summes to have a Goverment given them, and then, without remedy, to squeese the People at their pleasure to raise the money and Rent they contract to give when a Goverment was committed to them.

'It is true that wee writ that the Portingalls desired judges of their owne Nation might be set over them to judge them according to their owne Lawes, as sometimes they have had here; whereunto, though wee should be glad to consent to avoid a multitude of troublesome suits and Quarrells with which they trouble your judges in the Chowtrey, much more then they are troubled with all other suits that come before them, yet, because it seemes to intrench upon your jurisdiction, wee could not, without your advice and order, consent thereto. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3575, 6th Sept., 1671.)

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1 Nathaniel Foxcroft's tombstone, now in the paving outside St. Mary's Church records that he 'alwaies exhibited all the honor due from a dear and dutifull son to his parents, and by his universal obliging and ingenious conversation obtained a good report, and left a good name with all men.'

2 *Aveldore*, havildar, from Pers. *hawāldār*, one holding an office of trust.

CHAPTER XXII

1658—1673

ACCOUNTS OF MADRAS BY EARLY TRAVELLERS

ACCOUNTS OF MADRAS BY EARLY TRAVELLERS.

CONSIDERING the number of Europeans frequenting Madras—merchants, soldiers, clergymen, doctors and ship-captains—it is remarkable that so few writings of this period are extant regarding Fort St. George and its social life. Old manuscripts like those of Roger Myddelton and Thomas Bowrey may perhaps be yet discovered to throw fresh light on those features. Excluding Thomas Herbert, who, travelling between 1627 and 1629, mentions 'Meliapore' and 'Polycatte,' but not Madraspatam, and Albrecht von Mandelslo, who journeyed in 1638-40 and ignored the village occupying the site of the future city in favour of 'St. Thomas' and 'Meliapour,' almost the only writers down to 1675 who have recorded their impressions of the Fort have been Schouten, Baldaeus, Havart, Navarette, Bowrey and Fryer.

Wouter (Gautier) Schouten,[1] a surgeon in the Dutch service, was in India from 1658 to 1665. He writes:—

'Madrispatnam, ou Chinnapatnam, ou bien S. Georges, ainsi que les Anglois la nomment à-cause de leur fort qui porte ce nom, est située entre S. Thomas et Paliacatte. Les vaisseaux de cette nation y fréquentent beaucoup, et font toujours la parade quand ils y viennent, et pendant qu'ils y demeurent à l'ancre. Il semble que ce soit à l'envi, et pour se donner des airs au dessus des Hollandois, qui visitent aussi incessamment cette côte.

'Cependant ces premiers, avec toutes leurs manières superbes, ne possédent pas encore, que je sache, une seule ville en propriété dans les Indes Orientales. Il n'y a que ce fort de S. Georges sur la côte de Coromandel, et celui de Bombaie dans le continent au Nord de Goa, où soient arborez les étendards Anglois, comme sur des fonds qui leur apartiennent. . . .'

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[1] *Voiage de Gautier Schouten*, Traduit du Hollandois, Amsterdam, 1707.

Philip Baldaeus, a Dutch chaplain, and a contemporary of Schouten, served on the Coast and in Ceylon. In 1672 he published his *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel*, containing fine plans of Cochin, Tuticorin, Negapatam, Geldria by Pulicat, etc., with views of Bombay, Cochin, Masulipatam and other places, together with a map of the coast from Cape Comorin to Orissa, showing *S. Thome oste Maliapoer, Madraspatnam, Jenoer*[1] and *Pallecatta.* The work was translated for Churchill's Collection of Voyages,[2] in the introduction to which it is stated that Baldaeus's description applies to about 1649. Madras is briefly dismissed with these words :—

'From *Tirepoplier*[3] you go by *Poelezere,*[4] *Poelemoer* and *Alembrue* to *Sadraspatan*, where the Dutch have a Factory, and from thence to *Madraspatan* otherwise *Chinnepatan,* where the English have the Fort of *S. George,* garison'd with *Topatzes*[5] and *Mistices,* and from whence they send their Ships every year as well as from *Surat.* *S. Thomas* is a City belonging to the *Portugueses* situate in *Maliapour,* at 23½ Degrees[6] Northern Latitude, about a days Journey from *Paliacatta ;* but taken from them about 8 or 9 Years ago[7] by the *Moors.* It is an antient trading City, their chief Traffick consisting in colour'd Stuffs, their Weavers here being famous throughout the *Indies,* as well as their Dyers. . . .'

Daniel Havart's[8] short account of Madras has already been quoted.

Dominic Navarette,[9] a Spanish priest, travelled in the East Indies and China from 1646 to 1672. Like Havart, he appears to have visited Madras about 1670.

'*My stay at Madrastapatan.*—When we came to this place, we found it besieg'd by the King of *Golconda's* army,[10] but without his orders ; their design was to extort something from the English, but they were disappointed.

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[1] *Jenoer*, Ennore.

[2] *A Collection of Voyages*, Awnsham and John Churchill, 1704-1732.

[3] *Tirepoplier*, Tirupapuliyur, by Cuddalore. 'Tegnepatnam où est le fort de Tierepopliere, ou Tirepoplire, qui apartient aux Gentives, et où les Hollandois ont aussi une loge' (*Voiage de Gautier Schouten*, 1658-1665 ; Amsterdam, 1707).

[4] *Poelezere*, Pondicherry.

[5] *Topatz*, *topass*, *topaz*, an Indo-Portuguese soldier. The word is perhaps derived from Hind. *tōp*, gun ; otherwise from Hind. *tōpī*, hat.

[6] *At* 23½ *Degrees*, an error for 13½°.

[7] San Thomé was taken by the King of Golconda in 1662, so that Baldaeus's account must have been written in 1670 or 1671.

[8] *Op-en-Ondergang van Cormandel*, Havart, 1693.

[9] Navarette's narrative is published in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*.

[10] This was probably Chinnapelly Mirza's blockade of 1670.

It is on the coast of *Coromandel*, half a league short of the City of S. *Thomas*, otherwise called *Meliapor*. Here the English have a noble fort; they have also other walls, but small, within which live all the *Portugueses*, who after the losing of *Jafnapatan*, *Negapatan*, and St. *Thomas*, went to seek places to dwell. The English receiv'd them, and they live under their protection and government. They stand the English in stead, for upon occasion they make use of them, as they did at this time, when all men took arms and guarded the walls. The enemy had stopp'd all the avenues, so that provisions grew scarce. There is neither port nor water; this last they get out of some small wells they have digged. Ships lie safe six months; then they go away till the fair weather comes again. The *English* allow a publick church kept by two *French* capuchins; and tho' there are several clergymen, they all say mass there, with no small subordination and dissatisfaction: but the *English*, who are masters there, favouring the religious men, they must have patience *per* force.

'Two years before, there had been a great contest there betwixt two *English* governors, both of whom would govern the place, and there was no reconciling of them. The *Portugueses* were divided, some favour'd the one, and others the other. One got the better, and banish'd many of the *Portugueses* that oppos'd him, together with the *French* Capuchins. Above a year after he gave them leave to return.[1]

'It is in about twelve or thirteen degrees of north latitude, and an excellent climate; any nice man may live there; the conveniency of buying clothes is great, all those people living upon it. I took up [my residence] in a little room the religious men gave me; there I study'd, and eat what an honest *Portuguese* sent me. . . . I also found a *German* who was a mighty mathematician, ingineer, and good soldier; he did the *Portugueses* good service, but they requited him ill. . . .'

Thomas Bowrey[2] came to Madras in 1669. Six years later we find him commanding one of William Jearsey's ships. He returned to England in 1687, and left a record of his experiences, giving a brief description of Madras:—

'The begininge of my residence, or first Part of my Arrival (in *India Orientalis*) was att Fort St. Georg's, an English Garrison Upon the Coast of Choromandel. . . . This Fort and towne, which is very Considerable, is scituated very neare the Sea, indifferent well populated by the English, and wholy Governed by them, very well fortified and Surrounded with very potent and Stronge Bulwarks, Points, and Battaries, within which many Portugals are admitted to dwell, beinge Subject to our English Government, many of which are very Eminent Merchants; . . . many of them alsoe beare arms in the Honourable East India Company's Service as private Centinels, but not Otherways, none of them beinge raised to any place of Office; and although theire Sallary be Smal, yet they live very well of it, beinge paid monthly as all the English Soldiery are, and provisions, with cloths well befittinge Suche a Climate,

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1 This shows that Navarette must have written his account after 1668, and not in 1667, as the expression 'Two years before' would imply.

2 *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, Bowrey, ed. by Sir Richard Temple, Hak. Soc., 1905.

very Cheape and good. This Fort lyeth in Lattitude North 13^{d} $10''$, and is not at any time very cold or on the Contrary Very hott, haveinge the full benefit of all Sea breezes of wind, but in these following Months, May and June, although there be for the most part fresh gales, yet it is something Sulphurous, which may most of all be alledged to the wind it Selfe, more then to the heat of the Sun. . . .

'It is without all dispute a beneficiall place to the Honourable English India Company, and withall the Residence of theire Honourable Agent and Governour of all their Affaires Upon this Coast and the Coast of Gingalee, the Kingdoms alsoe of Orixa, Bengala, and Pattana, the said Governour and his Councell here residinge, for the Honour of our English Nation keepinge and maintaineinge the place in great Splendour, Civil and good Government, Entertaineinge nobly all Foraign Embassadors, and provideinge great quantities of Muzlinge, Callicoes, etc., to be yearly transported to England. . . .

'The native inhabitans are for the most part Gentiles (commonly called Gentues) and Mallabars, many of which live within the Outermost walls of this place called Fort St. Georg's. I have heard it reported, and can well give credit thereto, that there are noe lesse than fourty thousand of them, vizt., men, Women and Children that live under St. Georg's flagge, and pay customes for all Sorts of goods they buy and Sell within the Compasse or Command of our Guns.'

Referring probably to the blockade of 1670, Bowrey wrote:—

'Our Fort (and towne) of St. Georg's hath been often Molested by Some of the Inland Native Forces, raised in very considerable Numbers by some of the disaffected Governours. I have knowne an army of Some thousands, both horse and foot, come down and pitch theire tents within 2 Miles of the Walls, where they have put a Stopp Upon all Sorts of provisions, and most Chiefely the East India Company's goods, that were to be Sent that Monsoone[1] for England, threateninge what Strange Feats they would play if in Case our Agent and Governour Sent them not Soe much moneys, 10 or 20 thousand Pagodes (each Value 9s.). . . . Nothinge of Such transactions is ordered by the Golcondah Kinge, in whose Countrey this place is, but these are Flyinge Armies hatchinge Rebellion.'

By far the best account we have of Madras in the seventeenth century is from the pen of Dr. John Fryer.[2] Shortly after taking the degree of M.B. at Cambridge, Fryer was appointed surgeon by the East India Company for duty at Bombay, and he was granted passage in one of ten ships which assembled in the Downs at the end of 1672. The fleet made a favourable voyage to India, but, being warned of a Dutch squadron off San Thomé, proceeded to Masulipatam in the first instance. Fryer spent a month at that place, and then came on to Fort St. George, which he appears to have reached about the end of July, 1673.

[1] *Monsoone* here means season; from Ar. *mausim*, season.

[2] *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Fryer, 1698.

On its return voyage, the squadron met the Dutch off Pettapolee, and being greatly outnumbered, suffered severely, losing three ships. The battered remnant, after refitting at Madras, sailed with Fryer for Bombay before the bursting of the north-east monsoon. From Bombay the learned doctor proceeded to many places on the west coast and in the interior, and eventually to the Persian Gulf. His travels extended over nearly ten years. In August, 1682, he returned to England, took the degree of M.D. after a brief interval, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1697, and in the following year published an entertaining account of his wanderings. His work is a handsome folio volume containing many illustrations, among which are a fine portrait of the author, and a conventional plan of Fort St. George. This representation of the Fort is the earliest we possess, and it is unfortunate that it is not accurately drawn. Fryer died in 1733.

In perusing the following extract, the reader will find it advantageous to refer to Thomas Pitts's map, on which most of the natural features, buildings, etc., mentioned by Fryer, are depicted in their true positions.

'I went ashore in a *Mussoola*,[1] a Boat wherein ten Men paddle, the two aftermost of whom are the Steersmen, using their Paddles instead of a Rudder; The Boat is not strengthened with Knee-Timber, as ours are; the bended Planks are sowed together with Rope-yarn of the Cocoe, and calked with *Dammar* (a sort of Rosin taken out of the Sea) so artificially, that it yields to every Ambitious Surf, otherwise we could not get ashore, the Bar knocking in pieces all that are inflexible. Moving towards the Shore, we left St. *Thomas*, which lies but Three Miles to the *South* of *Maderas*, and *Fort St. George;* in the midway *Maderas* River in great Rains opens its Mouth into the Sea, having first saluted the Banks of *Fort St. George* on the West. Towards the Sea the Sand is cast up into a Rampire, from whence the fluid Artillery discharges it self upon us, and we on the Shoulders of the Blacks must force our way through it.

'Though we landed wet, the Sand was scalding hot, which made me recollect my steps and hasten to the *Fort*. As it looked on the Water, it appeared a Place of good force. The Outwork is walled with Stone a good heighth, thick enough to blunt a Cannon-bullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Water-gate,[2] besides an Halfmoon[3] of five Guns. At both Points[4] are

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[1] *Mussoola*, a large surf-boat built of planks sewn together.

[2] *Water-gate.* The Sea Gate, omitted from Fryer's plan, was at the middle point of the eastern wall of the Outer Fort which enclosed the Christian Town.

[3] *Halfmoon*, a semicircular battery near the Sea Gate.

[4] *Both Points*, the north-east and south-east bastions of the Outer Fort, known as *Fishing Point* and *St. Thomas Point* respectively.

mounted twelve Guns eying the Sea, *Maderas*, and St. *Thomas* ; under these in a Line stand Pallisadoes, reaching from the Wall to the Sea, and hedge in at least a Mile[1] of ground. On the *South* side they have cut a Ditch a sufficient depth and breadth to prevent scaling the Wall, which is a quarter of a Mile[2] in length afore it meets with a third Point[3] or Bastion, facing St. *Thomas*, and the adjacent Fields who suffer a Deluge when the Rains descend the Hills. From this Point to the Fourth,[4] where are lodged a Dozen Guns more that grin upon *Maderas*, runs no Wall but what the Inhabitants compile for their Gardens and Houses planted all along the River parallel with that that braves the Sea. From the first Point a Curtain[5] is drawn with a *Parapet* ; beneath it are two Gates,[6] and Sally Ports to each for to enter *Maderas* : over the Gates five Guns run out their Muzzels, and two more within them on the Ground.

'Over all these the Fort it self[7] lifts up its Four Turrets,[8] every Point of which are loaded with Ten Guns alike. On the *South East* Point[9] is fixed the Standard. The Forms of the Bastions are Square, sending forth Curtains fringed with Battlements from one to the other ; in whose Interstitiums whole Culverin[10] are traversed. The Governor's House in the middle overlooks all, slanting diagonally[11] with the Court. Entring the Garrison at the Out-gate[12] towards the Sea, a Path of broad polished Stones spreads the way to pass the Second Guard into the Fort at an humble Gate ;[13] opposite to this one more stately[14] fronts the High-street ;[15] on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard,[16] from whence, for every day's Duty, are taken Two hundred Men ; There being in pay for the Honourable *East India* Company of *English* and *Portuguez* 700, reckoning the Montrosses[17] and Gunners.

'The Streets are sweet and clean, ranked with fine Mansions of no extraordinary Height (because a Garrison Town) though Beauty, which they conciliate by the Battlements and Tarras Walks on every House, and Rows of

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1 *A Mile of ground.* An exaggeration ; the length of the Christian Town, from north to south, was about a third of a mile.

2 The southern face of the Outer Fort measured less than 200 yards.

3 The south-west bastion of the Outer Fort, known as the *Round Point.*

4 The north-west bastion, afterwards called *Caldera Point.*

5 The northern wall of the Outer Fort, which separated the Christian Town from the native city.

6 These gates in the north curtain were named *Middle Gate* and *Choultry Gate*, the latter being west of the former.

7 The Inner Fort.

8 *Turrets*, towers or lofty bastions.

9 The south-east angle continued to be the position of the flag-staff even after the Inner Fort was replaced by the Fort Square in 1714.

10 *Whole culverin*, 5½-inch 18-pounder guns.

11 Doubtless for defensive purposes, each face of the house commanding the interior of a bastion of the Inner Fort. When rebuilt in 1693, the house was placed square with the Inner Fort.

12 *Out-gate*, the Sea Gate of the Outer Fort, or Christian Town.

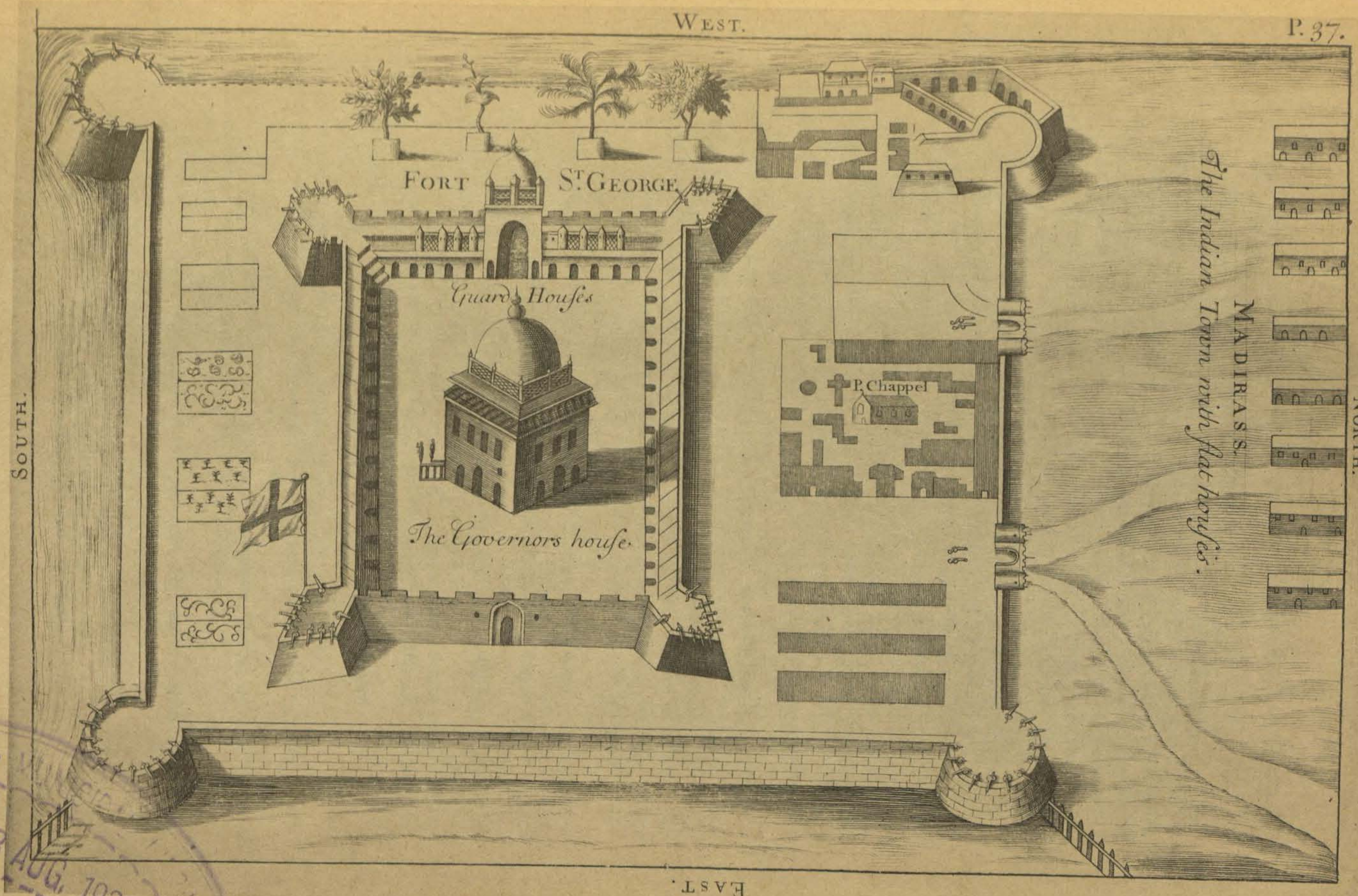
13 A small gate in the east curtain of the Inner Fort.

14 The principal gate of the Inner Fort was in its west curtain, and was known as the *Fort Gate.*

15 *The High-street*, known as Choultry Gate Street.

16 *Court of Guard*, the Guard-room, often called the *Corps du Guard.*

17 *Montross, matross*, a gunner's assistant, from Dutch *matross*, a sailor. The 'Gun room crew' was originally formed and recruited from ships' crews.



Plan of the White Town, 1673,

after Dr. Fryer.

Trees before their Doors whose *Italian* Porticos make no ordinary conveyance into their Houses built with Brick and Stone.

'Edifices of common note are none, except a small Chappel [1] the Portugals are admitted to say Mass in.

'Take the Town in its exact proportion, and it is Oblong.[2]

'The true Possessors of it are the *English*, instated therein by one of their Naiks, or Prince of the Gentues, 90 years ago, 40 years before their total subjection to the Moors;[3] who likewise have ratified it by a Patent from Gulconda, only paying 7000 *Pagods*[4] yearly for Royalties and Customs, that raises the Mony fourfold to the Company; whose Agent here is Sir *William Langham*,[5] a Gentleman of Indefatigable Industry and Worth. He is Superintendent over all the Factories on the Coast of *Coromandel*, as far as the Bay of *Bengala* and up *Huygly* River (which is one of the Falls of *Ganges*), Viz. *Fort St. George* alias *Maderas, Pettipolee, Mechlapatan, Gundore*,[6] *Medapollon*,[7] *Balisore, Bengala*,[8] *Huygly, Castle Buzzar*,[9] *Pattanaw*.[10] He has his Mint and Privilege of Coining; the Country Stamp is only a *Fanam*, which is 3*d*. of Gold; and their Cash, twenty [11] of which go to a *Fanam*. Moreover he has his Justiciaries [12] to give Sentence, but not on Life and Death to the King's Liege People of *England*; though over the rest they may. His Personal Guard consists of 3 or 400 Blacks, besides a Band of 1500 Men ready on Summons. He never goes abroad without Fifes, Drums, Trumpets, and a Flag with two Balls on a Red Field; accompanied with his Council and Factors on Horseback, with their Ladies in *Palenkeens*.[13]

'The *English* here are Protestants, the *Portugals* Papists, who have their several Orders of Fryers, who, to give them their due, compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, many of the Natives being brought in by them.

'The number of the *English* here may amount to Three hundred; of *Portuguez* as many Thousand, who made *Fort St. George* their Refuge when they were routed from St. *Thomas* by the *Moors* about ten years past,[14] and have ever since lived under protection of the *English*.

'Thus have you the Limits and Condition of the *English* Town. Let us now

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1 The Capuchin Church of St. Andrew, built by Father Ephraim north of and close to the Inner Fort.

2 *Oblong*, more correctly quadrilateral. The north face was much longer than the south, while the west front followed the curve of the river.

3 Ninety years from the date of publication of Fryer's work would give 1608 for the time of founding of the Fort, while 40 years from the conquest of the Carnatic by Golconda would give 1607. The Doctor was misinformed.

4 An error for Pags. 1200, the rate finally settled with Neknām Khān.

5 Sir William Langhorn.

6 *Gundore*, sometimes called *Guddorah*, a suburb of Masulipatam.

7 *Medapollon*, or *Madapollam*, Madhavapālem, a factory near Masulipatam, established in 1662.

8 *Bengala*. There appears to have been a port of this name, perhaps at Chittagon g

9 *Castle Buzzar*, Cossimbazar, a factory by Murshīdābad.

10 *Pattanaw*, Patna.

11 This Cash was probably the smallest copper coin, but eighty cash of account went to the fanam.

12 The two Judges of the Choultry.

13 *Pallenkeen*, a curtained litter, hung from a pole borne on men's shoulders; from Hind. *palang*, a bed, with an added syllable of Portuguese origin.

14 The expulsion of the Portuguese from San Thomé was effected in 1662.

pass the Pale[1] to the Heathen Town, only parted by a wide Parrade[2] which is used for a *Buzzar*[3] or Mercate-place.

'Maderas,[4] then, divides it self into divers Long Streets, and they are checquered by as many transverse. It enjoys some *Choultries*[5] for Places of Justice; one Exchange;[6] one *Pagod*,[7] contained in a square Stone wall. . . .

'Near the outside of the Town the *English Golgotha* or Place of Sculls, presents variety of Tombs, Walks and Sepulchres; which latter, as they stand in a Line, are an open Cloyster; but succinctly and precisely a *Quadragone* with Hemispherical Apartitions on each side, adorned with Battlements to the abutment of every Angle, who bear up a Coronal Arch, on whose *Vertex* a Globe is rivited by an Iron Wedge sprouting into a Branch; paved underneath with a great Black Stone, whereon is engraved the Name of the Party interred.[8]

'The buildings of less note are Low and Decent; the Town is walled with Mud, and Bulwarks[9] for Watch places for the English Peons, only on that side the Sea washes it and the Fort meets it.[10] On the *North* are two great Gates[11] of Brick, and one[12] on the *West*, where they wade over the River[13] to the Washermens Town.[14]

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[1] *The Pale*, the north curtain of the Outer Fort.

[2] The *Parrade*, called in Thomas Pitt's map 'the Buzar or Market,' was a wide street dividing the native city from the Christian Town.

[3] *Buzzar*, bazar, from Pers. *bāzār*, a street of shops, a market.

[4] *Maderas*. The native city, like the Christian Town, was quadrangular. Its boundaries were: N., the present China Bazar; S., the inner north wall of modern Fort St. George; E., the sea; W., a line parallel to the shore, extending from the end of Popham's Broadway to a point near the present sally-port on the north-west glaçis, where it struck the then course of the river.

[5] There was but one Choultry for the administration of justice. The word, which is derived from Tel. *chāvadi*, a hall or shed, is now applied to a caravanserai for travellers.

[6] The Exchange was situated in the Market-place.

[7] *Pagod*, the temple built by Timmaṇṇa. The word is perhaps derived from Sans. *bhagavat*, sacred.

[8] The Burial-ground was near the north-west angle of the native town, and appears to have formed part of the Company's Garden. The site, which is that of the present Law College, now contains only two monuments—viz., a circular vault belonging to the Powney family, and an obelisk built over a chamber which holds tablets to the memory of Joseph Hynmers and David Yale. Fryer's description of the cemetery is not very lucid. The tombs seem to have occupied the floor of a long battlemented cloister. The cloister had arches on each side, supported by pillars which also carried a vaulted roof. The roof consisted of a series of domes, each dome rising from a square base of four columns, and terminating in a ball carrying ornamental iron-work.

[9] *Bulwarks*, bastions.

[10] There was no rampart next the sea, and on the south side of the native town the north curtain of the Outer Fort rendered a rampart unnecessary.

[11] One of these gates, afterwards called *Tom Clarke's Gate*, was opposite the end of the present Popham's Broadway; the other was *Mud Point Gate*, opposite the entrance to Tambi Chetti Street.

[12] The western gate, afterwards called *Armenian Bridge Gate*, was situated near the present Fort station of the South Indian Railway.

[13] The river here mentioned was a stream which flowed down Popham's Broadway and across the present Esplanade to join the North River. It has now degenerated into a drain.

[14] *Washermen's Town*, the locality where the Company's cotton cloth was bleached prior to export.

'Its Map renders it a *Trapezium*[1] by an Oblique Stroke of the River on that Corner, and another next the Sea.

'Without the Town grows their Rice which is nourished by the letting in of the Water to drown it. Round about it is bestrewed with Gardens[2] of the *English*, where besides Gourds of all sorts for Stews and Pottage, Herbs for Sallad, and some few Flowers as Jassamin, for beauty and delight, flourish pleasant Topes[3] of Plantains; Cocoes; *Guiavas*, a kind of Pear; *Jawks*,[4] a Coat of Armour over it like an Hedg-hog's guards its weighty Fruit, Oval without for the length of a Span, within in fashion like Squils parted; *Mangos*, the delight of India; a Plum, Pomegranets, *Bonanoes* which are a sort of Plantain, though less, yet much more grateful, *Beetle*,[5] etc. . . .

'But not to run too far out of *Maderas* before I give you an Account of the People; know they are of the same Nation[6] with *Metchlapatan*, have the same unbelieving Faith, and under the same Bondage with the *Moors* were not that alleviated by the Power of the *English*, who command as far as their Guns reach. To them therefore they pay Toll, . . . a Prerogative the Dutch could never obtain in this Kingdom, and by this means acquire great Estates without fear of being molested. Their only Merchants being *Gentues*, forty *Moors* haveing hardly Cohabitation with them, though of the Natives 30,000 are employed in this their Monopoly.'

Captain Dampier, who spent some months in Madras in 1690, remarked[7] that Fort St. George was too well known to need description:—

'I was much pleased with the Beautiful prospect this place makes off at Sea. For it stands in a plain Sandy spot of Ground close to the shore, the Sea sometimes washing its Walls which are of Stone and high, with Half Moons and Flankers, and a great many Guns mounted on the Battlements; so that what with the Walls and fine Buildings within the Fort, the large Town of Maderas without it, the Pyramids of the *English* Tombs, Houses and Gardens adjacent, and the variety of fine Trees scatter'd up and down, it makes as agreeable a Landskip as I have any where seen.

'But 'tis not my design to enter into a Description of a place so well known to my Countrymen as this is. It may suffice to have mentioned it. . . .'

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1 *Trapezium*, strictly a trapezoid. The east and west faces of the native town were parallel.

2 These gardens were chiefly in Peddanaikpetta, in the heart of the present city of Madras.

3 *Tope*, from Tel. *topu*, a grove, clump of trees.

4 *Jawks*, the fruit of the Jack-tree, *Artocarpus integrifolia*; from Malayal. *chakka*.

5 *Beetle*, betel, the leaf of the *Piper betel*, which is chewed by natives with areca nut and lime.

6 *Telugu*: the present population of Madras, however, is mainly Tamil.

7 *A New Voyage round the World*, Capt. William Dampier, 1699.

CHAPTER XXIII

1507—1600

THE RISE OF SAN THOMÉ

STANDING within the existing municipal limits of Madras, the ancient Portuguese town of San Thomé falls properly within the scope of this work. During the government of Foxcroft's successor, the place was brought into close relation with Fort St. George, and the present occasion seems therefore a suitable one for giving some account of it. The adjacent native town of Mylapore is generally considered to be the *Malli-arpha* of Ptolemy, and the original designation of the Portuguese settlement was San Thomé de Meliapor. The fame of San Thomé rests largely on the traditional association of the locality with the Apostle St. Thomas, who is said to have suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas's Mount, a hill within eight miles of Madras, and to have been buried at San Thomé, where his tomb is still shown. There is evidence that the Apostle visited the Court of the Indo-Scythian monarch Gondophares, and it is not impossible that he may have penetrated later to the southern part of the peninsula. Certain it is that a colony of Christians, followers of St. Thomas, existed in South India from about the fifth century. Whether the founder of this Church was the Apostle himself, or Thomas the Manichæan, who dated from the third century, or whether the Christians named themselves after Thomas the Armenian, who revised the Church in the eighth century, is debatable matter which need not be here discussed. Bishop Medlycott,[1] who has sifted every shred of evidence on the subject, concludes that St. Thomas the Apostle preached and suffered at the Mount, but his arguments do not appear to be altogether convincing.

[1] *India and the Apostle Thomas*, Medlycott, 1905.

Patristic literature assigns the place of martyrdom to Calamina,[1] and tradition asserts that the saint's remains were transferred to Edessa in the fourth century. Be this as it may, the native Christians of South India associated a hill near Madras with St. Thomas, and the shrine of the Mount was venerated by people of all classes and various religions. Marco Polo, visiting India in the thirteenth century, found the legend current that the Apostle was accidentally killed at the Mount by the arrow of a fowler. Two centuries later, Joseph of Cranganore testified to the joint worship there of Christians and pagans. Barbosa, early in the sixteenth century, found the shrine a partial ruin, tended by an aged fakeer.[2]

At this stage the Portuguese appeared on the scene. The year in which they founded San Thomé is not well established. Gasper Correa, who was in India from 1512 to 1561, and whose history remained unpublished for four centuries,[3] is unfortunately silent on the subject. He relates a good deal about the relics of St. Thomas, and very little about San Thomé. In four large volumes covering the period 1497 to 1550 there are only four references to the town by name, the earliest belonging to 1534. The following summary, which relates chiefly to the relics, is however not without interest.[4] In 1507 Dom Francisco de Almeida, Viceroy at Goa, heard from some native Christians of Malabar that the house or chapel (*casa*)[5] of the Apostle still existed on the Coromandel coast. Of four men whom he sent round by sea to make enquiries, two died, but the survivors brought back a report which was transmitted to the King of Portugal. Ten years later, two Portuguese named Diogo Fernandes and Bastião Fernandes, arriving at Pulicat from Malacca, heard of the chapel from some Armenian merchants. They all proceeded to the spot, some seven leagues distant, and discovered a very ancient edifice, constructed like a church with nave and aisles, and having timber pillars and roof. Its length was twelve cubits. A sacristy

[1] *Calamina* is by Gouvea, Thomas Herbert, and others, identified with Mylapore. La Croze disputes the identification.

[2] *Fakeer*, a Muhammadan religious mendicant; from Ar. *faḳīr*, poor.

[3] *Collecção de Monumentos ineditos: Lendas da India*, Correa, 1858-1864.

[4] Extracts from Correa, i. 739; ii. 722-787; iii. 419-424; iv. 112, were translated and communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

[5] From other accounts it appears that this chapel was not the Mount shrine, but a building by the shore.

beyond, five cubits long, had a dome surmounted by a dwarf spire rising to a height of thirty cubits. Crosses and peacocks in plaster constituted the decoration. This structure was believed to be the sepulchre of the saint. A smaller chapel, a pistol-shot away, was said to mark the grave of a native prince who had been converted to Christianity by the Apostle. The two Portuguese returned to Malacca, but, visiting India again in 1521, they reported their observations to Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. The Governor, who was about to sail for Portugal, transferred the matter to his successor, Dom Duarte de Menezes.

Before any action could be taken, Gaspar Correa himself, in company with Pero Lopes de Sampayo and a party of fifteen, started from Pulicat to visit the chapel. The journey was made on Corpus Christi Day, 1521. Arrived at the spot, they made excavations, and discovered remains said to be those of a prince called 'Tani Mudolyar,' and also a stone inscribed with these words, 'I give $\frac{1}{10}$ of income from trade both by sea and land to this holy house, and so long as sun and moon endure, I enjoin on my descendants to maintain it under pain of maledictions.' Correa and his companions executed repairs and made some additions to the chapel. In the following year, 1522, the Goanese Governor commissioned Manuel de Frias, Agent on the Coromandel coast, to prosecute enquiries, and sent Padre Alvaro Penteado [1] to the locality. Penteado proposed to build a monastery there, but, unable to obtain authority from de Frias, he proceeded first to Goa and thence to Portugal to gain the ear of the King. In the meantime, the Governor sent Pero Lopes de Sampayo, with Vicente Fernandes and Padre Antonio Gil, to carry out such repairs as proved necessary. They were assisted by an aged priest named Pero Fernandes, and by two laymen, Diogo Lourenço and Diogo Fernandes, the last being one of the two persons who had visited the spot in 1517.

By the ships of 1523, the King of Portugal, having heard details from Padre Penteado, sent orders for a strict enquiry to be made; and in 1524 Manuel de Frias proceeded to the spot, seemingly for the first time, and found there Antonio Gil, Pero Fernandes and a third priest, together with Vicente Fernandes, Diogo Fernandes,

[1] San Thomé Cathedral contains the tomb of one Antonio Penteado, attributed to the sixteenth century.

and others. Money was provided, repairs to the building effected, and chapels built. A broken lance, discovered during the progress of the excavations, was held to be the instrument of the saint's death. In the same year Padre Penteado returned from Portugal, became vicar, and took charge of the relics.

From this account, to which, as the narrative of an eye-witness of part of the proceedings, some importance attaches, it would appear that the Portuguese settlement of San Thomé could not have been formed earlier than 1522.[1] The erection of the neighbouring Franciscan church of the Luz in Mylapore is, however, attributed to 1516, on the authority of an inscribed stone which is built into the south wall of the edifice, near its base. The inscription, cut in relief, reads:—

FRE PEDRO DA ATOUGIA RELIGIº OBSERVTE DE S. FRANCº
EDIFICOU ESTA IGREJA DE NOSSA SENHRA DA LUZ EM 1516.

The Luz Church is west of the cathedral of St. Thomas in San Thomé, and only a mile distant from it, yet Correa, who is precise in fixing the date of his visit to the chapel in 1521, says no word about a structure which must, if it existed, have been a very noteworthy object. Nor does Correa mention the reputed founder until 1544, when he alludes to 'Friar Pedro d'Atouguia, Warden of St. Francis.'[2] An official report of the year 1779 assigns 1516 as the year alike of the founding of San Thomé and the erection of the Luz Church, in these words[3]:—'In this same year 1516, when the Portuguese founded the city of San Thomé, the father Friar Pedro d'Athouguia converted . . . many thousands of souls, and built for them various churches of which there is only one now extant, that of Nossa Senhora da Luz, under the control of the Franciscans.' This statement of events which had occurred two centuries and a half earlier must be accepted with reserve, especially as no authority is cited. A century later, Casimiro de Nazareth wrote:—'Em 1516 fundou fr. Pedro d'Athouguia a egr. de N.S. Luz.'[4] Nazareth gives as his

[1] Mr. F. C. Danvers (*Report on the Portuguese Records*, 1892) mentions 1504 as the year of founding, but quotes no authority.

[2] The Church of St. Francis may have been identical with the Franciscan Church of the Luz, but later authors mention it as a distinct edifice.

[3] Quoted in the *Memoria* of D. João Chrysostomo Pessoa, 1887, p. 244, communicated by Mr. W. R. Philipps.

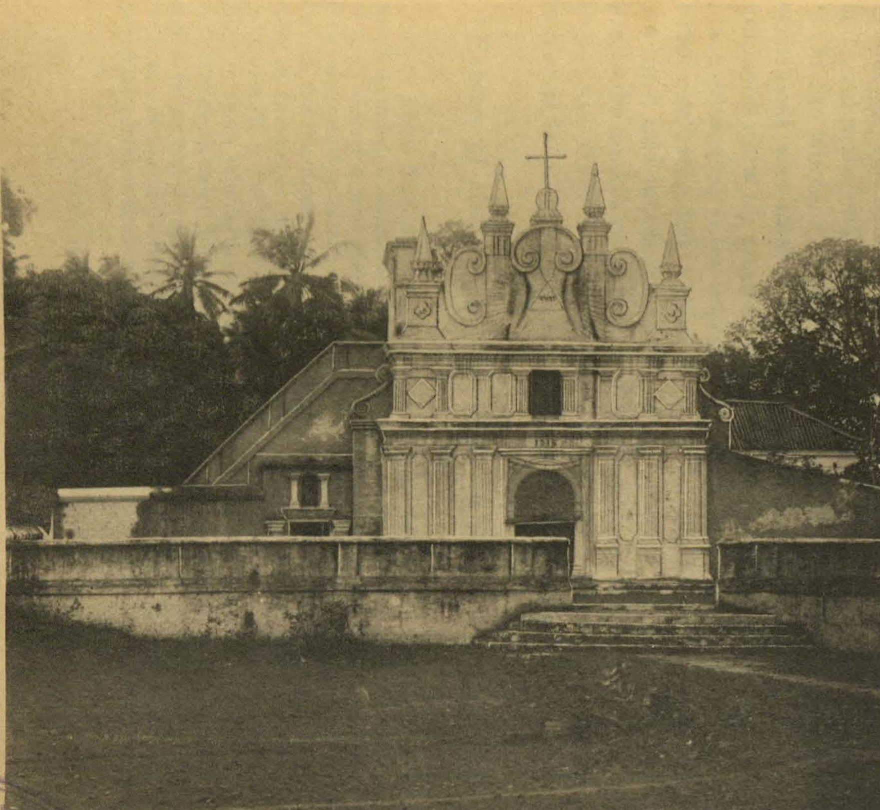
[4] *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Nazareth, 1888, p. 98.

authority *Lendas da India*, ii., 721, 778, 787, and *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, ii., 275.[1] Now Correa, as already mentioned, is altogether silent regarding the Luz Church; and the other reference, far from corroborating Nazareth's statement, controverts it. It consists of an extract from the diary of a voyage made in 1863 by Cunha Rivaro. That traveller, describing the Luz Church, says:—'In the wall adjoining the door on the gospel side there is a stone with the franciscan coat-of-arms and an inscription stating that Frei Pedro da Athoguia, a religious of the observance of St. Francis, built this church of Our Lady of Light in the year 1516, an excessively doubtful date, see *Lendas da India* by Gaspar Correa, vol. 2, pp. 721, 778, 787, and vol. 3, p. 419. The stone is work of the past [18th] century, as is the existing church, which has likewise additions of this [19th] century.'

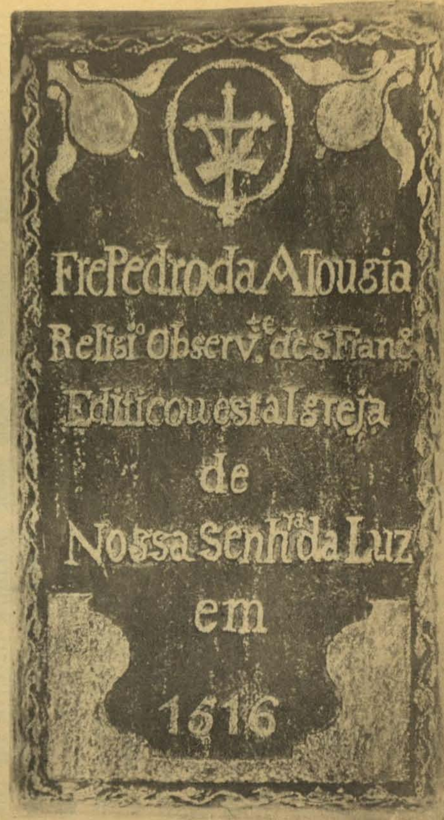
Thus Nazareth's statement possesses no value, and the report of 1779 but little. The only mode of reconciling Correa's silence with the evidence of the stone is by assuming that either the *casa* was remote from Mylapore, or the Luz Church non-existent in 1521. The first alternative is excluded by many considerations, and the conclusion is irresistible that the Luz Church did not exist in 1516, and that the inscription on its foundation-stone is not authentic. The date of erection has not been determined. It was probably later than 1547, when the discovery of a stone cross at the Mount contributed to the development of San Thomé; but the edifice certainly existed in 1582 when Gasparo Balbi saw and mentioned it. The fame it has hitherto enjoyed of being the most ancient European building on the Coast must accordingly be transferred from it to the Church of St. Thomas, the foundation of which may be assigned to 1522. Little, however, of the original structure of the latter now remains.

Local tradition attributes the name Luz to the experiences of some storm-tossed mariners who vowed a church to the Virgin if they were delivered from the fury of the elements. Forthwith, a guiding light flashed out. They steered towards it and came safe to shore. Pursuing their way for a mile into the interior, they at

[1] *Instituto Vasco da Gama* was a monthly periodical, published at Goa from 1872. Nazareth's reference was verified by Mr. William Irvine in communication with Senhor J. A. Ismail Gracias.



The Luz Church, Mylapore.



Inscribed Stone, Luz Church.

length reached the spot whence the brilliance shone, only to find the light extinguished. On that spot was erected the Church of Our Lady of Light.

In his relation of the events of 1540, Correa states that Manuel da Gama was sent as Captain to the Coast, with authority to bring away the people of San Thomé and to dismantle the town and the church of the Apostle. In 1547 excavations made at the Mount led to the discovery of a stone cross bearing an unintelligible inscription. Spots resembling blood-stains were observed on it, which reappeared after being scraped away. A church was then erected on the hill by the Portuguese, the stone being built into the wall behind the altar, where it may still be seen. The legend of the 'bleeding cross' will be mentioned later. Correa says that a signal-fire was kept burning nightly on the Mount for the benefit of mariners, who, seeing it, 'strike their sails and make obeisance.'

On the whole, Correa's history tends to show that a monastic settlement was formed at San Thomé about 1522, that a town gradually grew up around the church, and that down to 1550 the place possessed little importance. The later account of Caesar Frederike,[1] who left Venice in 1563 for the East, indicates that the town had increased, and by 1567 enjoyed considerable trade. Frederike makes no mention of fortifications, and seems to have been more struck with the dexterity of the natives in managing mussoola boats than with any other aspect of the place :—

'*Extracts of Master Cæsar Frederike his eighteene yeeres Indian Observations.*[1]

'1567. From Negapatan, following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the House of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great Miracles they have heard to have beene done by that blessed Apostle : neere unto this Church the Portugals have builded them a Citie in the Countrey subject to the King of Bezeneger, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies. It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe : it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot be served with small Barkes, neither can they do their businesse with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine Barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie ; they be

1 *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, reprint of 1905, vol. x., p. 109.

made of little boards, one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make hast all that they are able to row out against the huge waves of the Sea that are on that shore, untill that they carrie them to the ships : and in like manner they lade these Masadies at the ships with merchandize and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger ; and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme.'

The rise of San Thomé must now have been rapid, for within fifteen years of Frederike's visit, Gasparo Balbi reports the existence of fortifications and several churches. Balbi, a Venetian dealer in gems, set out on his travels in 1579, and reached the Coromandel coast three years later :—

'*Gasparo Balbi his Voyage to Pegu . . . gathered out of his owne Italian Relation.*[1]

'On the nine and twentieth of May 1582, in the name of Christ, wee set sayle [from Negapatan], directing our Prow towards the North to avoide certain shelves which are very perilous. . . . All that night wee sayled with a South winde Northerly. About three of the clocke the next morning we came to a place which is called the Seven Pagods,[2] upon which are eight pleasant hillockes not very high, which are seven leagues from St. Thomas, right over against it, where wee arrived about noone the thirtieth of May, saluting it with three Peeces of Ordnance. The Citie of Saint Thomas is so called of the Reliques of the Saint, which are kept here with great veneration ; it is scituated in thirteen degrees and a third part. The Front is towards the West, very strong by reason of the Blocke-houses which are upon the Port, along towards the Sea ; this Port[3] is so low that Elephants cannot enter in at it, for the Horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches ; one very faire, of Saint Thomas,[4] which is well served with Priests ; the chiefe of them is a Vicar

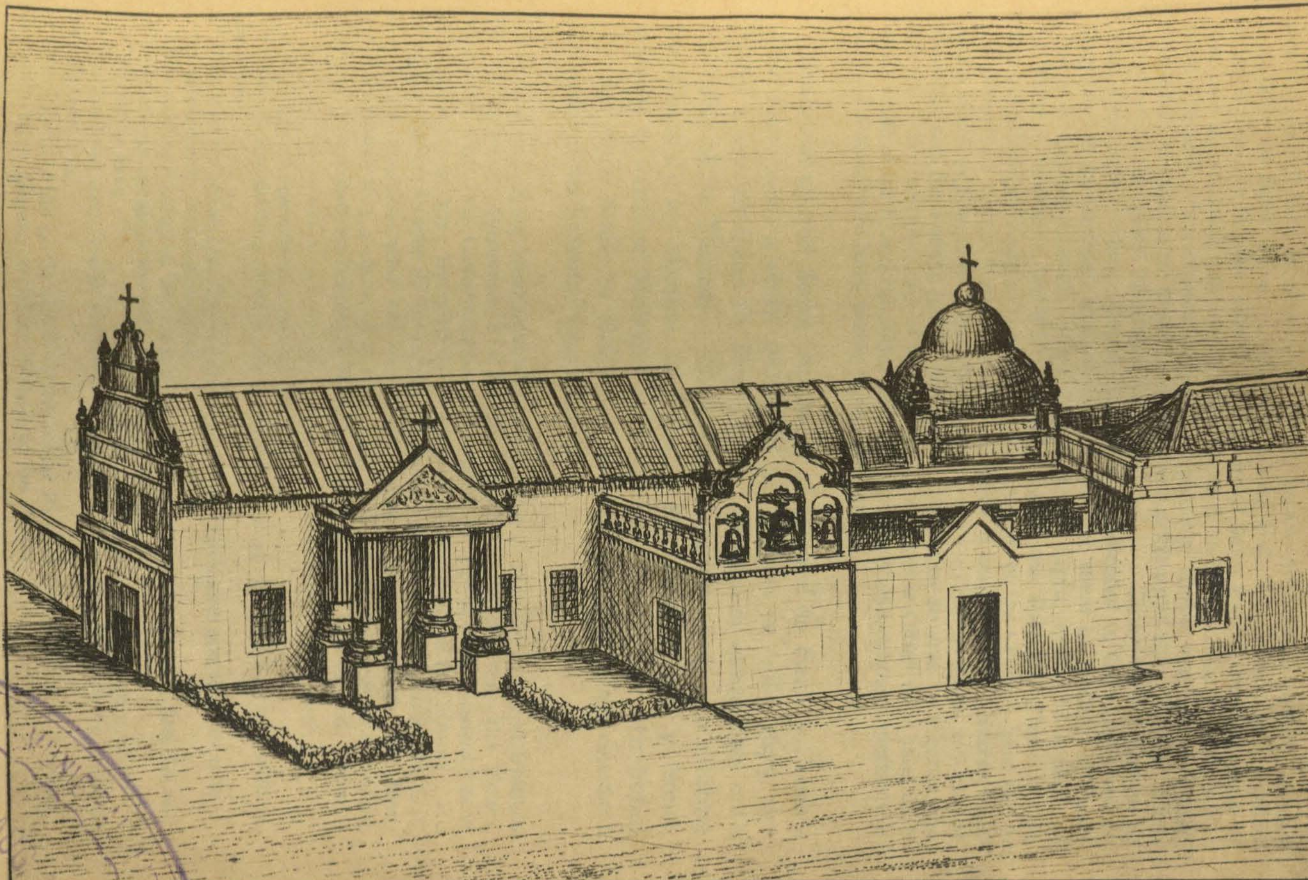
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[1] *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, reprint of 1905, vol. x., pp. 146-148.

[2] Mahāvelipuram, or Seven Pagodas, some thirty-five miles south of San Thomé, celebrated for numerous rock sculptures.

[3] *This Port*, the Sea-gate.

[4] The Rev. James Doyle, who has long been engaged in research connected with San Thomé, considers that, prior to 1552, an Augustinian church was erected a few yards to the west of the original chapel, and that about 1606, when the bishopric was founded, the space intervening between the two buildings was roofed in. The composite structure formed the old Cathedral until 1894, when the whole was demolished to make room for the present edifice, which includes within its walls the area occupied by the earlier sections. A deep cavity in the floor of the choir, to which access is gained by a stair, contains the reputed tomb of the Apostle.



San Thomé Old Cathedral.

(for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis, very wel served with Capuchins: and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus are in continuall prayer: to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here[1] when this piece of timber was cast up. . . . The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie, dedicated to Our Lady,[2] where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith. There is another Church called Our Lady of Light, which is served by St. Thomas his Priests, but it is three miles out of the Towne.[3] There is also another called Our Lady of the Mount, and another of the Crosse; here also is the Church of Mercy:[4] out of the Town there is one of Saint Lazarus,[5] and many others well served. Saint Thomas is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another. Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie[6] environed with walls made of earth, and inhabited with Gentile Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario,[7] who hath power to execute justice. . . .'

Scattered up and down the pages of Manuel de Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, a work published at Lisbon in 1666-1675, are found a few allusions to San Thomé, chiefly in connexion with the relics of St. Thomas. The latest belongs to 1616. In relating the discovery by Manuel de Frias of the relics, Faria y Sousa appears to confuse Meliapor with Mahāvelipur. He attributed the Apostle's death to Brahman envy. The following extracts are made from Stevens' translation[8]:—

'As to *Meliapor*, for what relates to the Apostle: It is the received Opinion he was killed at *Antenodur*, a Mountain a League distant from the Town, where he had two Caves whither he retired to Pray. The nearest[9] now belongs to the Jesuits; the other is the Church of our Lady of the Mount. He being one day at Prayer in the former, opposite to a Clift that gave Light to it, one of the Bramens who was watching, thrust a Lance through that Hole in such manner that, a piece of it remaining in his Body, he went to the other Cave and there died, embracing a Stone on which a Cross was carved. Hence

[1] Balbi stayed upwards of a year at San Thomé.

[2] Perhaps the existing *Mãe de Deus* Church, though that edifice was without the Walls.

[3] The distance of the Luz Church from that of St. Thomas is one English mile.

[4] A house for the relief of the poor.

[5] The existing Church of St. Lazare is a few hundred yards south of San Thomé. It is a small vaulted structure with enormously thick walls.

[6] The native town.

[7] *Adicario*, the Adigar, or native governor.

[8] *The Portugues Asia*, Faria y Sousa. Translated from the Spanish by Captain John Stevens, 1694.

[9] The Church of the Little Mount on the Adyar River is dedicated to St. Thomas; that on the Great Mount, two miles distant, to the Virgin.

his Disciples removed and buried him in his Church,[1] where he was found by *Emanuel de Faria* or *Frias* and the Priest *Anthony Penteado*, sent thither by King *Emanuel*.'

The discovery of the sculptured stone at the Mount is thus described :—

'In the year 1547, being about to repair that Oratory where the Apostle died, digging they found a Stone which seems to be the same he held then. It is about a yard long, and three quarters wide, the Colour grey with some red spots. In the middle of it is carved a Portal, round at the Top, with Letters between the two Borders ; within, two Banisters rather than Pillars being turned, on which are two twisted figures like Dogs sitting, from whose Necks rises a graceful Arch of five Borders, and between every two are knots like Beads. In the hollow of the Door is a Pedestal of two Steps, from the uppermost of which rises a Branch on each side, and over them, as it were in the Air, is a Cross, the ends of it like the Military Order of *Alcantara*. . . . Over all is a Dove flying, as it were descending to touch the Cross with its Beak. . . .

'The Chappel being repaired or beautified in the Year 1551, this Stone was solemnly set up in it, and at the time the Priest pronounced those words of the Gospel, *Missus est Angelus Gabriel*, etc., it began to change colour and became black and shining, then sweating, turned to its own colour, plainly discovering the Spots of Blood which before were obscure. The Letters about it could not be understood till the year 1561 ; a Learned Bramen said they were 36 Hieroglyphicks, every one containing a Sentence. . . .'

Then follows the Brahman's imaginative interpretation, which involves a description of the saint's death at 'Antenodur' and burial at 'Maiale.' The late Dr. Burnell attributed the sculpture to the eighth century, and deciphered its Pehlvi inscription thus : 'In punishment [?] by the cross [was] the suffering of this [one], who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure.'[2]

The following extract from Faria y Sousa relates to the year 1558, during the government of Constantine de Braganza :—

'In the City of St. *Thomas* or *Meliapor* a Portugues, one of those who more religiously worship their Interest than the Heathens their Idols, . . . persuaded Rama Raja, King of *Bisnagar*,[3] to march against the City, telling him the

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[1] Nevertheless, travellers of the latter part of the seventeenth century regarded the Mount as the actual place of burial. Thus Fryer, writing of 1673, says : 'St. *Thomas* his Mount is famous for his Sepulture.'

[2] There is a fine print of the stone and its surroundings in *China illustrata*, A. Kircherus, 1667.

[3] A map of India by Sieur Sanson d'Abbeville, dated 1652, which is reproduced in *The Portuguese in India*, F. C. Danvers, 1894, shows the kingdom of Bisnagar, or Vijayanagar, extending from the Kistna in the north to the Coleroon in the south, and including the whole width of the peninsula. The city of the same name is marked 'Bisnagar ou Chandegry,' but a century earlier it was still perhaps at Hampi.

Plunder would be worth two Millions. . . . The King, hearkening to the hopes of Gain, set out with 500,000 Men. Peter de Ataide encouraged the Inhabitants to defend themselves ; but they, to palliate their Fear, said, *It was but Reason the King should be admitted to what was his own. Ataide* went away to *Goa ;* the Townsmen prepared for the reception of the King, and sent him a Present of 4,000 Ducats, wherewith he was somewhat appeased. He Encamped and would not enter the City ; but ordered all the Inhabitants of both Sexes and all Ages, and all their Goods to be brought to his presence. Which being performed, he found the whole Value did not exceed 80,000 Ducats. Enraged at the Wickedness of the Informer, he ordered him to be thrown to the Elephants who tore him to pieces. He discharged the Citizens, and restored all their Goods so punctually that only a Silver Spoon being missing among them all, it was sought and restored.'

The foregoing includes all that has been traced regarding the history of San Thomé in the sixteenth century. Manuscripts bearing on the subject may possibly exist among the archives preserved in the Torre del Tombo in Lisbon and the Cathedral Library at Evora, but, if so, they have yet to be unearthed.

CHAPTER XXIV

1600—1672

DECLINE AND FALL OF SAN THOMÉ—SAN THOMÉ UNDER MOSLEM RULE

DECLINE AND FALL OF SAN THOMÉ.

THE golden age of San Thomé had no long duration. The place rose to eminence between 1567 and 1582, yet early in the following century it was disorganized by foreign aggression and domestic strife. The following extracts from Faria y Sousa relate to the years 1614 and 1616:—

'1614. The *Blacks* besieged the City of St. *Thomas*, and raising a fort, they put in Ammunition and 600 Men, spreading 10,000 about the Town which they battered from the Pagod near St. *Francis*. Captain *Emanuel de Frias* besieged this fort which was surrendered to him for want of Water. Among the Cannon found in it was one Piece of 25 Spans, that is 6 Yards and a quarter in length, that carried a Ball of 50 Pounds weight. . . .'

'1616. The Inhabitants of the City *Meliapor*, commonly called St. *Thomas*, were all divided, killing one another without any regard of Human or Divine Laws, or any Shame, that even the *Moors* and *Gentiles* abominated their Wickedness. The occasion was what they call Points of Honour. To appease these Disorders the Viceroy sent Ruy Diaz de Sampayo with 7 Sail and 250 Soldiers. Ruy Diaz performed all that was given in Charge to him, and reconciled the Citizens of St. *Thomas*.'

Thomas Herbert, Secretary to an English embassy to Persia, travelled in the East from 1626 to 1629, but did not penetrate to South India. Hence his account of his wanderings, entitled *A Relation of some Yeares Travaile begun* 1626, which was published in 1634, makes only the barest allusion to San Thomé. A French translation of 1663,[1] however, contains the following (under date 1647), which may have been introduced from some other source:—

[1] *Relation du Voyage de Perse et des Indes Orientales*, traduite de l'Anglois de Thomas Herbert, Paris, 1663.

'De *Negapatan* nous allasmes à *Meliapore* qui est une ville sur la coste de *Coromandel* à 13 degrez 20 minuttes d'élevation. Elle est ancienne et celebre ; autrefois connuë sous le nom de *Calomina*, et ensuite sons celuy de *Melange* et de *Meliapore*. On l'appelle aujourd'huy S. *Thomas*, parce que l'on dit que cet Apostre y a souffert le martyre.[1] La ville est aujourd'huy[2] petite et pauvre, sous la domination des *Mores*. Il s'y fait peu de commerce, parce qu'il n'y a point d'autres marchandises que du coton et des estoffes que l'on fait."

In the British Museum Sloane collection is a manuscript entitled *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*, by Captain Pedro Barretto de Rezende, bearing date 1646. It contains plans of all the Portuguese fortresses in India, accompanied by written descriptions. A manuscript *Descripção das fortalezas da India Oriental* by de Rezende, which is preserved in the National Library at Lisbon, is probably a copy of the above.[3] Mr. F. C. Danvers considered that the original work was probably finished in 1635, when de Rezende was private secretary to the Viceroy Conde de Linhares. The following extract from the British Museum manuscript[4] describes the fortifications and churches of San Thomé. Identification of the bastions named with those shown on the plan is not easy. De Rezende says there were twelve, but he mentions thirteen and depicts fourteen.

'The city of San Thomé de Meliapor . . . is surrounded by a wall following the line of the houses, whose doors toward the shore are almost washed by the waves; for although in ancient times the town, together with the House of the glorious St. Thomas, where he dwelt in a shrine named after the sun, was founded half a league from the shore, the sea by constant advance, as the saint prophesied, came so far as to be at this day only a hundred paces from his church, which is situated at the said shrine. . . . It was on account of this House and church that the wall was built round the city at this spot. It is five yards high including its parapets, which are ten spans thick at the top. On the Sea face it has three bulwarks ; on the north the bastion of St. Dominic with a breastwork in the middle protected by artillery ; on the south is the bulwark of St. Paul. Before St. Dominic's bastion is one of the four gates of the city with a watch-house on top in the form of a bulwark in which two guns can be placed. Further on is the Santiago bastion with a postern. The bastions of Antonio da Costa and St. Augustine follow next, and then that of the Blacksmiths in the west-north-west towards the land. Fronting the land is the gate

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[1] Herbert relates as the current belief that the relics of St. Thomas ('les ossemens et la teste') were preserved in the Church of the Virgin at Goa, whither they were said to have been taken from Mylapore in 1517 by Manuel de Frias under the orders of King John III.

[2] *Aujourd'huy*, about 1647.

[3] *Report on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies*, F. C. Danvers, 1892.

[4] Translated by Monsignor Lopes, Vicar-General of San Thomé.

of St. Francis, one of the four, with a new bulwark. Then comes another stretch of wall with the large bastion of Francisco d'Almeida. Further on stands that of Salvador de Resende, and then that of Joam dos Reis de Sousa. Behind this, still nearer, is the bastion of the Mae de Deus, which is in a line with that of St. Paul. These, with the breastwork and watch-house, make twelve. The bastions are built at 100 paces more or less along the sea face, and on the land side at distances of 70 or 80 paces, and all flank the walls adjacent to them.

'The artillery of the city consists of thirty iron guns and one of brass, three, six and nine pounders. There is also a swivel gun of forty iron hoops,[1] twelve falcons and four wall-pieces. For these guns there is enough ammunition and powder in the magazines to enable the occupants of the fort to offer resistance. The residents are all Portuguese, numbering with their married sons a hundred and twenty. There are also two hundred black Christians, married, all good to bear arms. The servants of the Portuguese are well armed and good shots. There are five hundred musketeers in all for the garrison, there being no other paid soldiers except it be the Captain of the City, who is usually a nobleman, and in whom great trust is reposed. Paleacate, belonging to the Dutch, is only seven leagues from this city which is continually harassed by the Hollanders, so that its inhabitants, for want of a fleet to protect them, have often been reduced to great discomfort. There is no harbour here for ships, and those sent from Goa rarely returned thither without loss and damage.

'Outside the town are many faithful Christians, about six hundred of whom are fishermen, while the rest serve the city's population. Among them are many of the Machua[2] caste, who are seafaring men capable of serving in the small vessels or large ships of a fleet cruising on the coast.

'His Majesty has not in this city of Meliapor a single real of revenue, as everything belongs to the lord of the soil. Hence there are no salaried officials except the Bishop, who has a stipend of two thousand X^es[3] paid from Goa, and the Captain of the City who receives an equal amount. The lord of the soil gives the Captain of the City one half the revenue of the Sea Gate[4] in place of a gold pagoda, or one mil-ree, which was formerly granted per day; but at present, on account of the Dutch, it brings in less than the value of the said pagoda.

'The only income of the clergy of the Cathedral is 300 pagodas derived from a village granted by the lord of the land, and though this does not seem much they are well off, as living is cheap, and the allowance helps towards their maintenance.

'Within the walls of the city are the convent and church of St. Dominic, another of St. Augustine, and another of St. Paul, with ecclesiastics of these orders, all of whom live on alms. There is also a church of Our Lady and a Misericordia.[5] Outside the walls are the church of St. Francis with its monks, as well as those of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Mae de Deus and St. Lazare, all supported by voluntary contributions. As the inhabitants are well off, none of the churches or ecclesiastics suffer want.

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1 Apparently a built-up gun.

2 *Machua, muckwa*, boatman, fisherman; from Tam. *mukkuvan*, a diver, fisherman.

3 *X^es*, cruzadoes. Taking the cruzado as equivalent to 3s. 6d., the Bishop's stipend was £350 a year.

4 The sea-customs dues.

5 *Misericordia*, a chapel with almshouse attached to it

'The city, of the form shewn on the plan, has a circuit of two thousand six hundred paces, and is situated on a spot as flat as the palm of the hand, having neither hill nor hillock within a league, except that of Our Lady of the Mount, where died St. Thomas, and which is some distance from the town. The city has a lagoon[1] to the southward which is within gunshot of the walls, and extends five leagues inland.[2] In the cold weather it empties into the sea, owing to the quantity of water flowing from the Mount; and sometimes it is open from November to April. On the north of the city is another lagoon[3] even closer. The two might easily be joined, and thus the city be surrounded with water, there being at present no protection for the wall on the west.

'The Cathedral church dedicated to the glorious St. Thomas is built over the shrine before mentioned, and contains a little wooden chapel made of that huge log which the united efforts of many failed to move, but which the saint dragged single handed with his girdle from the sea across the beach. On the Great Mount is the church of Our Lady, wherein is a marble Cross carved by the holy man himself, and outside is a similar one which is said to sweat. On the Little Mount where he lived is a house of prayer, with a hole in the rock through which the saint escaped when his life was attempted. All round are crosses carved on the rocks. These are places deeply venerated even by the heathen, who bring hither oil and rice of the first fruits.

'The king of the land is a pagan known as the King of Bisnaga. Formerly he ruled over the whole of Hindustan, but he has now lost much of his power, and has passed through divers vicissitudes; so much so that on one occasion he had to escape in a bundle of soiled linen which a washerman, called in these parts Mainato, was taking to wash. Having grown up in hiding, the King, with the help of a faithful subject, gradually recovered part of his kingdom by force of arms. It is his son who now reigns in the land. . . .

'The king appreciates peace, and shews himself a friend to the Portuguese, though he is actuated by self-interest. . . . Along the walls on the outside he has houses built of stone in chunam, with orchards producing excellent fruit. All the Indian fruits can be grown here because the climate is good and very salubrious. The inhabitants enjoy sound health: the land is fertile, and abounds in all the necessaries of life, everything being extremely cheap. . . .

'The stuffs of this place are of the same texture as at Negapatam. The coloured cloths are better than any others in the kingdom because dyed with the dye of Xaya[4] which comes from Manar and Ceylon. It never runs, and scarcely fades.'

De Rezende's sketch map of the fortified town of San Thomé unfortunately carries no scale. It indicates, however, that the length of the rectangle was about two and a half times the breadth, and the description shows that the circuit was 2,600 paces. Taking the pace as a yard, the dimensions would be about 925 yards from north to south, and 370 yards from east to west. A comparison, which will be made later, between

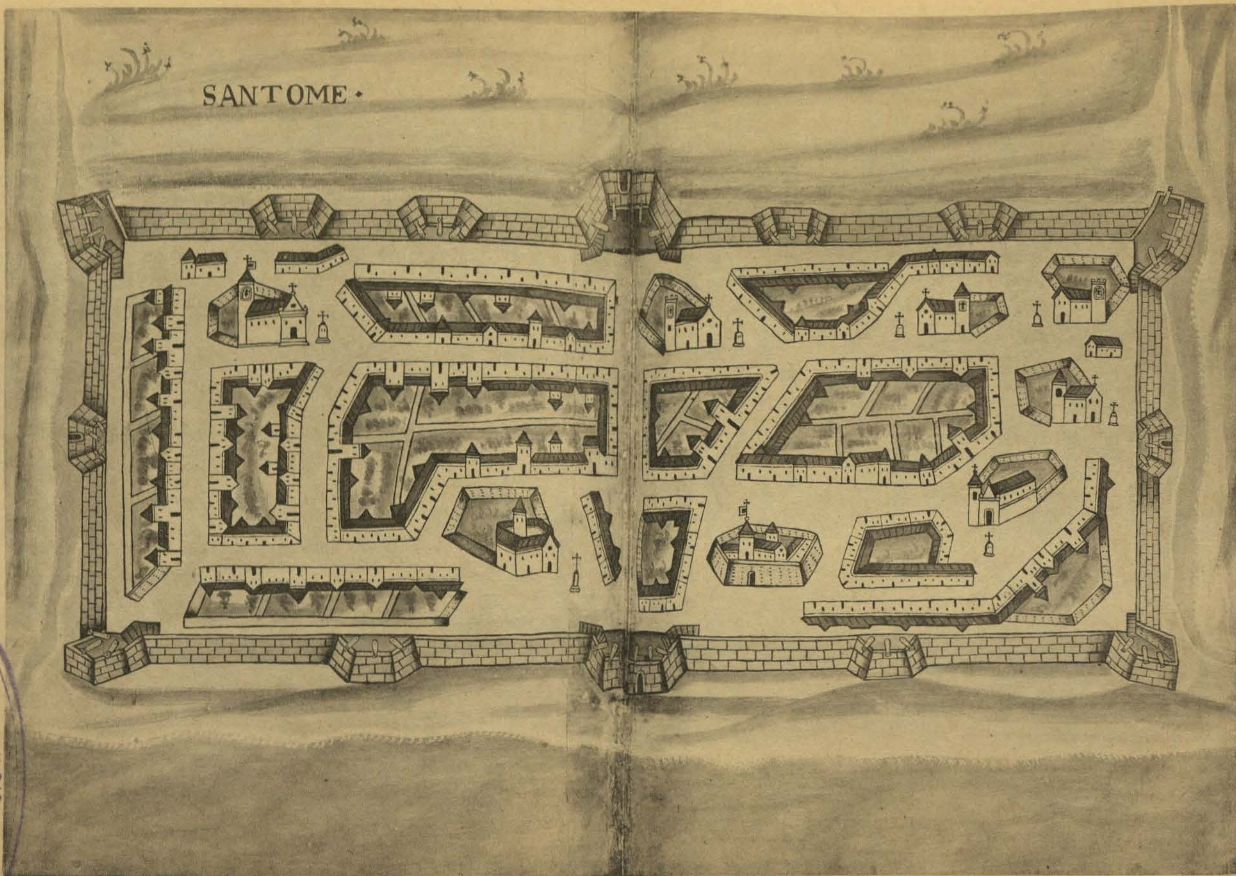
[1] A backwater formed by the Adyar River.
[2] The Adyar River itself.
[3] Now filled up.
[4] *Xaya*, from Tam. *saya*, the chay plant, the root of which yields a fine red dye.

this sketch and Valentijn's more exact plan, will show how the dimensions thus arrived at should be modified. The sea face no doubt followed the crest line of the low sand-hills on which the town was built. From the plan it appears that the four gateways were placed at the middle points of the faces. The western gate was probably situated on the Rosary Church Road, an ancient thoroughfare. The present San Thomé High Road is believed to be of later construction, and it seems likely, from de Rezende's dimensions, that the north and south gates stood somewhat to the westward of this route.

De Rezende mentions four churches within the walls besides the Cathedral, viz., those of St. Dominic, St. Paul, St. Augustine and Our Lady. St. Dominic and St. Paul were probably near the bastions in the northern and southern faces which bore corresponding names. If so, a church of St. Dominic, now a nunnery, which stands near that of the Rosary, must be of more recent construction. St. Paul's was perhaps near the site of the chapel now called St. Rita's[1] attached to St. Peter's Seminary. The Church of the Augustinians is believed by the Rev. James Doyle to have been adjacent to the Cathedral. The Church of Our Lady was perhaps that which is now called the Rosary Church, but as the latter bears on its portal the date 1635, it is not unlikely that its construction was undertaken after the manuscript was penned.

The churches outside the walls were those of St. Francis, the Luz, Mãe de Deus, and St. Lazare. The first was probably on the west side near the gate of the same name; the second has already been referred to. The Mãe de Deus and St. Lazare still survive, the latter being a chapel of ease to the former. Both are located south of the town. St. Lazare, mentioned by Gasparo Balbi, was in existence in 1582. It is situated a little to the west of the high road to the Adyar. The Mãe de Deus, a church of the Jesuits, stands a little further inland in the midst of a dense grove of palms. It is an ancient structure, and the Fort St. George records conserve a document relating to it which carries back its history to a period anterior to 1606.

[1] A stone over the east portal bears the inscription in Portuguese: 'This Church was finished in the year 1740, Fr. Gaspar dos Reis, born in San Thomé, being the Vicar.'



Plan of San Thomé about 1635,

after P.B. de Resenda.

In 1775, when San Thomé was a British possession, the Pope's bull abolishing the Society of Jesus was received by Frey Bernard, Bishop of Mylapore, who thereupon ordered Father Lewis Costas to yield up not only his church of Mãe de Deus, but the house and garden attached to it. The father protested that the terms of the bull gave the bishop no authority to deprive him of his residence, and he claimed the protection of Mr. Alexander Wynch, then Governor of Madras. In support of his alleged right he forwarded a document of which the following is a transcript:—

'*Translation of a Copy of a Declaration of the Bishop of St. Thomé, Don Frey Sebastian*[1] *of St. Peter, certifying that the Church of Madre de Dios belongs to the Jesuits*, 1613.

(*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 15th May, 1775.)

'Don Frey Sebastian of St. Peter, by the Mercy of God and the Holy Roman Church Bishop of this City of Méliapour, of his Majestys Council, &c^{a}., To all whom this Deed of Gift or Declaration may come, make it known, That considering the good behaviour of the Religious of the Society of Jesus, and how much we are bound to aid, favour, protect and defend them on all and whatsoever occasion, regard being had also to their Profession, as well as the great Profit Daily accruing to the Church of Goa in the Conversion of Souls by their good and edifying Behaviour, Doctrine, Preaching and good Example, of which we have had full knowledge in this our Bishopric, and the experience of many Years. And, as we understand that some Persons misinformed on this subject are doubtfull whether the Church of Madré De Dios, situated without the Walls of this City, does belong to the religious of the said Society of Jesus, where the Christians converted and baptised by them may be administered the Sacraments, Therefore it appeared to Us convenient to declare, as by these Presents we do declare, that the said Church of Madre De Dios is the Property and belonging to the said Religious of the Society of Jesus, made and built by them on their Ground, bought with their own Money and at their Expence, Obtained by their Industry, as appeared and was proved to Us from Papers in their Power. And on the occasion that the Bishop Don Frey Andre[2] took away from the said religious the Charge of the Christians in many Churches, he never touched at this of Madre de Dios; only the Christians of the said Church of Madré De Dios were ordered to perform their Sacramental Duties in our Cathedral Church, but the Jesuits were left with their said Church. We found them in this Estate when we came to take possession of this Bishopric,[3] and then for the Service of God and discharge of our Conscience, as well as for the good of those Christians, we very earnestly requested of Father Nicholas

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[1] Dom Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro became first Bishop of Mylapore in 1606. *Mitras Lusitanas*, C. de Nazareth.

[2] Dom Fr. André de Sta. Maria became Bishop of Cochin in 1588. *Mitras Lusitanas*, C. de Nazareth.

[3] In 1606.

Tevante, Rector, that was of the College of Jesuits of this City, to undertake again the charge of the said Christians belonging to the Church of Madre de Dios, which for the Consideration aforesaid he acquiesced in. And that we may clear up all Doubts, if there should be any Person that may be induced to misbeleive this Property of the said Church of Madre de Dios being of the Jesuits, we do by these Presents, written with our own hand and signed by Us of our own free Will and Consent, give, grant and restore for ever to the said Religious of the Society of Jesus the said Church of Madre De Dios, with all and singular the Appurtenances thereunto belonging and appertaining, free and disencumbered, To have and to hold the said Premisses unto them the said Religious of the society of Jesus, quietly and peaceably, and to do therein all Buildings and Works which may be most convenient for their Religious Institution, and live unmolested and undisturbed by any person whatsoever regarding the Possession, Property and rebuilding of the said Church and the buildings thereunto appertaining. And in Confirmation of all and every thing granted by this our Deed of Gift, we have passed these Presents, which we will have to be inviolable kept and preserved in force and vigor.

'Given in this City of Méliapour, written with our own hand, and sealed with our Chancery Seal the 10 Day of May in the Year 1613.

'FREY SEBASTIEN,
'Bishop of Meliapour.' (L.S.)

The action taken by the Madras Government on Father Costas's petition will be related in its proper place.

The Mãe de Deus Church is mentioned in 1644 by Father Andrea Lopez, S.J., Provincial of Malabar.[1] He says :—

'From Negapatam, following the coast northwards, with a favourable wind, after two days of navigation, we reach the Port of San Thomé, which is named by the natives Maylapur. In this College[2] [of San Thomé] we have a Father who is called Father of the Christians, appointed by His Majesty. Through the zeal and industry of this Father, there are about 20 baptisms of adults yearly among the Gentiles who come from inland. There is no provision of His Majesty for the support of these catechumens, yet the Fathers manage to support them. Besides, the College has the charge of the church named Madre de Deus; and a Father lives there, outside the walls of the city. No allowance is made by the King for his support, nor do the Christians give any alms for that purpose. It is the College which supplies him with all the necessaries of life, and pays the expenses for the service of the Altar. . . .

'The church is much resorted to both by the Portuguese and the natives of the land. . . . There is a very beautiful statue of Our Lady of a goodly size. The number of Christians exceeds 1700. . . . A pagan by his will left to his heirs the obligation of paying certain rent, in order that every Saturday they should send rushes to strew the church of Our Lady : a custom which is kept up even to this day.'

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[1] *A Short Account of the Missions of the Malabar Province*, 1644. The original manuscript, preserved in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, was translated and edited by the Rev. L. Besse, S.J., of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. (Communicated by the Rev. J. D. W. Sewell, S.J)

[2] *College*, collegium, community of missionaries.

The accounts of Dutch hostility which are furnished by de Rezende are confirmed by the following extract[1] from Danvers recording the substance of *Documentos remettidos da India*—liv. 54, f. 69 of 1635, preserved in the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon :—

'The Dutch, who at first confined their trade to Java and the more eastern islands, were not long before they turned their attention to the Portuguese possessions in India. Their first point of attack appears to have been Meliapore, which place they blockaded, and took all vessels going thence. In a letter of the 24th Feb. 1635 it is remarked that this, once the wealthiest city in India, was now reduced both in population and commerce.'

Another extract from the same source confirms the account of Francis Day's voyage down the coast in search of a place of settlement. In a letter to the King of Portugal dated 5th October, 1637, the Viceroy intimated that the Portuguese fortified settlements had been ordered to abstain from trade with the English, but at the same time to avoid open rupture :—

'News had been received at Goa that the English were endeavouring to establish a factory at a port called Covalão[2] situated two leagues to the south of the city of St. Thomé, for which purpose they had obtained permission from the lord of the land : orders were accordingly issued to the Captain General of Meliapore that he was to use every possible means to prevent this.' (*Doc. Remet.*, liv. 40, f. 116, 1637.)

Two years later, however, when there appeared to be every prospect of a British settlement being formed at Madras, the two nations were on more friendly terms, and the Captain General of San Thomé, under instructions from the Viceroy, urged Francis Day to establish his projected Factory at San Thomé itself, so that the English might be under effective Portuguese control.[3]

The next information we have of the place is derived from Albert de Mandelslo, who travelled in India from 1638 to 1640. A translation of his work,[4] published in London in 1669, contains a map of the East Indies by D. Christopher Bathurst, M.D., on which are shown 'Meliapor vel S. Thoma' and 'Peliacata,' but not Madraspatam. Mandelslo says :—

'The Town of Saint *Thomas* is not very great, but the greatest part of the Houses are of Stone, and well built. The Church there hath no Steeple, yet

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[1] *Report on the Portuguese Records*, F. C. Danvers.

[2] *Covalão*, Covelong, 17 miles south of San Thomé.

[3] *O.C.*, No. 1718, 25th Oct., 1639.

[4] *Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo*, rendered into English by John Davies, of Kidwelly, 1669.

may be seen at a good distance. There live here about six hundred *Portuguez* or *Mestizes,* besides some *Armenian* Merchants.

'The *Indians, Pagans,* and *Mahumetans* live in the Town of Meliapour, which is seated on a small River two Leagues from Saint *Thomas* Northward;[1] but it is faln from the pristine glory it had when it was the Capital Town of the Kingdom of *Narsinga.*[2] The King of *Portugal* hath no Governour at Saint *Thomas,* nor so much as a Magistrate, nor any political Order; by reason whereof divers disorders are daily committed without punishment.'

From the answers given to Mr. Commissioner Puckle[3] at Madras in 1676, we learn that, when Fort St. George was founded in 1640, liberal inducements were held out to settlers. In consequence, numbers of Portuguese, both home and country born, deserted San Thomé for Madras.

The principal references to San Thomé in the Madras records between 1640 and 1662 have been already quoted. Andrew Cogan alluded in 1642 to the control exercised over the Portuguese by the Naik of Tanjore, and mentioned the arrival of troops from Goa and their lawless behaviour.[4] Four years later occurred the dispute with Ivie,[5] followed by the arrest of Father Ephraim, and the treaty of 1651 with Greenhill.[6] The settlement, however, rapidly declined until, threatened by the Dutch and besieged by Golconda, it yielded to the native Power on or about the 2nd May, 1662. The brief announcement of the capitulation recorded by Agent Chamber is here supplemented by the account of François Martin, founder of the French settlement of Pondicherry, in his *Mémoire sur l'établissement des Colonies françoises aux Indes orientales.*[7] Martin was a resident in the town within twelve years of the catastrophe, and had opportunities of learning details. He writes:—

'Lon tient que les premiers commancemens de la ville de Saint-Thomé ont esté louvrage de plusieurs arméniens quy sy estoient habituez pour y faire le commerce, et encore par une dévotion quils avoient au Saint dont la ville portoit le nom. Après que les portugais eurent affermy leur domination dans les Indes, il y eut des gens de cette nation quy sestablirent partout: plusieurs

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[1] Mylapore lay west of, and close to, San Thomé.

[2] *Narsinga,* Vijayanagar.

[3] *P.C.,* vol. i., 29th Feb., 167⅚.

[4] *O.C.,* Nos. 1791 and 1792, 20th Sept., 1642.

[5] *O.C.,* Nos. 2005 and 2006, 27th Oct., 1646.

[6] *O.C.,* No. 2238, 30th Dec., 1651.

[7] The manuscript, hitherto unpublished, is preserved in the Archives Nationales, Paris. The extract given in the text was communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

s'arèterent à Saint-Thomé. Ils sy allièrent avec les arméniens quy y estoient déja : ils y firent bastir des maisons, et en firent ainsy une ville quy devint très considérable dans la suite par le commerce que lon faisoit de la dans lune et lautre Inde. Lon assure quil y a eu autrefois des familles riches de plusieurs millions, et il est certain aussy que le commerce dans les premiers temps estoit une mine dOr. La ville fut fortifiée par les portugais du costé de la terre presque au mesme estat quelle estoit lors que les troupes du Roy sen emparerent,[1] mais du costé de la mer il ny avoit q'une petite muraille foible eslevé de 8 a 10 pieds sans estre flanquée. Les habitans de cette ville estoient devenus sy superbes et sy insolens par leurs richesses quils ont refusé longtemps de reconnaitre le vice roy de Goa. Ils ont renvoié souvent les gouverneurs nommés par ces premiers officiers, et ceux quils ont receu dans leur ville ny ont jamais eu aucune authorité. Les meurtres, les assasinats, les empoisonnemens, et les autres crimes de cette nature ont regné dans cette ville comme dans leur fort. Lon en conte des exemples quy font horreur. Jen ay apris assés de particularitez que jay sceu des antiens habitans de cette place, et quy avouoient eux mesme que les malheurs quy leur sont arrivez estoient un juste chastiment du ciel. Cestoit une espece danarchie que le gouvernement de cette ville pendant sept ou huit ans. Deux des principalles familles se declarerent la guerre : le reste des habitans furent forcez de prendre party. Ils se cantonnoient dans les rues, dans les jardins : personne ne pouvoient passer dun lieu a lautre sans sexposer a estre tué ou blessé, jusques la que les Ecclésiastiques et les religieux nosoient aller par la ville pour administrer les sacremens sans demander permission aux deux parties.

'Il estoit bien difficile quun gouvernement de cette nature peut subsister longtemps. Dans la décadence des affaires des portugais aux Indes les habitans de Saint-Thomé tombèrent aussy. Après la conqueste dune partie du Carnate par les troupes du Roy de Golconde, ce prince voiant que cette place estoit à sa bienscéance, que les portugais avoient guerre contre les holandois, il y fit mettre le siège. La place ne receut aucun secours. Lon refusa mesme de Goa de leur en envoier. Lon leur écrivit de la que lon ne les consideroit pas comme des sujets du Roy de Portugal, puisquils navoient jamais voulu obeir aux ordres de ses Vicerois. Enfin la ville fut prise. Lon laissa la liberté à plusieurs des habitans de demeurer dans les dehors ou ils avoient du bien en terre et maisons quy leur fut conservé. Cette place fut donné a Ninkanankan,[2] pour lors le généralissime, et dont jay desja parlé. Ce Seigneur remarquant la situation prit la résolution de la fortifier, lon dit mesme pour avoir une retraite contre les révolutions sy fréquentes dans les cours des Indes. Il y fit eslever les murailles du Costé de la Mer, flanquées de quatre bastions quy ont esté estimées par les connoisseurs et les personnes dexpérience pour des plus belles et plus fortes quil y eut pour lors au monde. Ce generalissime y fit aussy bastir la porte de terre que lon nomma depuis la porte Royalle : cestoit un ouvrage achevé ; lon ruina plusieurs grands pagodes dans la terre dont lon prit les pierres pour servir à ces fortifications. Lon ne laissa point Dhabitans dans la ville, ou il ne demeuroit que la garnison ordinairement de deux cens à trois cens hommes : et voila lestat de la place lorsque nostre escadre y arriva. . . .'

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1 The French took San Thomé in 1672.

2 Neknām Khān. Martin mentions him in September, 1670, as Chief Minister of Golconda.

San Thomé under Moslem Rule.

The forces of the King of Golconda held San Thomé nearly eleven years until, in 1672, they were ousted by the French. Travellers of the period add little to the information which is given by François Martin. John Nieuhoff, who was on the Coast about 1662, says:[1]

'The City was quite desolate when the Portuguese first came there, who rebuilt it in 1545, since which time it has Encreased to that Degree that, not many years after, she was Accounted one of the finest Cities in all the Indies, both in respect of the Magnificence of its Building and the Number of Rich Inhabitants. It is fortified with Stone-wall[s] strengthned by several Bastions. . . . Whilst this place was in the Hands of the Portuguese, it was at first Incorporated with the Diocess of the Bishop of Cochin, but afterwards erected into a Bishopdom[2] under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. They had a Church here dedicated to St. Francis, belonging to the Capuchins, and two others, one dedicated to St. John, the other to the Virgin Mary, where the Mahometans and Pagans were instructed and baptized. In the Suburbs was the Church of St. Lucy,[3] and in the City the Monastery of Charity and Lazarus, besides three others. The Jesuits, of whom there was a Considerable Number here, had a Goodly College within the City, wherein the Children of the Portugueses and of the Chief Malabars[4] were instructed in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion. Next to this College was a very large Parish inhabited by Christians such as were by the Jesuits converted from Paganism, of which 120 were baptized in 1604. There you see also the Famous Church of St. Thomas; this Apostle, as the Portugueses pretend, being buried here. His Sepulchre is shewn to this day on the top of a Mountain near the City,[5] over which they have built a small Chappell which may be seen at some distance at Sea.'

This account, relating as it does to the pre-Muhammadan period, is inserted here because it is accompanied, in the edition of Churchill's *Voyages* of 1704-1732, by a view of San Thomé from the sea, which evidently dates from the time of the French occupation. The view has been reproduced for this work.

Dominic Navarette, a Spanish priest whose travels extended from 1646 to 1672, and who appears to have visited Madras about 1668, writes as follows:[6]

'I went with him [a German military engineer] to S. *Thomas.* We were first in a church of *Franciscans* which they call our Lady of Light. . . . We

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1 *The Remarkable Voyages and Travels of John Nieuhoff*, printed in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, 1672.

2 In 1606.

3 *St. Lucy*, probably the Luz.

4 *Malabars*, Tamil inhabitants.

5 In original 'a City.'

6 *Collection of Voyages*, Churchill, 1704-1732.

spent the evening in a house of the jesuits,[1] but there was never a one in it. There we saw the fountain the apostle made between two rocks, and drank of it with much satisfaction. . . .

'That evening we came to the mount: there are two little houses at the foot of it uninhabited, besides others gone to ruin. When the infidels took the City, they destroy'd all about it, but durst not meddle with the apostles church, nor with that of our Lady of light I spoke of before. The ascent of the mountain is steep and difficult, but well provided with seats and resting-places at certain distances. On the top is a small flat or plain, kept in good order, wall'd about breast high, with good seats and large trees to make a shade. In the middle is a curious little church, with a house for a priest and two servants. The prospect all about the hill is incomparable, and extends as far as the sight can reach. . . .

'Next day we went up the mount again. The Governor came. We said mass. I discover'd the holy cross and picture of our Blessed Lady. The holy cross is exactly as historians describe it. . . . Our Lady's picture is painted upon board, very beautiful, but the colors somewhat decay'd. . . . We spent another night there on the bricks. The bed not being very easy, we got a horseback betimes in the morning. . . . We went to see the City of S. *Thomas*: the Moors would not let us in. From the gate we saw some good buildings: the walls are very fine. A gentleman that was with us lamented that loss very much. The *English* are not so strong at *Madrastapatan*, yet they hold it and are like so to do. What signifie walls and bulwarks where there is no government.'

Thomas Bowrey, free mariner, who arrived on the Coast in 1669 and resided for some time at Madras, describes a visit to the Mount,[2] but contributes no fresh information. He alludes to 'the often concourse of people that resort thither, both for pleasantnesse of aire and Satisfaction of takeinge a View of the Saint's tombe which is in the Chappel.'

François l'Estra,[3] who in 1671 accompanied the French expedition to the Indies, wrote of the Moslem occupation of San Thomé in the following terms:—

'Les Mores . . . s'en estant rendus les maistres, rétablirent les fortifications et les murailles, qui sont tres-bonnes, cimentées et massonnées fort proprement. Elles ont douze pieds de large, et dix-huit pieds de haut, et sont bâties d'une pierre de roche fort dure et bien lisse où le canon fait peu d'effet. Les maisons sont sous terre, et à couvert des injures du temps et de la guerre, et ne sont pas si hautes que les murs, à la reserve de trois Eglises, celle de Nostre-Dame, celle des Jesuites, et celle de l'Hostel-Dieu.'

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1 At the Little Mount.

2 *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, 1669-1679, Bowrey, edited by Sir Richard Temple, 1905.

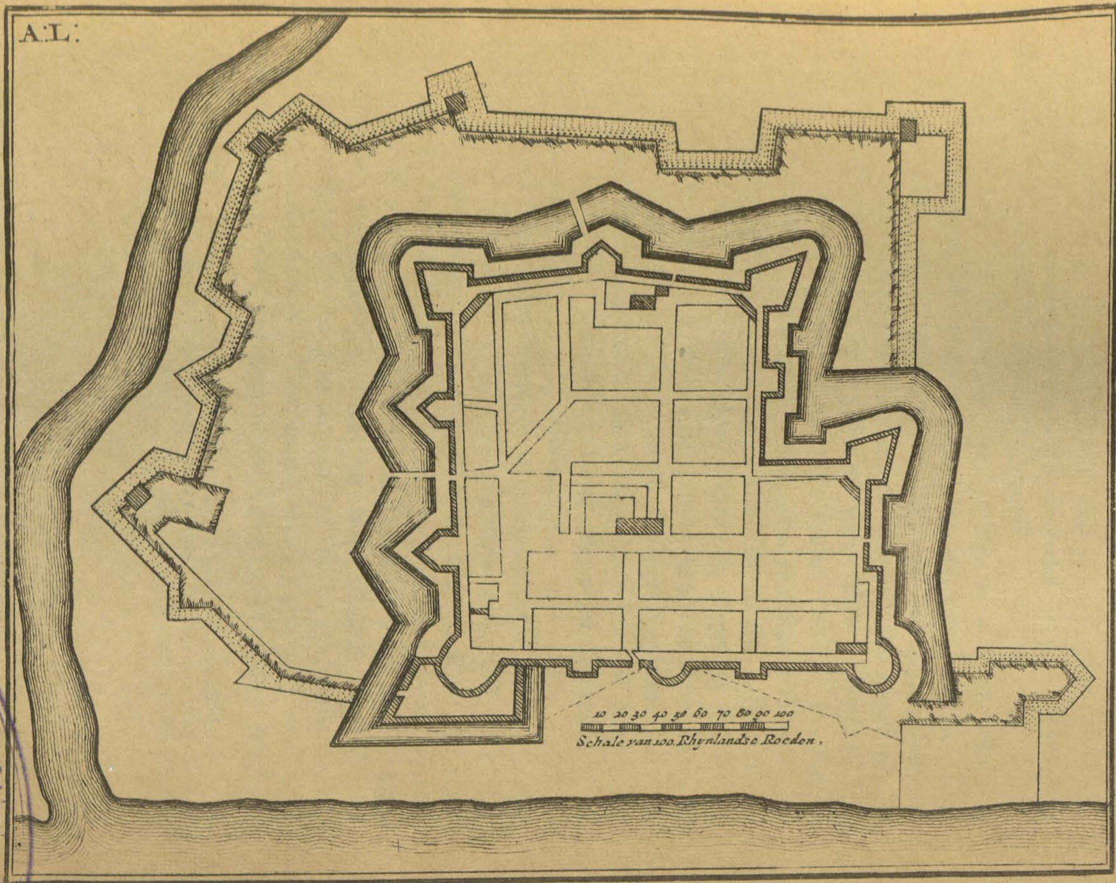
3 *Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage*, Paris, 1677. The authorship of this work is attributed to François l'Estra (*Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes*, Barbier, 1879).

Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*[1] contains a plan of San Thomé which is considered to date from the time of the French occupation, and which has been reproduced for this book. François Valentijn was on the Coast about 1660, but his great work was not published until 1726. The plan presents wide differences from that of de Rezende. Those differences can be accounted for by the reconstruction of the fortifications due to Neknām Khān, supplemented perhaps by extensions undertaken by the Portuguese between 1635 and 1662. Martin says in the extract already quoted that, while the Moors built the western gateway which was afterwards called by the French the Porte Royale, they devoted attention mainly to the east front. Hence it is probable that the extension of the area within the walls may have been carried out by the Portuguese. The outworks delineated are doubtless those made by the French.

The first point to strike the observer who compares the plans of Valentijn and de Rezende is that a second and smaller oblong has been added on the west side of the original rectangle, the southern boundary of each being in the same line. The map bears a scale of Rhenish rods. The *roede* of Rhineland appears to have measured 3·72 metres, or 4·07 yards. The internal dimensions of the older rectangle work out on this basis to 825 yards by 400 yards. Hence the perimeter would be 2,450 yards, which agrees with de Rezende's statement if his 'pace' be assumed to be 34 inches. The proportions, however, are somewhat different, the length being about double the breadth instead of the two and a half times derived from de Rezende's sketch. Doubtless Valentijn is the more exact. The smaller rectangle measures 625 yards from north to south, and 380 from east to west. Hence the greatest dimensions of the whole fortified enclosure are 825 yards by 780 yards. There are still four gates shown facing the cardinal points, but that on the south has been moved to the middle of the prolonged face, while that on the west is of necessity new.

At the present day there are two principal streets in San Thomé nearly at right angles, and crossing each other before the Cathedral. That which runs parallel to the shore is called the San Thomé High Road. The other is the Rosary Church Road, which has

[1] *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, François Valentijn, 5 vols., fol. 1726.



De Stad St. THOME.

about 1674, after François Valentyn.

a prolongation eastward to the ancient pole commonly called the 'Dutch Flagstaff,'[1] and an extension westward beyond the Rosary Church named Cutcherry Road.[2] The north gate appears to have been near, but west of the San Thomé High Road at the northern entrance to the town, while the west gate was on the Cutcherry Road near its junction with Arundel Street. The Sea-gate was at the site of the Dutch Flagstaff.

This extensive fort is girt on three sides by a ditch which is shown as wet, probably by an error of the draftsman. No trace of the excavation nor of the rampart can now be seen, unless the masonry débris which covers the eastern slope of the sand-hill on which the town is built is a relic of demolition. Beyond the enceinte was an outer line of entrenchment flanked by block-houses at intervals. This line, which was perhaps the work of the French during the siege, extended nearly to the Adyar back-water on the south side. The distance of the shore of the back-water from the centre of the town, measured on the plan, is 280 rods, or 1,140 yards. The present corresponding distance from the Cathedral cross roads to the entrance gate of Admiralty House is 1,150 yards. The plan shows the river debouching at the northern end of the existing rifle-range.

The general conclusion arrived at concerning the size of the fortified place is that, in 1635, the enceinte extended from the present northern entrance of the town to the bend of the road south of St. Peter's Seminary. The enclosed area was nearly twice as great as that of the Garrison Town of Fort St. George. The addition subsequently made to San Thomé carried the western boundary, for the greater part of its length, back nearly as far as Arundel Street. The space within the fort was thus increased to three times the area of the Christian Town of Madras.

[1] *Dutch Flagstaff.* This pole, erected in a masonry pillar, is more likely to be of native than Dutch origin, as the Netherlanders had no real possession of San Thomé.

[2] *Cutcherry Road.* The remains of the old Muhammadan Court-house, or Cutcherry, with its gateway, are still to be seen off Cutcherry Road.

CHAPTER XXV

1672—1674

CAPTURE OF SAN THOMÉ BY THE FRENCH—THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

Capture of San Thomé by the French.

The cause of the appearance of the French on the Coast, and of their seizure of San Thomé, is thus explained by Fryer [1]:—

'Of late years that stirring King Lewis the XIVth . . . put in a Stock with his Merchant-Adventurers, fitting out a Fleet of Twenty Sail of lusty Ships to settle a Trade in *India*, committing them to the Charge and Conduct of a Viceroy; who coming safe about the *Cape*, touched at St. *Lawrence*, where they did little besides burying the Viceroy and dispatching four ships into Europe.

'In the stead of the Viceroy deceased, the now reigning succeeded.[2]

'From thence they sailed to *Surat* where the *Great Mogul* endowed them with Immunities of Traffick.

'In the mean while a second War between *England* and *Holland* was fomented, in which the *French* threw off the protecting the *Dutch*, and sided with his Majesty of *England*. When, neglecting his newly hatch'd Factory at Surat, . . . sense of Honour obliged his Fleet in the *East Indies* to New Adventures. . . .

'With fourteen Sail of Ships[3] they roved on the Coasts of *Malabar*, and at last came to the Island *Ceilon*, setting upon the Dutch at *Trincomalai* and forced it; but being destitute of Provisions, forsook it after the loss of abundance of their Men and four of their Ships.

'From whence they passed along the Coast of *Coromandel*, and with Ten Sail came before St. *Thomas*, demanding Victuals of the *Moors;* but they denying, they brought their Ships to bear upon the Fort, and landing some small Pieces, they stormed it, driving the Moors to the search of new Dwellings.

'After they had taken it, they broke up[4] their weather-beaten Vessels, and

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1 *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Fryer, 1698.

2 François Caron.

3 Under Admiral de la Haye.

4 Confirmed by Martin, and also by Bowrey. The latter says that the French were 'continually beseiged and perplexed by the Golcondah forces by land and the Dutch by Sea in soe much that the Ships the Dutch tooke not from them, they

brought ashore their Ordnance, keeping their Trenches within, and mounting it with the Sea without. They still maintain it maugre all the great Armies the King of *Gulconda* hath sent against it.'

A more detailed account of the storming of San Thomé is given by François l'Estra,[1] an eye-witness of the events described. He states that he joined the French East India Company for the sake of travel, sailed for Surat in 1671, and subsequently accompanied de la Haye's fleet of eight ships to the Coromandel Coast. He writes:—

'Ce brave General,[2] ayant pris quelques rafraîchissemens dans la coste de Coromandel, continüa sa route jusqu'à saint Thomé, que les Mores occupoient depuis onze ans, apres en avoir chassé les Portugais par famine. Il moüilla devant les murailles de cette Ville, et s'embarqua avec le sieur Carron[3] dans une Barque longue de l'Admiral[4] le Navarre, pour se faire porter à terre avec quelques Officiers, à dessein de reconnoistre la Ville et le pays : et cependant il envoya prier le Gouverneur de luy faire donner des vivres pour de l'argent. Mais le More ayant répondu qu'il n'en avoit pas assez pour sa garnison, Monsieur de la Haye luy renvoya les mesmes Officiers pour l'assurer qu'il ne sorteroit pas de la rade sans en avoir ; et que si on luy en refusoit en payant, il s'en feroit bien donner par force, et en mesme temps il r'entra dans sa Barque et s'en retourna dans son Navire le Navarre. Cette proposition n'eut pas plus d'effet que la premiere ; le Gouverneur More s'en mocqua : ce qu'estant rapporté au General de la flotte de France, il fit mettre le pavillon de conseil pour assembler tous les Capitaines et Officiers des Navires, qui se rendirent incontinent à son bord. Il leur exposa son dessein, leur fit voir qu'il estoit aisé de surprendre cette Ville que les Hollandois avoient assiegé dix ans durant sans effet, et à leur confusion ; et leur remontra combien de gloire ils retireroient de cette expedition. Il proposa les moyens dont il croyoit qu'il falloit se servir ; et ayant pris le conseil de toute l'assemblée, il fut resolu que le Maistre Canonier et ses aides embarqueroient trois petites pieces de canon, de trois à quatre livres de balles Chacune, avec trois cens boulets, et les affûts, et les cartouches à proportion, dans une Barque longue la mesme nuit : qu'ils se rendroient avant le point du jour à terre sans bruit, braqueroient leur artillerie contre la grande porte de la Ville,[5] où ils seroient soûtenus par trois cens hommes armez de sabres, de haches, et de pistolets, dont une partie se separeroit pour monter sur les murailles avec des échelles de cordes qu'ils porteroient pour cét effet : Ce qui fut executé avec un ordre admirable ; car à peine l'aurore commançoit à paroistre, que les Canoniers firent joüer leurs trois pieces d'artillerie, dont les Mores, qui ne s'attendoient pas à cette aubade, furent tellement étonnez qu'ils coururent tous en foule du costé de la porte, où ils croyoient que le peril estoit le plus grand ; car ils méprisoient le grand feu

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were obliged to hall them On Shore as neare the Walls of the City as they cold, and there pull them in pieces for the Sake of theire Stores' (*Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, Bowrey, edited by Sir Richard Temple).

[1] *Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage*, Paris, 1677.

[2] De la Haye.

[3] François Caron, Director of the French East India Company.

[4] *L'Admiral*, the flag-ship *Navarre*.

[5] The western gate.

que l'artillerie des Navires faisoit contre la Ville et contre leurs murailles. Mais tandis qu'ils les abandonnent, le sieur de Rebré, Capitaine, monta avec cent cinquante hommes qu'il commandoit, et s'en estant rendu le maistre, le sabre à la main, il ne donna pas le temps aux Mores qui se presenterent à luy de se reconnoistre; et commandant à ses Soldats de faire grand bruit et de crier, tuë, tuë, il les mit en déroute et hors d'estat de se rallier. Et aussi-tost dépoüillant sa chemise, il la separa en deux parties, dont il en mit une au bout d'une demy-pique d'un More qu'il avoit tué, et la planta sur la muraille du costé de la mer pour faire cesser l'artillerie; et l'autre du costé de la terre pour avertir qu'il estoit maistre de la Ville, où les François entrerent en criant, vive le Roy de France, vive le Roy, et acheverent de mettre en fuite les Mores qui avoient les armes à la main. Les habitans demanderent la permission de se retirer et de sortir avec leurs familles, ce que Monsieur de la Haye leur octroya fort humainement; et ayant visité la Ville, il donna ses ordres pour la fortifier, et pour la mettre en estat de resister aux attaques qu'il prevoyoit des Mores.

'La Ville de S. Thomé a esté ainsi nommée par les Portugais, à cause qu'ils honorent particulierement S. Thomas; de sorte que dans toutes les places qu'ils possedent aux Indes Orientales il y a une Eglise dediée à ce Saint. Ils l'ont presque bâtie entierement, et l'ont possedée assez longtemps, et jusqu'à ce que les Mores, qui leur faisoient continuellement la guerre, l'assiegerent et la prirent par famine. Ces barbares s'en estant rendus les maistres, rétablirent les fortifications et les murailles. . . .

'C'est une chose assez particuliere et tres-digne de remarque, que depuis onze ans que les Mores sont en possession de cette Ville, ils ayent eu de la veneration et du respect pour ces lieux sacrés, dont ils n'ont changé, démoly ny pillé ancune chose. Car les François y trouverent les Ciboires, les Calices, les Patenes, les Burettes, et tous les ornemens des Autels et des Prestres au mesme estat que les Portugais les avoient laissez, ayant eu soin de les nettoyer proprement de temps en temps. . . .

'La Ville est environnée de quinze bastions qui font face de trois costez, et qui sont garnis d'artillerie. Monsieur de la Haye s'en estant rendu maistre, les nomma, et donna son nom au premier, qui fut appellé le bastion de la Haye.[1]

'Il voulut que le second portât le nom de Monsieur Carron, directeur General de la Royale compagnie de France, qui l'avoit accompagné en cette expedition: ces deux bastions estoient munis de cinq pieces de canon chacun.

'Le troisiéme, il le nomma le Marin à cause qu'il avoit esté pris par une flotte de Navires: il estoit garny de cinq pieces de canon. Le quatriéme, le bastion Colbert, muny de neuf pieces d'artillerie. Le cinquiéme, le bastion Portugais, en memoire des Portugais qui avoient esté maistres de la Ville; il estoit garny de trois pieces de canon.[2] Le sixiéme, le bastion de la Porte-Royale,[3] parce que les François entrerent par là en criant, vive le Roy; garny de vingt pieces de canon. Il deffend la Porte-Royale, laquelle est d'une tres-

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[1] It is considered that this and the following bastion flanked the south gateway, that of *de la Haye* being east of that of *Caron*.

[2] There is good reason for believing that the bastion *Colbert* was situated at the south-west angle of the town. The *Marin* and the *Portugais* were perhaps the two outworks shown on Valentijn's plan beyond the south-west bastion.

[3] The bastion *Porte-Royale* was in the middle of the west face.

belle architecture ; et à costé il y a une petite redoute munie de trois pieces d'artillerie.

'Le septiéme, le bastion Saint Louys, garny de neuf pieces de canon, à costé duquel est une autre redoute avec trois canons. Le huitiéme, le bastion de Rebré, parce que le sieur de Rebré monta sur les murs par escalade et s'en rendit le maistre ; il est garny de cinq canons. Le neuviéme, le bastion du Soleil Royal, muny de huit pieces d'artillerie.[1] Ces neuf bastions sont du costé de la terre ; les autres qui suivent regardent la mer.

'Le dixieme, le bastion le Dauphin, garny de six pieces d'artillerie. L'onziéme, le bastion François, garny de six pieces, et à costé il y a un cavalier garny de trois canons. Le douziéme, le bastion Bourbon, garny de vingt pieces d'artillerie, avec un autre cavalier garny de trois. Le trieziéme, le bastion Major, garny de cinq pieces. Le quatorziéme, le bastion l'Admiral, garny de neuf pieces. Le quinziéme est un autre bastion avancé en point, nommé le Fort sans peur. . . .'[2]

François Martin, who was at Masulipatam[3] when the French squadron came up the coast, furnishes in his manuscript *Mémoire*[4] a description of the assault on San Thomé which is summarized as follows:—

A new king ruled in Golconda. On the death of Shah 'Abdullah in April, 1672, a prince was raised to the throne under the name of 'Sultan Abdulla ouchen Coutoubsches'[5] through the influence of 'Sédimusacam' the commander-in-chief, and 'Sédimusafer,' the minister.[6] Two months earlier the French squadron had arrived at 'Punte de Galle,' and after a descent on Trincomallee, sailed up the Coromandel coast. It was under the command of Admiral de la Haye, who was accompanied by Director General Caron, and consisted of the *Navarre*, *Breton*, *Flamen*, *Phénix*, *Europe*, *Triomphe*, *Jule*, *Diligente* and *Sultane*, with two smaller vessels. The fleet

[1] The bastion *St. Louis* occupied the north-west angle of the newer fortifications. The redoubt mentioned was probably the adjacent outwork shown on Valentijn's plan. The *de Rebré* bastion was on the north face next to *St. Louis*. The *Soleil* is considered to have been the work at the north-west angle of the older fortifications.

[2] The bastion *Dauphin* occupied the north-east angle of the town, and that of *l'Admiral* the south-east. The *Bourbon* was at the middle of the east face, defending the sea-gate. It was flanked by the *François* on the north, and *Major* on the south. The cavaliers mentioned were portions of the walls or bastions raised to a higher level than the rest. The redoubt *Sans Peur* was an outwork near the bank of the river. This part of the river is at the present day a backwater.

[3] The French established a factory at Masulipatam in 1669 (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 24th Aug., 1669).

[4] A copy of the manuscript was communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

[5] *Abdulla ouchen Coutoubsches*, 'Abdullah Ḥasan Ḳutb Shāh. He was known as 'Abū,l Ḥasan.

[6] Sīdī Mūsā Khān and Sayyid Muẓaffar.

anchored before San Thomé on the 10th July, 1672 (O.S.), and the officers marvelled at the excellence of the fortifications. The following day, the commander of the Madras Garrison[1] paid a complimentary visit by order of Governor Sir William Langhorn. The visit was returned by the captain of the *Flamen*, who asked for provisions and received a promise of ample supplies. In the meantime two officers of the fleet had been sent ashore to make a similar application to the Muhammadan governor of San Thomé. 'Cet homme fier et insolent le refusa tout net, et fit rembarquer les officiers avec assez dampressement.' On the 13th de la Haye assembled his commanders, and announced that the opportunity was favourable to retaliate on the Moslems for previous unfriendly behaviour towards the servants of the French Company at Masulipatam, and he proposed a bombardment of San Thomé if the governor persisted in incivility. Four boats containing a hundred men were sent ashore, accompanied by the Admiral. Being refused a landing, de la Haye opened fire from the ships, and himself pushed through the surf and gained the shore, followed by his officers and men. 'Les mores se retirerent, à cette action de vigueur : ceux de la ville nous voiant à terre et que le canon ne discontinuoit point de tirer, mirent un pavillon blanc. La batterie cessa au signal que lon fit. Monsieur de la Haye, suivy de quelques officiers, fit le tour de la place pour reconnoitre les endroits par ou lon pouvoit lattaquer, pendant quil donná ordre de se saisir de deux masuris[2] quy estoit proche de la, et de les mettre en mer. En arrivant a la grande porte, il la trouva ouverte, et vit plusieurs gens quy se retiroient. Il sen approcha, et sy il eut este suivy des troupes et quil se fut jetté dedans, lon croit que lon auroit emporté la place. Dans ce moment, pendant un peu de temps quil restá a hézite sur ce quil feroit, la porte fut refermée.' Pursuing his circuit of the town, he was met by a party from the governor, who promised supplies. The Admiral returned to his ship, and sent seamen to obtain wood and water. The Moslems, however, resumed their previous attitude of obstruction, so de la Haye resolved on attack.

On the 14th July the troops disembarked with four field-pieces. Captain de Rebrey with a hundred men moved to the north side of the town, and placed his detachment among some ruins under

[1] Probably Lieutenant Timothy Sutton.

[2] *Masuris*, masula boats.

the bastion which afterwards bore his name. The main body took post to the southward for the night. Next morning stores were landed, and the governor was threatened with attack unless he consented to treat in a friendly manner and furnish provisions on payment. His reply was to open fire on the squadron.

The signal was then given for a general attack. While the ships bombarded the town, the land force advanced against the south front, and with the aid of the guns forced an entrance at a postern. They were, however, checked by a retrenchment within. Attracted by the main attack, the Moslems left the north front undefended. De Rebrey scaled the wall without resistance, and his men swarmed into the place, cutting down all who opposed them. The whole garrison then took flight, and de la Haye entered, apparently by the western gate. The Moorish loss was thirty or forty killed, and upwards of a hundred taken prisoners. Twenty-two guns were found on the walls, and the magazines were full of ammunition. The town was given up to pillage, but the governor's residence proved the only house worth plundering.

Having disposed his guards, de la Haye went to the Cathedral church and sang a *Te Deum*. 'Les Mahometans avoient eu beaucoup de respect pour cette église ou ils navoient fait aucun désordre : les tableaux à leur place ; tous les ornemens renfermez dans de grandes armoires quy estoient dans la sacristie, et Jusques à des chandeliers de cuivre quils avoient conservés. . . . Leglise fort belle : la couverture de charpente fut estimé par Monsieur de la Haye pour un des beaux ouvrages quil eut veu à cause de la beauté du bois et de la hardiesse de louvrage. . . . Les rues fort belles : la ville bien coupée ; les maisons bien basties, mais presque tout en ruine, les mores les ayant laissé deperir.'

Two members of the Madras Council arrived to offer Governor Langhorn's congratulations. Orders were given to repair the walls on the west side, which were in indifferent order. The ship *Triomphe* was condemned, and her guns were brought ashore and mounted on the bastions. Provisions were the most pressing need. A place for a market was selected outside the western gate, and the country people were encouraged to bring in supplies. They refused, however, to accept the fanams which de la Haye minted. A ship was then sent to Pondicherry bearing an

application for provisions to 'Chircam Loudy,'[1] governor for the King of Bījāpur of that place and the surrounding territory.

French Occupation of San Thomé.

The French occupation of San Thomé, which lasted a little over two years, was one long period of beleaguerment. It divides itself into two active sieges, separated by three months of passivity. From the 30th July, 1672, to the 10th March, 1673, the operations were conducted by the forces of Golconda alone; but from the 30th June, 1673, the fortress was blockaded and attacked by the combined strength of the Moslems and Dutch until, on the 24th August, 1674, it was starved into capitulation. During the interval between the two sieges de la Haye proceeded to Masulipatam to attempt negotiations with the King of Golconda. Returning unsuccessful, he found the Dutch fleet blockading San Thomé. Dr. Fryer, who was then in Madras, describes the events of the time as follows[2]:—

'Till now, the 18th Month of its Siege, and the fourth year of their leaving *France*, the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, in revenge of the Inroads the *French* have made on their Countrey at home, undertaking to waylay them, that no sustenance might be brought to them by Sea, came against it with 20 Sail, 15 Men of War, great Ships, some of 72 Brass Guns apiece, well manned.

'For all that, the Viceroy[3] who had then been gone out with four Sail, but returning alone, got betwixt them and the Fort with his single Ship in the Night: The Device this; He left his Light upon a *Catamaran*, so that they thought him at Anchor without them, when the next Morning he played upon them from under the Fort. This Exploit and the bruit of our Approach,[4] made them withdraw to the *Southward* for fresh Recruits of Men and Ammunition.

'Which gave the *French* encouragement to sally out upon the *Moors* (they before, being beaten from their Works near the City, had decamped Seven Miles off St. *Thomas*), and with an handfull of Men pillaged and set fire to their Tents, foraging the Countrey round about, returning loaden with Spoils.

'Three days after our Ships departed,[5] the Batavians came again, and cast Anchor over-against St. *Thomas* with their Flags flying; in the Afternoon they received some Shot from the *French* Fort and the Ships that lay in the Road. The next day all but five weighed, who tarried not many days before they followed the rest to *Policat*, a Strong-hold of theirs but 50 Miles *North* of us: Where we leave them to the landing 700 Men to join with the *Moors* by Land,

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[1] *Chircam Loudy*, Sher Khān Lodī.

[2] *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Fryer, 1698.

[3] De la Haye.

[4] The approach of the English fleet which brought Fryer to India.

[5] For Masulipatam.

and their Ships to wait upon ours upon their repair for *Fort St. George*. And at a distance (because too near an Intrusion would but exasperate the enraged *Moors* to enhanse the Price of our Curiosity), we will take a Survey of St. *Thomas*.

'St. *Thomas* is a City that formerly for Riches, Pride and Luxury was second to none in *India*; but since, by the mutability of Fortune, it has abated much of its adored Excellencies.

'The Sea on one side greets its Marble[1] Walls; on the other a Chain of Hills intercepts the Violence of the inflaming Heat; one of which, called St. *Thomas* his Mount, is famous for his Sepulture (in Honour of whom a Chappell is dedicated, the Head Priest of which was once the Metropolitan Bishop of *India*), and for a Tree called *Arbor Tristis*[2] which withers in the Day and blossoms in the Night.

'About this Mount live a Cast of People one of whose Legs are as big as an Elephant's;[3] which gives occasion for the divulging it to be a Judgment on them as the Generation of Assassins and Murtherers of the Blessed Apostle St. *Thomas*, one of whom I saw at *Fort St. George*.

'Within the Walls seven Churches answer to as many Gates; the Rubbish of whose Stupendious Heaps do justify the truth of what is predicated in relation to its pristine State.

'The Builders of it were the *Portugals*.

'The Confounders the *Moors*, who surprized them wallowing in their Wealth and Wantonness.

'The present Competitors are the *French*, who are very unlikely to keep it (not for want of Valour, but for that few and unprovided are not able long to resist multitudes), the *Moors*, and thirdly the *Hollanders* whose Interests are to destroy the *French* in *India*; Which the *French* foreseeing, had wisely solicited a Truce with *Gulconda*, and had hopes of that King's complying, till the Arrival of the *Dutch*, when they could not be heard. For considering a Kindness extorted not so obliging as that freely offered, and his Honour attainted by their Swords being still in their hands, he closed with the Hatred of the *Hollanders* for their final Extirpation.

'Before which be accomplished, he may chance to find it an hard Task, especially had the *French* any hopes of Success: For now they are 600 strong in the Fort and Ships, all stout Fellows, every Soldier fit to be a Commander. Their greatest scarcity will be of Food, with which had not the *English* privately befriended them, they could not have subsisted hitherto. Though the *English*, should they have War with *France*, would find them to be an

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[1] The sea face, reconstructed by the Moslems, was built of stone taken from neighbouring temples, probably the granitic gneiss of the locality.

[2] *Arbor Tristis*, the Arabian jasmine, *Nyctanthes arbor tristis*. Thomas Bowrey writes of this tree: 'Upon the top of Mount St. Thomas groweth naturally a Very remarkable tree, larger then most mulberrie trees be, which is called Arbor trista, vizt. the Sorrowfull tree, and not improperly so called. It Seemeth not to flowrish all the day longe, but from Sun Settinge to Sun riseinge it is Exceedinge full of white blossoms, both fragrant and beautifull, but noe Sooner is it broad day light but all the blossoms fall to the ground and Suddenly wither; and the Very leaves shut themselves, and Seeme to be in a languishinge posture; and furthermore, the next evening it appears as flowrishinge as before, and thus not Once but every day and night throughout the yeare' (*The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, Bowrey).

[3] Sufferers from elephantiasis, a common affection on the Coast.

Annoyance to their Trade: So that were the City again in the hands of the *Moors*, or even with the Ground, it were better for us.

'Here it may be queried, Why *Gulconda*, being a Potent Prince, should permit Garisons to be in the hands of Aliens? To this may be answered, That this of St. *Thomas* was founded when the *Indians* were naked and unarm'd. But this satisfies not the Question, since that the *Moors* having conquered it, they again offered it to the *Portugals* who slighted the Propositions unless they would restore them their Guns which they carried away with them. The true reason then is this, That *Gulconda*, as all the *Indian* Princes are, is weak at Sea; therefore it is a Maxim among them to commit their Strongholds on the Sea-Coast to those they can call their Friends, for not only preventing Invasions at the Charge and Courage of Foreigners; but they (not being Absolute, but subject to the Authority of the *Great Mogul*) upon any Defeat, have these Places as sure Asylums of Retreat.'

François l'Estra, whose account of the storming of San Thomé has been already quoted, was present throughout the first siege. The following is his account of the operations against the Moslems [1]:—

'Le brave General de la Haye, apres cette glorieuse expedition, ne se contenta pas d'avoir chassé les Mores à quatre lieües de la Ville; il fit une sortie à la teste de quatre cens hommes pour les repousser encore plus loin, et pour les empécher de se retrancher si proche de saint Thomé, parce q'il prévoyoit bien qu'ils ne tarderoient pas à l'assieger.

'En effet ils s'en approcherent, le vingt deuxiéme de Septembre [2] de la mesme année mil six cens soixante et douze, avec une armée composée de seize mille hommes de pied et de quatre mille chevaux. Ils firent en peu de temps deux retranchemens et trois batteries, dont l'une estoit à la portée du canon de la Ville, et estoit de quatre pieces, du costé du bastion saint Louys. [3] La second[e] faisoit deux batteries, dont l'une estoit de trois pieces, et l'autre de quatre, entre lesquelles il y en avoit une de cent huit livres de balle, qu'ils avoient amenée la nuit avec des elephans et des buffles, et elle battoit le costé de la porte Royale. La troisiéme estoit du costé du bastion Colbert, [4] et estoit composée de trois pieces. Les Mores s'estoient retranchez en cét endroit avec quantité de sacs remplis de sable, et un fossé large de six pieds et profond à proportion.

'Le second retranchement estoit fait de fascines [5] et de gazons, et d'un grand fossé, à la faveur duquel les Mores firent durant six mois un feu continuel sur la Ville. Ils ouvrirent la tranchée du costé de la Porte Royale, où il y avoit quelques François qui gardoient une Pagode [6] qu'ils investirent. Mais comme

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1 *Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage*, 1677.

2 The 12th September, O.S. Hostile movements, however, took place earlier.

3 Bastion *St. Louis*, at the north-west angle of the town.

4 Bastion *Colbert*, at the south-west angle.

5 *Fascines*, long cylindrical bundles of brushwood, used to revet the slopes of earthwork.

6 Perhaps the Kapaleswaraswami Temple.

on ne leur pouvoit donner secours, ils sauterent en bas et se rangerent promptement au pied des murs où les Mores n'oserent les venir attaquer. Il y en eu deux qui tomberent mal-heureusement entre les mains de ces barbares qui les écorcherent tout vifs.

'Six mois se passerent sans qu'il se fit aucune action fort considerable de part ny d'autre: mais Monsieur de la Haye s'impatientant de voir la longueur de ce siege, fit une sortie le premier jour du mois de Mars[1] de l'année mil six cens soixante et treize, et attaqua les ennemis sur la minuit avec six cens hommes. Il gagna leur grande batterie où estoit cette grosse piece qui portoit cent huit livres de balles, qu'il encloüa; et ensuite la fit sauter en l'air. Les Mores avoient fait plusieurs fourneaux[2] aux environs de leur batterie; mais ils ne firent aucun effet: et comme ils virent leur grosse piece, de laquelle ils attendoient un bon succez, en estat de ne leur pouvoir plus servir, ils perdirent courage et se retirerent dans leur second retranchement.

'Le General de la Haye fit une autre sortie le huitiéme[3] du mesme mois, et les mit encore en déroute. Ce fut pour lors, qu'ils enleverent leur batterie et leurs munitions: l'on fit grand feu de part et d'autre, et le combat fut assez opiniâtre. Il demeura un grand nombre de Mores sur la place, entr'autres le General de la Cavalerie qui fut tué d'un coup de mousquet; il s'appelloit Montelnaif.[4] Il avoit combattu vaillamment, et témoigné autant de conduite que de courage. Si Barbarassem,[5] General de l' Infanterie, eût soûtenu sa valeur, et qu'il n'eût pas pris la fuite avec tant d'epouvante, au lieu de vignt soldats que Monsieur de la Haye perdit dans ce combat, il luy en auroit coûté sans doute un nombre plus considerable. Mais Barbarassem s'estant retiré avec precipitation avec les deux corps d'armée, envoya prier le General des François de luy permettre d'enlever le corps du General Montelnaif pour l'inhumer à la maniere des Mores.[6] Monsieur de la Haye, autant obligeant que genereux, le fit chercher parmy les morts, et deffendant à ses soldats de luy oster quoy que ce fût de ses ornemens et de ses armes, il le fit mettre sur un palanquin que ses soldats porterent sur leurs épaules jusques au camp de Barbarassem avec une escorte assez nombreuse; laquelle ayant fait une salve autor du mort, s'en retourna à saint Thomé.

'Cette Office rendu de si bonne grace fit tant d'impression dans l'esprit de General Barbarassem, qu'il pria quelques jours apres un Marchand Anglois de la loge Angloise de Sadraspatan,[7] qui n'est pas éloigné de saint Thomé, de luy écrire un remerciment pour Monsieur de la Haye, et luy témoigna que ce General estoit fort obligeant et fort genereux, et quoy que les François fussent de petits hommes auprés d'eux, ils estoient neanmoins tres-hardis, et ne témoignoient aucune crainte de la mort. . . . Depuis ce temps-là les Mores

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[1] Martin dates this sortie the 22nd February, N.S.

[2] *Fourneaux*, small mines in the nature of *fougasses*.

[3] Martin dates this sortie 9th March, 1673, N.S.

[4] *Montelnaif*: Langhorn calls him Madala Naigue.

[5] *Barbarassem*, perhaps Bābā Ḥasan. He was commonly known as Bābā Ṣāḥib.

[6] As Maṇḍala Nāyak was a Hindu, his body should have been cremated, not buried.

[7] There is no record of an English Factory at Sadras. The place was held by the Dutch.

n'attaquerent plus si souvent les François ; ils souhaittoient mesme de bien vivre avec eux ; mais les Hollandois les poussoient à continüer la guerre, et leur prestoient main forte pour cela.'

Here the narrative ends. L'Estra accompanied de la Haye to Masulipatam in March, 1673, but on his way back he was captured by the Dutch and carried to Batavia. For fuller details of the first siege and for an account of the second we must turn to other sources.

CHAPTER XXVI

1672—1675

FIRST SIEGE OF SAN THOMÉ—SECOND SIEGE—DEMOLITION OF THE TOWN

THE FIRST SIEGE OF SAN THOMÉ.

BY far the best account we have of the sieges and the final capitulation of San Thomé is that contained in François Martin's manuscript *Mémoire* preserved in the Archives Nationales, Paris. The following relation is derived from a copy of the manuscript communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, of the Bengal Civil Service :—

When the French squadron arrived at San Thomé in June, 1672, an English vessel called the *Ruby*, belonging to the 'sieur Gersey,' was lying in the roadstead. Acting on a hint from Governor Langhorn, who was not on good terms with Mr. Jearsey, the French commander seized the ship. Langhorn subsequently applied, perhaps not very earnestly, for her restoration, but in vain ; and she was eventually despatched to France. The seizure caused some irritation among the residents of Fort St. George.

Towards the end of July it was reported that 1500 Moslems posted at the village of 'Corumbat,'[1] a league from San Thomé, had established a blockade, and were preventing the importation of provisions. A force was sent out to repulse them, but it was harassed by cavalry during its return to the town. On the 24th August,[2] 2,000 of the enemy appeared in the suburbs, and set fire to detached houses. They were repelled by a sortie, and de la Haye occupied and fortified a pagoda 400 paces from the

[1] Apparently Kodumbaukum.

[2] In this account dates have been converted from new to old style to correspond with the English practice then in vogue.

walls[1] as an advanced post. Four days later the hostile forces were increased to 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot. On the 3rd September the Moslems invested the place, forming their camp on the west side. De la Haye employed his soldiers and sailors in demolishing houses near the walls, and generally clearing the ground of cover. He also raised a redoubt 400 paces to the southward to protect the fishing village, naming it Fort Sans Peur. In the middle of the month, the enemy advanced within musket shot under shelter of buildings, and began their intrenchments. Provisions had been coming in from Madras, but the Moors now established themselves 'dans un pagode quy est sur le chemin presque un égalle distance des deux places,[2] et nous fermerent par la le secours que nous pouvions recevoir de Madras par terre.' Supplies were thenceforward sent by catamaran.

On the night of the 19th September the Moors opened fire from cover within 200 paces of the walls. A sortie made by the garrison at daybreak drove them back to their trenches, but a party of the enemy established themselves in a pagoda to the south-west.[3] Their whole force was now estimated at 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, 'sous le commandement des généraux Babasaeb, Trimourboursouraja[4] et Mondelnaigue, ces deux derniers gentils.' Bābā Ṣāḥib was the general in chief. On the 20th, Director-General Caron sailed for France, and vessels were sent to Pondicherry, Porto Novo and Tranquebar in search of provisions. The next day the enemy unmasked a siege battery, and subsequently pushed their trenches towards a pagoda, probably that on the south-west. They were repulsed after an engagement in which the French lost two officers killed. The garrison made an advanced intrenchment before the bastion St. Louis[5] to counteract the enemy's efforts, and spent some days in the demolition of cover. On the last day of the month a sortie, led by Captain de Rebrey, was made on the fortified temple, when the Moslems suffered some loss.

Ten days later, a second siege battery opened fire on the

[1] If, as seems probable, this pagoda was the Kapaleswaraswāmi Temple, the western wall of the town must have been situated about midway between Arundel Street and Mylapore Bazar Road.

[2] The Parthasārathi Temple of Triplicane.

[3] Possibly an existing small temple near the Chitra Kolam Tank.

[4] *Trimourboursouraja*, perhaps for Trimbak Bussora Raju. Langhorn calls him 'Traimback Bussora' and 'Traimback Raggio.'

[5] At the north-west angle of the newer fortifications.

St. Louis bastion, and the enemy advanced their sap. On the 21st October the French received a reinforcement of 200 native soldiers, enlisted at Porto Novo, and on the 25th de la Haye, supported by the guns of the town, made a sortie with two companies and 200 sailors. A sharp action ensued in which the Moslems were repulsed with a loss of 200 men. A thanksgiving service was afterwards held by the victors in the Cathedral. The next few days were spent in destroying the enemy's trenches and fortifying a small pagoda to prevent their being reopened. On the 6th November a French advanced post was hard pressed, but was relieved by de Rebrey with the loss of three officers. Between the 19th November and the end of the month the besiegers made repeated efforts to take the pagoda held by the French, but without success. They then advanced against the bastion Colbert,[1] carrying their trenches towards the fishing village. They were opposed from Fort Sans Peur, the southern outwork.

After an engagement at the outwork to the north of the town on the 5th December, the enemy advanced their trenches against the Porte Royale and the bastion Colbert. A few days later, de la Haye was slightly wounded, and de Rebrey more severely, while reconnoitring. On the 14th December, 2,000 of the enemy left their intrenchments and, supported by flanking parties, made a determined attack on the pagoda. The small garrison of Frenchmen was overwhelmed, those not killed during defence being afterwards beheaded. De la Haye, too late to save the post, accounted for 200 of the enemy. On the 16th the siege guns battered the Porte Royale and the bastions Colbert and St. Louis, and two days later the enemy formed a new battery to the southward. The French had much ado to repair their damaged works, but their commander animated them by his presence day and night on the walls or in the trenches. On the 25th December the garrison made a sortie from a postern near the bastion Colbert against a house in the vicinity, which was occupied by some 200 Moors. The enemy were dislodged with the loss of a quarter of their numbers, and the house was levelled. De la Haye then dug a ditch before the bastion, and continued it to the western gateway.

1 Probably at the south-west angle of the town.

François Martin arrived from Masulipatam on the 6th January, 1673. De la Haye conducted him round the ramparts, pointing out the enemy's dispositions. The principal Moslem intrenchment was on the west side, within 200 paces of the Porte Royale, and a second one was within pistol-shot of the bastion Colbert, on the south-west. The enemy's close approach compelled the French to abandon more than one of their advanced redoubts. The Moslems having constructed a trench revetted with fascines on the site of the house which had been levelled in December, a sortie was made against it. On the 16th January, seven English ships arrived from the Bay and anchored before Madras. Martin, being sent on board to seek ammunition, was met by the 'sieur Wilken,'[1] one of the Council, who complained of the seizure of Jearsey's vessel. Landing the next day, Martin discussed the situation with 'le sieur Wilken Lang hoorn,' whom he had met at Masulipatam in 1671. The Governor declared that, though constrained to maintain amity with Golconda, he would afford the French all assistance in his power. After conversation with Padres Ephraim and Zenon, Martin supped with the Governor, and on the 19th returned to San Thomé. Meanwhile, the enemy had gained the open space before the Porte Royale which the French had used as a market, whereupon de la Haye walled up the gateway, leaving only a wicket. A sortie, in which the Moslems lost 100 killed, was followed by a thanksgiving service in the Cathedral.

Early in February, 1673, news was received of the declaration of war by the Dutch against the English and French. The *Flamen* brought up a second batch of 200 native recruits from Porto Novo, and provisions were received from this and other southern ports. Activity was displayed on the works of defence, and a covered way was constructed between the Porte Royale and the bastion Colbert. On the night of the 12th February, the enemy being within 100 paces of the walls, a sortie in force was made by the French against their 'De la maitresse' battery, which contained a gun throwing stone balls of great size. The battery was taken, the guns spiked, and the great piece of ordnance, named 'La fleche de Ram,' was loaded to the muzzle and burst. This success was followed by a thanksgiving service. The Moslems, however, retook the battery next day. On the 27th

[1] Mr. Timothy Wilkes, 4th of Council.

a sortie was made from the bastion Colbert. The enemy's nearest intrenchment bristled with pikes and partizans, and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Moors were dislodged, and the French advanced to their third line of trenches, which was defended by a fortified house and pagoda. The enemy lost 200 killed. Next day a fresh advance was made from the town, when the enemy's main trench was found deserted. The French then inclined to the right, and drove the Moslems out of their fortified house and pagoda. General 'Mondelnaigue' was killed, and 'Babasaeb' and 'Boursouraja' were slightly wounded. The Moors, to the number of 2,500, fell back to cover, 600 paces in rear. They sent to announce their retreat to 'Pondemalion,'[1] and asked for the body of Mondelnaigue. This request was granted. Their principal intrenchment was found to be strong and well flanked. Fifty ladders were discovered in it, and 200 leather coats, showing that early assault had been contemplated. The French victory, which was followed by a thanksgiving service in the Cathedral, terminated the first siege.

On the 1st March the Moslems were observed to be in full retreat. De la Haye, after destroying their field works, sent a party of lascars to occupy 'une grande pagode nommé Trivilcany à moitié chemin de St. Thomé à Madras, pour assurer le passage des gens quy yroient dune ville a lautre.' He despatched officers to Madras to thank the Governor for his formal, if doubtfully sincere, congratulations on the raising of the siege. 'Les anglois temoignèrent exterieurement de la joie de la levée du siège. Lon scavoit pourtant quils en estoient fort chagrins; notre vosinage sy proche deux nestoit a leur gout.' On the 5th Langhorn wrote to request that no military action should be taken in connexion with the village adjacent to the 'pagode de Trivilcany quy apartenoit a leur compagnie. Lon scait pourtant bien que les anglois navoient rien a eux au dela du terrain de Madras, Je veux dire au dela de leur ville.[2] . . . Monsieur de la Haye répondit aussy quil nentreprendroit rien sur les lieux de la dépendance de sa Majesté

[1] *Pondemalion*, Poonamallee.

[2] Martin's observation illustrates the prevailing belief that Triplicane was at this period not only outside the limits of Madras, but beyond the sphere of British influence. Langhorn, however, asserted that it had been Company's territory prior to the Portuguese evacuation of San Thomé. Neknām Khān's Cowle of 1672 certainly restored the village to British control.

Britannique ou de leur compagnie, mais quil scavoit aussy conserver ce que les armes du Roy son maistre avoient acquis. Ces refus aigrirent le gouverneur.' Two days later the Triplicane temple was occupied by a garrison of Frenchmen, as the English were suspected of an intention to take possession. Langhorn protested:—

'*Sir William Langhorn to Monseigneur de la Haye.*

'Touchant Triblecaine, comme l'Honble Compagnie l'a eu de long temps, et en a le Cowl du Devan, nous le tenons comme desjay dit merement pour esloigner les Mores et vivre en repos de ce costé là; et n'avons pas sceu que vous ayez pretendu a autre chose que les dependancys de St. Thomas, celle la n'estant pas du nombre, estant en notre possession tandis que les Portuguez jouissoyent de la ditte Ville.[1] . . . Ainsi je vous Supplie de ne pas vouloir nous l'oster pour en faire une fortification si proche d'icy, que nous seroit de si grande subjection que ne pourrions jamais vivre ni dormir en repos. Que si le Pagode vous semble une poste trop incommode pour le laisser ainsy, si vous le rasez pour nostre plus grande securite pendant ces troubles, nous ne nous plaindrions pas du tout, car ne souhaitons pas d'avantage que de pouvoir nous acommoder a devenir bons voisins, comme nous estions avecq les Portuguez auparavant. . . . G.[2] LANGHORN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 7th March, 167⅔.)

THE SECOND SIEGE OF SAN THOMÉ.

It would be possible to compile a fair account of the second siege from Langhorn's voluminous letters to Golconda, supplemented by those to de la Haye.[3] Martin's journal, however, affords a connected narrative, and it is accordingly followed in these pages:—

Embarking some troops on the *Breton* and *Flamen*, de la Haye and Martin set sail for Masulipatam at the end of March, 1673, in view to negotiate with Golconda. De Rebrey, who had recovered from his wound, was left in charge at San Thomé. Arriving at Masulipatam on the 13th April, Martin landed, met the governor, and sent letters to the King and to Sayyid Muzaffar his minister. Meanwhile de la Haye seized several Moorish vessels and burnt others. Notwithstanding the singularity of this mode of promoting negotiations, the King announced that,

[1] That is, prior to 1662.

[2] Guillaume.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 1673-1675. Of the letters of the same period addressed to Fort St. George, a few are preserved in vol. xxvi. Of some others, an abstract will be found in the *Orme MSS.*, vol. cxxxv., but the volume of records to which Orme had access has been lost

on payment of 100,000 crowns, a firman for the possession of San Thomé would be granted, and the troops withdrawn. Satisfied with this arrangement, de la Haye left Masulipatam on the 21st May with the *Breton*, *Flamen*, a ketch, and two prizes. Beating up against the south-west monsoon, the vessels became separated. The *Breton*, with de la Haye and Martin on board, was fortunate in making San Thomé on the 11th June, after a hazardous voyage, but her consorts were driven to the northward and eventually taken or wrecked. Off San Thomé was anchored the Dutch fleet of Admiral Rijklof van Goens, which opened fire on the *Breton*. With difficulty she escaped to the southward. On the 24th June de la Haye again approached San Thomé, to find that the hostile squadron had sailed three days earlier. On landing he was met not only by de Rebrey, but by Director-General Baron, who had arrived with the *St. Jean de Bayonne* and two hookers during the commander's absence. Baron, placing himself under de la Haye's orders, reported that the Dutch fleet had been fired on both by his own vessels and by the town. The *Navarre* and *Sultane*, the latter of which had long been in bad case, had been beached. No provisions had been received of late from Madras, and the Moslems were encamped three leagues away. A few days afterwards came the unwelcome intelligence that Sayyid Mūsā K͟hān, the commander-in-chief at Golconda, was opposed to the cession of San Thomé, and that negotiations were broken off. It became evident that a second siege was inevitable. The troops were reviewed, and found to consist of 204 regulars and 357 marines, besides the Company's servants under M. Baron. Hostilities began on the 29th June, but nothing serious was undertaken before August. A redoubt was traced by the French before the Dauphin bastion to protect the north curtain. This work, which was named Fort d'Orgeret, after its prospective commander, was under construction throughout the month of July. Early in August, the inert Bābā Ṣāḥib was required to resign his command in favour of Chinnapelly Mirza. De la Haye made his first sortie in force on the night of the 10th August, dislodged the enemy, and pillaged their camp. The French were, however, harassed by cavalry during their retreat to the town, and suffered some loss. A Dutch fleet of twelve ships anchored before the place, but, after two days, sailed

northward to intercept the British squadron bound for Bombay. The garrison were occupied in making an intrenchment before the Porte Royale, and in cutting a passage through the bar to permit of the passage of small craft into the river.

On the 1st September seven English ships anchored at Madras, part of the fleet which suffered so severely in the action with van Goens off Pettapolee. News arrived that 500 Hollanders had landed at Sadras and were marching on San Thomé, and that Rijklof van Goens was bringing another force from Pulicat. On the 11th September the Netherlanders were established on the site of the former Moslem camp, and two days later 500 to 600 Dutch, supported by Moorish cavalry, threatened the town. On the 14th the Dutch moved to Triplicane Temple, while the Moslems formed their camp towards the French right at a distance of half a league. The blockade extended even to Madras. On the 16th September the hostile forces came to closer quarters:—

'Ladmiral Reyclof acompagné de trois a quatre cens hommes, avec le general des Mores, Chinapellimirza, a la teste dun corps de cavalerie, vinrent le 26[1] à l'Eglise de Sainte Luze à Six cens pas de la place.[2] Lon crut quils venoient reconnoitre ce lieu pour sy fortiffier et serrer la ville de plus près. Monsieur de la Haye sortit a la teste de deux cens hommes, et savanca a une portée de mousquet pendant que le canon de la ville jouoit, et quy fut bien servy. Il y eut quelques uns des ennemis de tuez. Un boulet donna proche de ladmiral Reyclof quy fracassa les bouteilles quil avoit fait aporter et dont il sattendoit de fair regalle. Il en fut emeu, et se retira aussy tost avec les troupes quy furent se renfermer dans Trivilcany. Il y eut une Ecaramouche entre des gens detachez des deux parties sans aucun effet considérable.'

Captain Deltor, being sent to Madras to gain intelligence, reported that Fort St. George was blockaded, and that the outlying villages had been destroyed by the Netherlanders. Nevertheless, the Dutch officers were being sumptuously entertained by Sir William Langhorn. On the 19th September a mounted party of Dutch and Moors passed to the south of San Thomé, burning the villages on that side. Next day four Dutch ships anchored in the roads, and attacked the town and shipping. Their fire was replied to, but the *Breton* was hulled in twenty places. Shot were also thrown from Triplicane Temple, a mile from the town. Towards the end of the month Rijklof van

[1] The 26th September, N.S., corresponding with 16th September, O.S.
[2] The distance of the Luz Church from the walls was 1,200 yards.

Goens sailed for Ceylon, relinquishing the command of 500 Dutch and a corps of lascars to Heer Pavillon, Governor of Pulicat. On the 30th September, three Dutch ships anchored off Triplicane, and the land force at that village constructed 'un petit fortin de bois, une palissade de cocotiers autour avec un fossé. Ce fort estoit a un distance egalle de la pagode de Trivilcany et du bord de la mer. Ils y donnerent le nom du fort Pavillon du nom de leur commandant. Ils eleverent une batterie, et y mirent cent hommes de garnison. Cestoit pour assurer les debarquemens du bord de la mer.'

During the last three months of the year active operations were few. On the 3rd October de la Haye led the troops to a bridge[1] on the north side, 500 paces distant, where a skirmish took place. On the 18th the commander embarked on the *Breton*, and, accompanied by the *St. Jean de Bayonne* and two hookers, sailed to attack the Dutch ships lying before Triplicane. The latter avoided an engagement, and the French, baulked of their object, returned to San Thomé. The naval manœuvres were witnessed by the interested population of Fort St. George, and by the Moslems, who crowded down to the shore to view the expected fight. A storm on the 24th obliged all the vessels, Dutch as well as French, to put to sea. The unfortunate *Breton* was dismasted, and as the *Flamen* had been captured in the Bay, and the *St. Jean de Bayonne* had gone ashore at Tranquebar, the opportunities of obtaining supplies by sea were much reduced. On the 30th October a sortie was made towards Triplicane, with the usual sequence of a rear-guard action during retreat. On the 11th and 25th November skirmishes took place with the Dutch and Moorish cavalry, the enemy attacking on the second occasion from the Luz Church. This action was marked by the fall of the gallant de Rebrey, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-shot fired from San Thomé. He was buried in the Cathedral,[2] and was succeeded as second in command by the Sieur de Maillé. The month of December was ushered in by persistent rain, which damaged the walls on the

[1] This bridge (now called Barber's Bridge), on the high road to Madras, crossed a drainage channel, at present obliterated except near the bridge, where it has been adapted to the use of the Buckingham Canal.

[2] Although numbers of officers and men must have been buried at San Thomé during the French occupation, it is remarkable that no single monument of the period remains.

west side and flooded the country. A reconnaissance in force was made on the 25th by 500 French and 300 lascars, who advanced a league and breached the bund of an important tank.[1] This was followed by a skirmish with the Dutch.

The treasury being exhausted and provisions low, Martin was despatched to the southward with letters to the Naik of Madura, the 'Duke of Gingee,' Sher Khān Lodī, and the *Zamorin* of Calicut, praying for assistance in money and stores. Martin sailed on the 3rd January, 1674, and next day reached Pondicherry, where there was a small French factory[2] managed by M. l'Espinay. As the resources of Martin and l'Espinay together amounted to only fifty pagodas and twenty louis, little could be purchased. After visiting Sher Khān Lodī, who promised a small loan at 3 per cent. per month, Martin penetrated to the impregnable fortress of Gingee, which he reached towards the end of February. 'Duke Nasirmamet'[3] proffered armed assistance at the price of Pags. 50,000. Martin, being penniless, returned to Pondicherry.

At San Thomé the outlook was unpleasing. The three Dutch ships at Triplicane maintained a rigid blockade of the coast. De la Haye's soldiers were clamouring for pay, and several desertions occurred. Sorties were made in search of provisions. On the 6th February a force of 300 men crossed the Adyar by boat, and marched two leagues to cut paddy. A fortnight later a similar expedition was made to Vellacherry. On the 25th de la Haye received a lance wound in the course of a skirmish with the enemy. The *Breton*, the only ship remaining to the French, was despatched to Pondicherry for provisions, but she was pursued, engaged, and forced to return. In the middle of March, when de la Haye was seriously contemplating evacuation, the arrival of three rice boats from the south gave occasion for a *Te Deum*.

On the 21st April and two following days a terrific cyclone[4] occurred. The waves washed the eastern wall. The *Breton*, the last resource of the French, drove ashore a quarter of a league south of the Adyar, and became a total wreck. Of her crew,

[1] Probably the Mylapore Tank.

[2] Established in 1673.

[3] Nāṣir Muḥammad.

[4] Martin says of the wind, 'Il fit le tour du compas.'



View of San Thomé about 1673,

after John Nieuhoff.

64 were saved out of a total of 120. The dead were buried on the beach. Two of the blockading Dutch ships were also lost. From Madras news was brought of bodies being washed ashore at Fort St. George. One of them, which was believed to be that of the Chevalier de Maison Neuve, commander of the *Breton*, was ceremoniously interred by order of the Governor. Maison Neuve, who happened to be ashore when the storm broke, wrote to thank Langhorn for the kind attention shown to his remains! Workmen were sent to recover what they could from the wreck, a covering party taking post in the woods south of the river. During May two skirmishes occurred and many desertions.

In the following month Captain Pierre Deltor, who had been for some time at Madras, was, together with the Capuchin padres, expelled the place at the instance of Golconda. They made their way to Gingee, and thence to Pondicherry. Many desertions took place among the sailors at Fort Sans Peur, and several from St. Louis. De la Haye himself followed some of the deserters, pressing his horse across the Adyar in unavailing pursuit. On the 25th June he repelled the enemy from the Luz Church. Martin, who was still at Pondicherry, received an offer of assistance from the son of 'Tripachissenapanaique quy a esté autrefois general du Carnate,'[1] but it came to nought. On the 11th July a Dutch fleet of twelve ships, flying the flags of Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, anchored off Triplicane. In the night the enemy advanced on the south side and opened fire from a Jesuit church.[2] De la Haye had announced that any of the garrison could go who were reluctant to stay, yet secret desertion continued. Food was scarce. 'Les gens du Fort Blanc[3] attraperent trois chevaux quy sestoient écartez du camp des mores. Ils les tuèrent et les sallerent pour provision.'

Preparations were made for a sortie in force on the 2nd August, but Major Danval, a soldier of fortune who was appointed to lead it, deserted at the last moment. A rumour spread that provisions were almost exhausted. De la Haye admitted four men from each company to see the bags of rice in store, but concealed from them the fact that all but the top ones were filled with sand. Several

[1] *Tripachissenapanaique*, the same Tupāki Krishṇappa Nāyak who conducted operations against Madras in 1656-1658.

[2] The Māe de Deus Church.

[3] Presumably an advanced redoubt.

sorties were made during the month to repel attacks from the Luz Church and elsewhere. On the 17th a body of the enemy 500 strong, posted along the river, was vigorously attacked and repulsed. A sortie designed for the 19th was abandoned because a senior officer and some others 'venoient de déserter par la redoute quy est entre les bastions le Dauphin et le Soleil.'[1]

Next day de la Haye assembled the troops, and announced to awestruck ears that only eight days' provisions remained at half a pound per man per day. With one voice they begged him to treat with the Dutch. De la Haye accordingly wrote to Pavillon at Triplicane, entrusting the letter to Dr. Thibaudeau, with instructions to keep its purport concealed from the Moors. On the afternoon of the 21st August, Captain Tacq, an officer who spoke French fluently, was sent from the Dutch camp, and terms were discussed. The conference took place in the Jesuit convent, and was resumed the following day. On the 24th, when only one day's provisions remained, articles of capitulation were drawn up, and they were signed on the 27th by de la Haye at San Thomé and by Pavillon at Triplicane. They ran as follows:—

'*Articles de la Redition de St. Thomé remise aux holandois le* 6 *7bre*[2] 1674.

'Premierement, de rendre la ville sans rien détruire, avec tout le canon et munitions de guerre, dans 15 jours.

'Sortir avec armes et bagages, tambour battant, enseignes deployés, meche allumée par les deux bouts, deux pièces de canon de six livres de balle a la teste des troupes, et sembarquer.

'Les holandois fourniront deux navires en Estat de faire voiage de France, avec des vivres pour huit mois, et trente pieces de canon de fer avec leurs munitions. . . .

'Que les deux navires partiront dans quinze jours de St. Thomé, et ne toucheront en aucune terre ou les holandois ont habitation. . . .

'Que du jour du traité il sera fourny a 800 hommes une livre et demy de ris pour chaque homme par jour, avec trois vaches et quinze cabrits quy seront portées journellement a St. Thomé. . . .

'Que les prisonniers quy ont esté faits pendant la siège seront rendus de part et dautre du jour de la signature de ce présent traité.

'Il sera loisible à monsieur le Directeur Général Baron de sembarquer dans les vaisseaux holandois, ou il sera traité en honneur, pour aller à Surate. Sil ne veut, il pourra aller avec toute sa maison par terre, et luy sera fourny un passeport des holandois et des Mores.'

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[1] This redoubt was an advanced work on the north side.

[2] The 6th September, N.S.

'Que quand les troupes sortiront de St. Thomé pour sembarquer, il y aura deux hommes envoiez des holandois quy receuvront les clefs du major de la Ville en attendant que nous sortirons. . . .

'Que sy les holandois veulent donner un convoy, ce sera à leur volonté; mais quils ne pourront empecher nostre droit route en France, ny mettre aucun homme de leur part dans les deux vaisseaux sans la volonté des Francois. . . .'

The treaty caused annoyance to the Moslems since all the honour of reduction fell to the Dutch. A convention, however, was entered into by Holland and Golconda, under which San Thomé was delivered up to Abū,l Ḥasan. That King invited de la Haye to enter his service, but the offer was declined. On the 5th September 'lon envoia a Madras les ornemens des Eglises que lon avoit trouvé dans lEglise cathédrale de St. Thomé.' The Dutch provided two ships—the *Welze* and the *Rammeken*—for the transport of de la Haye's garrison, and the place was evacuated on the 19th September. 'Monsieur de la Haye passa ensuite au bord du navire le Welze quil avoit choisy pour son passage. Monsieur Baron le fit conduire au vaisseau. Après les derniers à Dieux, le Directeur se fit porter a Madras ou il avoit demandé au gouverneur de pouvoir se retirer avec ses gens, en attendant loccasion de passer a Surate.'

Martin's account is confirmed by limited information from other sources. Thus Thomas Bowrey writes[1]:—

'Soe that in fine, they were forced to Surrender up the place, but yet Upon very Honourable terms, vizt., They marched out with bagge and baggadge, theire owne Colours flyinge, trumpets Soundinge, Straight from the Shore on board of 2 men of warre of Considerable force which the Dutch contracted to give them, well fitted with what Necessarie for their returne to France, as alsoe a passaport for theire Safe Conduct. All this the Dutch (although Conquerors) did to be ridde of Such troublesome Neighbours.'

A letter from the Madras Council to England contains the following:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Mons^r^. De la Hay embarqued just now, and resolves to set sayle within few houres. The Dutch pretend to send three shipps along with them as far as Ceyloan, there to deliver up unto him about 100 French prisoners, which will make him up somewhat above 600 men, besides about 60 others bound for Surrat with Mons^r^. Baron. From Ceyloan they pretend that other shipps of

[1] *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, 1669-1679, Bowrey.

theirs shall see him cleare of the Maldives in order to his proceedinge directly for Europe, according to capittulations made the 26 of last month.[1] The Dutch have possession of St. Thoma for the present, but beside their own flag sett up to seaward, they have also sett up that of the King of Gulconda to Landward, to whom it is not unlikely but they may soone after resigne the place, to be dismantled according to their agreement with him. The French had leave to carry off everything except the Artillery, whereof 2 brass pieces were allowed them. They were meerly famished out of the place, haveing not above 5 daies provisions left when they capittulated. . . .

'Since the above, heere has happened nothing of novelty, only that the Dutch have admitted about 1000 of the Kings people into St. Thoma, so have the more hopes to see that place surrendred and razed as has been all this while pretended, which shall not want our furtherance. We sent Mr. Jacob Smith[2] and Mr. Oneal[3] with a present of Europe refreshments of Beer, Wine, Olives and a Parmezan Cheese to Mons^r^. De La Hay, then ready to sett sayle, as he did soone after, which he accepted very kindly, the Dutch not attending him with any of their shipps as given out. . . .

'The Dutch quitted St. Thoma to the Mores and departed the 27th and 28th past,[4] Gov^r^. Paviloen for Paliacatt, and the shipps for the Southward. . . . We hope the Mores will raze it for their own quiet sake, if the French or Portugueses do not fool them into delayes. Mons^r^. Baron is still here on pretence of passage for Surrat, but more likely some such designe; whose stay, though not at all desirable, we know not how to help it as yet.' (*O.C.*, No. 4002, 13th and 16th Sept. and 1st Oct., 1674.)

To return to Martin's narrative:—The *Welze* and *Rammeken* set sail, the former commanded by de la Haye and the latter by Maison Neuve, touched at 'Mascareigne'[5] and St. Helena, and after losing great numbers of men from scurvy, reached France in May, 1675, the *Welze* arriving at Port Louis and the *Rammeken* at La Rochelle. De la Haye was well received by the King of France, and was appointed Commandant of Thionville. He was ultimately killed in action.

DEMOLITION OF SAN THOMÉ.

Before the end of September San Thomé was delivered by the Dutch to the King of Golconda. Martin wrote:—

'Le traité passé entre les holandois et le Roy de Golconde sur lassistance que les premiers ont donné pour le blocus de la Ville de St. Thomé estoit après la prise. Le canon, les munitions, et les autres choses que lon trouveroit dans la place devoient estre partagez en deux parts egalement, lune pour ce prince et lautre pour la compagnie d'Holande. Ce quy fut execute ponctuellement,

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[1] August. [2] Jacob Smith, junior member of Council.

[3] Philip O'Neale, Commander of the Garrison.

[4] September. [5] *Mascareigne*, Bourbon.

et la ville remise ensuite au Roy quy donna ordre de faire porter sa part du canon dans sa capitalle ; ce quy fut aussy observé.'

Langhorn vigorously urged the demolition of San Thomé on the King of Golconda. He wrote as follows to Venkaṭapati, the British political agent at Court:—

'*Governor Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.*

'What I wrote to you to acquaint his highness about the citty of St. Thomay, I still Confirme it. If he does not through it downe wholy, the french will come and take it againe, when the Dutch, being about to make peace with them, will not be able to retake it.

'And that if the King Letts the Dutch keep the place, they will be oblidged to restore it to the french by the articles of the said peace; which pray desire his highness to consider, and in time he will see whether I write the truth or no; but for our parts it concernes us not whether the King through it downe or not. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 13th Oct., 1674.)

'*Governor Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.*

'I wrote you how his highnesse might best raise St. Thomay, who haveing the Country at comand can call them in and make them doe it as they ought to doe, only giveing them Batty.[1] The first worke being to blow up all with Gunpowder, which the Dutch will Lend him Ingeneers to direct if he pleases to send to them about it; and they tould mee possitively that they had Gunpowder enough left there to doe the worke, which Gunpowder, if through age it should be any thing decayed, may I suppose be new mayd with noe greate charge.

'And when once all is myned and blowne up, the country [people] will, I suppose, fetch away the Stones fast Enough, if they may have them for there Paines, which is the Cheapest way I can advise.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 21st Nov., 1674.)

In December, while François Baron was still lingering at Madras, Chinnapelly Mirza proposed to restore San Thomé to the French, together with the King of Golconda's share of its armament, for the consideration of a lakh of pagodas. Baron called a council of his followers, at which the two Capuchin fathers were present. A contract was drawn up and signed by the Director-General. The Dutch, however, gained over the King's minister Mādanā, and the promising scheme was nipped in the bud. In February, 1675, Baron and his followers embarked in the *Diligente* and joined Martin at Pondicherry. Some three months later the Director-General started for Surat by land; a stupendous journey to undertake at the hottest season of the

[1] *Batty*, batta; from Hind. *bhata*, extra pay.

year. Martin, who remained at Pondicherry, with Deltor as second in command, had with him about eighty Frenchmen, including the crew of the *Diligente*. A few released prisoners of war from Chicacole and Trincomallee joined him later. With this scant following, Martin founded the settlement of Pondicherry on ground which had been granted to the French by Sher Khān Lodī, on behalf of the King of Bījāpur, at the time de la Haye took possession of San Thomé.[1] In January, 1676, he obtained permission to build a bastion on the north side, and to enclose the infant settlement with a 'bound hedge.' Such was the beginning of the historic fortress of Pondicherry.

On Baron's departure from Madras, Langhorn wrote as follows to Golconda :—

'Governor Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.

'I observe what you write aboute St. Thomay, which the King is Loath to throw downe because it is soe fine and well built a Citty ; but does his highnesse consider whether he can Secure the place better then it has been from any suddaine attempts from sea, and if he should Consider how many Lack of pagodas it will stand him in, and after all how many fannams a Yeare the Divan will receive from thence towards it. Although truely, for my part, I doe not beleive such places that is without moates and well deciplined Souldiers Seasoned to Europian Artillery can ever make any Considerable resistance when atackt by an Enemy who understands his buissiness.

'Besides, as to the fineness of the place, I have observed that Thornes are by nature very handsomely placed, fine and well poynted, but I never yet found any man who loved or liked them In his sides.

'You do well to mind his Highness how little wee are Pleased with the Con[tin]uing of the ffrench heere, and pray Continue to lett him understand that if at length they should act any thing unpleasing to him on this Coast or Seas, the fault is not ours, but theirs who so unhappily permitted them to remaine here when they might have sent them going with their Consorts. . . .

'The french are this day, the 11th ffebruary, imbarqued as pretended for Pudichery. They doe not incline to leave this Coast yet ; wherefore bee mindfull of the advertisements I have given you as occasions shall present ; and therefore the sooner the Citty of St. Thoma is raised, it will be better for the King's interest. This is my Opinion : his highness may doe what he pleases.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 11th Feb., 167$\frac{4}{5}$.)

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[1] Martin, writing of January, 1673, remarks : 'Monsieur de la Haye, prévoiant a la necessité des vivres dont lon pouroit avoir besoin dans St. Thomé, il fit partir un de ses gardes quil envoia à Pondichery. Le gouverneur quy estoit pour le Roy de Visiapour dans ces cartiers, cestoit Chircam Loudy dont Jay parlé dans cette relation. Nous avions entretenus correspondance avec luy depuis la fin de l'année 70. Sur lavis quil eut de la prise de St. Thomé, Il écrivit à Monsieur de la Haye et luy fit offre dun lieu pour un etablissement sur les terres de son gouvernement.'

In August, 1675, the Dutch, suspecting a French design to regain San Thomé, supported Langhorn in urging Abū,l Ḥasan to demolish the place. Orders were accordingly issued from Golconda in the succeeding month for the destruction not only of the fortifications, but also of the churches and principal buildings, 'detruisant ainsy par la cette belle Eglise dediée au grand Saint dont la ville porte le nom, lun des beaux monumens de lantiquité du Christianisme dans les Indes.' Thanks to the interposition of the Moslem governor of San Thomé, who represented that the demolition of so fine a town would be contrary to the royal interest and would also prove a costly operation, the buildings were spared. Modified instructions were given, under which the demolition of the fortifications was, with the assistance of Dutch and English, undertaken during the last three months of the year. Martin writes :—

'Les holandais y envoierent des gens pour y servir sous le sieur Jager, un de leurs marchands, et quy avoit servy dingénieur a fortifier le pagode de Trivilcany. . . . Les officiers françois, quy estoient allez a Madras pour trouver passage sur les navires anglois, mécrivoient avoir esté sur les lieux que lon ny reconnoisoit plus rien que la porte Royalle que lon estoit après a mettre a bas. Lon tiroit jusques aux pierres des fondemens que lon jettoit a la mer. Les anglois enlevoient néanmoins les démolitions quy leur ont servy a battir les belles maisons quils ont a présent dans Madras.'

Langhorn supplements this account as follows :—

'*Governor Langhorn to Bramine Veancattaputte.*[1]

"I see Maddana[2] has rented all the Cornatt Country. . . . I suppose Muskimia[3] is Nabob, Pollepelle Yangana Tarofdar Generall, and Mamud Tayir Sickeill of Cornatt, but your answere I suppose will make it cleare. . . .

'We have a Letter from them all three brought us by Secretary Chintaamany, the qts.[4] being to desire our assistance towards the Pulling downe of St. Thoma, which though it be a thing which I have always advised, . . . yet wee, haveing noe order from the King my Lord nor the honble Company, it is not safe for us to appeare therein. However, as faithfull freinds to his highness, I have sent the Cheife Engeniers to conferr with his owne and with the Dutch, and to give them the best advice that they can; and have given Leave to any of our people that will take service there during the worke that they may freely doe it.

'I have likewise appointed our people to procure 200 able Cooleys to serve

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[1] Venkaṭapati died in November, 1675, and was succeeded as political agent by his son Vīra Rāgava, or 'Virago.'

[2] *Maddanna*, Mādanā, Brahman Minister at Golconda.

[3] *Muskimia*, perhaps Mustaḳīm Miyān.

[4] *Qts*, contents.

the Dutch overseer Vyagher, or soe many as he shall desire to entertaine, which have been with him, and, as soon as his Instruments come from Pollicatt, they will goe to worke with him. In like manner, if the Kings powder there needs refining, or if they want new Gunpowder, our people shall be ready to supply them as they need to doe, so that wee shall not be wanting to favour the worke, although we cannott appeare in it nor worke in it ourselves without orders from home, as I have always advised his Highness. I have also given leave to any of our people to goe thither to bring away stones or other materialls.

'Mean while the worke goes on very well by means of the Dutch who are there to oversee it; . . . and therefore pray advise the Divan . . . that they will Countenance them with all things fitting, for if they should once be discouraged from attending to it, I doubt the worke would not be so well done nor so soon, the time importing very much that it may be quite razed, and the stones be carryed away or Sunck into the Sea, before any more french ships can appeare to disturb them. . . .'[1] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 9th Oct., 1675.)

The return of a number of Portuguese to occupy, under a Moslem government, their ancient settlement; their attempts to rebuild the walls; the final demolition in 1697 of the remaining fortifications, and subsequent events until San Thomé became British territory in 1749, are matters which will be alluded to in their appropriate places.

[1] Langhorn's reason for not taking a more active part in the work of destruction was his fear of embroiling the Company with the French and Portuguese, both nations having claims on San Thomé.

CHAPTER XXVII

1672—1678

GOVERNMENT OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN—FORT ST. GEORGE RECORDS—THE TOWN RENT—TRIPLICANE—RELATIONS WITH GOLCONDA

GOVERNMENT OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN.

AFTER this long excursion into the history of San Thomé, the thread of Madras affairs is resumed at the point where Sir William Langhorn's government begins. Born in 1629, the son of an East India merchant of the same name, William Langhorn succeeded to his father's business, became a wealthy man, and in 1668 was created a baronet. Accepting a commission to Madras from the East India Company, he arrived at Fort St. George in 1671 to investigate the conduct of Sir Edward Winter, and he assumed charge as Agent and Governor when Foxcroft sailed for England on the 18th January, 1672. Of Langhorn's earlier career little is known, but he himself mentioned in 1673 that he had 'now spent 27 yeares in travells, Studies, and considerable employments.'[1]

The Governor's attention was at the outset devoted to the completion of the negotiations with Nawab Neknām K͟hān for a settlement of the dispute regarding the Town Rent, and for the confirmatory grant of territory and privileges which Foxcroft had so long laboured to obtain. The *farmān* was issued in February, 1672, and shortly afterwards Neknām K͟hān expired. His successor Mūsā K͟hān made no difficulty, however, about recognizing the grant. Within a brief interval King 'Abdullah followed

[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 30th Sept., 1673.

his minister to the grave, and Abū,l Ḥasan,[1] the last of the Ḳutb Shāhs, seated himself on the tottering throne of Golconda.

Langhorn next applied himself to the fortifications which, neglected by his predecessor, were falling into decay. Some anxiety was felt as to the intentions of the French when the first ships of war appeared from Ceylon,[2] and still more apprehension when the effects of the capture of San Thomé were considered.[3] Directly the siege was begun by Golconda, both combatants applied to Madras for assistance, de la Haye seeking provisions, and the Moslems warlike stores. Since the King of Golconda was Langhorn's suzerain, and England and France were in alliance, the Governor's attitude should have been one of strict neutrality. Langhorn, however, leaned towards the French, as the following extract will show :—

Sir William Langhorn to the Honble. Company.

'I have been much censured by most here in Councell, and Mr. Jearsey and other angry men out of it,[4] for not stopping the small supplyes carried hence by stealth to the French; but, considering the Peace between our King and them, and the strict allyance of your Worships with Golcundah, I hold it sufficient that we neither send, ourselves, to either, nor hinder any except such as are in your Pay, whom I do, least their actings should be taken for yours and break the neutrallity. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3729, 1st Jan., 167$\frac{2}{3}$).

The Governor, however, pleased neither party. By the King of Golconda he was bitterly reproached for not preventing the French capture of San Thomé. Meanwhile Langhorn made vigorous efforts to improve the fortifications of Madras and augment the garrison. When war was declared between England and the States General, and the Dutch in India united with Golconda against the French, the situation became complicated. The Dutch fleet under Admiral Rijklof van Goens[5] attacked and worsted the Company's squadron off Pettapolee in August, 1673. Notwithstanding this overt act of hostility, Langhorn determined

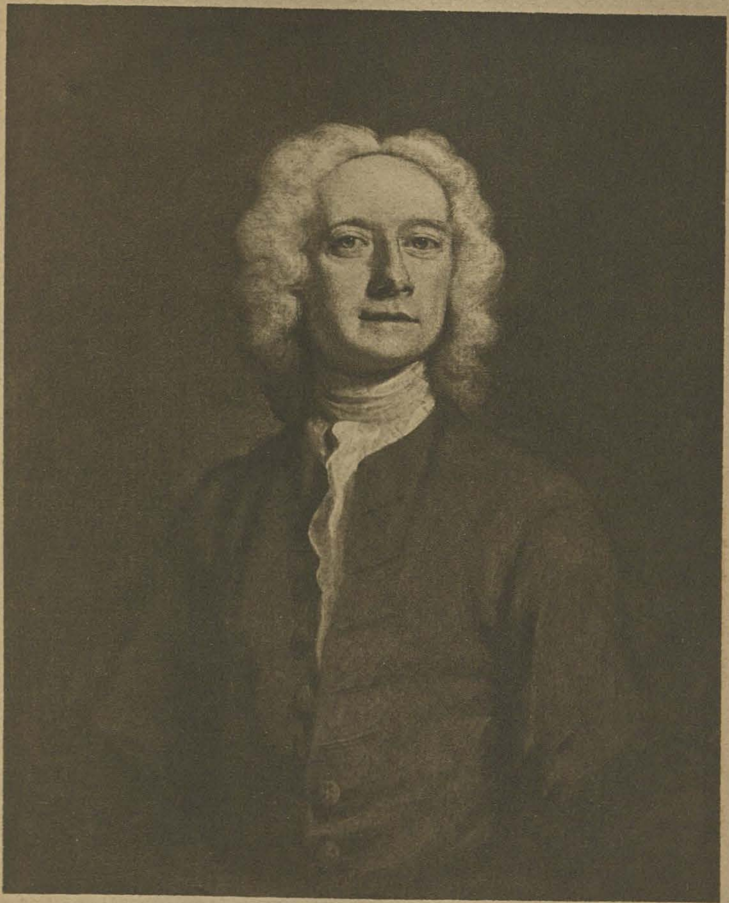
[1] Abū,l Ḥasan was not related to his predecessor. (See *A Voyage to Suratt in the Year* 1689, John Ovington, 1696.)

[2] Fort St. George to Masulipatam, 9th April, 1672. Two advance ships arrived off San Thomé on the 8th April.

[3] *F. St. G. Cons.*, 17th July, 1672.

[4] Jearsey was smarting under the loss of his ship the *Ruby*, which was captured by the French.

[5] Van Goens succeeded Jan Maetsuyker as Governor-General at Batavia in 1677.



Sir William Langhorn, Bt.

that peace on land must be maintained lest his relations with Golconda should be disturbed. Accordingly he submitted to the Dutch occupation of Triplicane, a village which had lately been granted by the Nawab to the British.

On the termination of the siege in 1674, the Dutch restored San Thomé to the King of Golconda. Langhorn, however, was so haunted by dread of a future occupation by a European militant power that he could not rest till he had prevailed on the King to demolish the fortifications of the lately beleaguered town. The work of destruction was so thoroughly accomplished that at this day not one stone remains on another, and the very position of the original walls is unknown.

When demolition became assured, Langhorn was able to devote attention to domestic affairs, and concert measures for the better government of the settlement. In 1676 Major Puckle arrived as Commissioner from the Company to enquire into the administration, and he proposed various reforms connected with the collection of the revenue and regulation of the garrison. In 1678, after ruling for six years, Langhorn resigned his office to Streynsham Master and sailed for England. In the following pages all the matters above outlined are set forth in detail.

Fort St. George Records.

From the time of Langhorn's arrival at Madras are dated the voluminous Government records which are now preserved at Fort St. George. A few words regarding their classification may not be out of place. The volumes are placed at the outset in two series only—viz., the *Public Department Consultations* and the *Public Despatches from England.* The earliest decipherable document is contained in the latter series. It is a letter to Masulipatam, dated the 29th November, 1670, and signed by the Governor of the Company, Sir Andrew Riccard, R. Thomson, the Deputy Governor, and twelve members. It relates to the satisfaction due from Mr. Jearsey for effects in his hands belonging to the Company, and alludes to arrangements for setting Masulipatam affairs in order, and for the sale of the Company's goods to advantage. Of earlier documents only a few fragments remain. The first despatch to Fort St. George which is preserved is dated

8th January, 1674 [1675], and refers to the dubious conduct of Tymanna and Verona in their financial dealings with the Company in the time of Winter and Foxcroft. The letters in the first volume of this series extend to December, 1677. Thenceforward there is generally a volume for each period of about a year.

The series of *Public Consultations* begins with Langhorn's assumption of office in January, 1672, but the records for the first six years are very far from complete. From 1678 there is usually one volume for each year. Every new Governor, however, opened a fresh book; and in later times, as business increased, the number of volumes required to embrace the consultations of a year was multiplied. The condition of the books varies. That of the earliest is generally good, paper and ink of the best quality having been used. Some of the volumes belonging to the end of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century are in bad order; the paper is so brittle that it cannot be touched without risk of damage, and the ink has sometimes faded or spread so much as to render the writing difficult to decipher. When one reflects, however, on the vicissitudes the books have passed through, their exposure to a high temperature and occasionally to salt spray, the risks they have run from attack by the rapacious white ant, and the perils they have encountered through capture by an enemy and transport by sea to hostile territory, it is astonishing that the earlier volumes remain in so good a state of preservation as they are to-day. Each volume of the Public Consultations generally contains lists of the civil servants, the free merchants, and the unmarried ladies. No notice is taken of the garrison.

The Fort St. George letters to the Company form a third series entitled *Public Letters to England*, which commences in 1694. This series is incomplete. There are gaps, for instance, from 1698 to 1705, 1709 to 1711, 1716 to 1720, 1722 to 1727, and 1738 to 1740. Several of the earlier volumes are in very bad condition.

In 1752 it was found necessary to deal separately with military affairs, and the *Military Consultations* were kept distinct from those in the Public Department. There was one volume for each year at the outset, but the number increased to three in 1776, and to eleven in 1783. A series of *Military Despatches from the Court* was

begun in 1755, and one of *Military Letters to England* in 1769. Matters relating to the native powers are dealt with in *Country Correspondence*, commencing in 1753.

In 1774 a separate department was constituted for revenue matters, and we then have a series of *Revenue Consultations*, followed by *Revenue Letters to England* and *Revenue Despatches from the Court.* Towards the end of the eighteenth century further specialization took place, and *Secret*, *Judicial*, and *Political* series were begun. During the nineteenth century a further subdivision was made, but this is outside the scope of the present work.

Among the ancient records are certain minor series, such as *Letters to Fort St. George* and *Letters from Fort St. George.* A long series of *Fort St. David Consultations*, beginning in 1709, was followed by *Letters to Fort St. David* and *Letters from Fort St. David.* There are also numerous volumes concerning special subjects, such as the siege of Fort St. George, the occupation of Manila in 1762 to 1764, the establishment at Fort Marlborough, the settlement at Balambangan, etc. These are classed as *Military Sundries* and *Public Sundries.*[1]

THE TOWN RENT.

For a period of eleven years, which chanced to be nearly synchronous with that of the Moslem tenure of San Thomé from the expulsion of the Portuguese to the arrival of the French, the Nawab had refused to accept the annual payment of Pags. 380 which Greenhill had, in 1658, agreed to pay as a composition for the native government's half-share of the Madras customs collected from strangers. Neknām Khān had, at the same time, insisted on the reception of a resident official to check the amount of the duties payable. This condition was strenuously resisted by Foxcroft, and was eventually withdrawn. Ultimately, it was agreed that the rate of payment should be Pags. 1,000 a year for the past eleven years and Pags. 1,200 a year for the future. A draft cowle was sent up to Golconda at the end of January, 1672, and was sealed by the Nawab on the 23rd February. It ran as follows:—

[1] For further information regarding the classification of the records, see *Handbook to the Madras Records*, Wheeler.

'Copy[1] of a Cowle given by His Excellency the Nabob Yecknam Cawne to the Honorable Sir William Langhorn, Baronet, Governor and Agent for the Affairs of the Honorable East India Company, etc. Council, and their Successors, in Fort St. George in Chinapatam, dated the 23rd of February in the year 167½.

'I do hereby grant that the English shall enjoy from this day forward the same ancient priviledges, as well of the Ground belonging to the Place called Madrassapatam as Narimedo[2] and all other priviledges which they have hitherto enjoyed from the time that the Town of Chinapatam was first situated.

'I do moreover grant, to avoid further differences, that whatsoever Cloth, Goods and Merchandize, and other things that are brought in and carried out by Sea in Ships, Vessels and Boats for the Fort and Town of Chinapatam, and for the English Nation, and all that is necessary for their use, and all what doth belong to them, both in carrying in and bringing out, they shall be no ways obliged to pay any manner of Custom for the same.

'Moreover I have agreed with the above said Governor and Council about the half of the Custom of the Town of Chinapatam that belongs to the Divan which the English remained Debtor for some years past to the latter end of the month of May next ensueing of the year 1672, to pay the sum of 11,000 Pagodas new of Chinapatam, which Sum I have already received,[3] and therefore I do hereby acquit them from all the demands for the time past from this day for ever, having received from the hands of the English the said Sum of 11,000 Pagodas, which I have already satisfied the same to the Divan.

'And from the first day of June next of the said year 1672, deducting the half of the Custom of Chinapatam which belongeth to the Honorable Company, and for the other half that did belong to the Divan I have rented to the English, paying to the Divan and none other the Sum of 1200 Pagodas new of Chinapatam every year at the latter end of it. The said Town shall remain wholly rented for ever under the English so long that the Sun and Moon endureth, and so they shall perpetually enjoy it.

'And the said English shall in no ways be obliged to pay the said sum of 1200 Pagodas of the Rent to any Avaldore or Governors that are round about the Town of Chinapatam.

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[1] The copy was prepared in Madras about 1711 for the use of Surman's Mission. It was transcribed into a book of *Fort William Letters Sent*, 1713-14, which was received in England 4th October, 1715. That book is now missing. Prior to its loss, however, the Cowle was retranscribed in 1787 for the records of the India House. Another and older copy of the Cowle is found at the end of Streynsham Master's Diary. It is dated 31st January, 167½, and appears to contain the words of the draft prepared at Fort St. George, which differed slightly from the text of the document of the 23rd February.

[2] *Narimedo*, from Tel. *nāri*, a jackal, and *medu*, high ground. This portion of Madras territory was presumably identical with the 'Jaccall ground' which was granted by the Rajah of Vijayanagar under his cowle of the 15th November, 1645. It would thus appear that the area covered by Neknām Khān's grant was no larger than that specified in the Rajah's cowle. Triplicane is not mentioned in either document.

[3] The money was not actually handed over until April, when the firman was delivered.

'I do moreover grant that all things that are carried in and out through all the Countries that are under my Government and command, that are for the English's own use, they shall pay no Custom or Juncan for the same; neither shall any Avaldores or Governors of Forts and Places that are round about Chinapatam, under any Government and command, have to do in the least with the Town of Chinapatam; neither shall any of the Avaldores, Governors, or any other Officers of mine stop or hinder in no ways from bringing or carrying all sorts of Paddy or other Grain, Provisions, Cloth, Goods, or any other sorts of Merchandize for the Fort or Town of Chinapatam; and I do grant that there may be no manner of stop or hindrance in the same, and that the English may remain with a quiet heart I have granted them according to Sallabad.[1]

'Neither shall any Avaldore, or any of the Divans people, ever be kept or placed in the Town of Chinapatam; and, as I have done, that no Person whatsoever shall have to do in the least with the Town of Chinapatam, but that it shall wholly remain for ever under the English, where they may accordingly act all *the command, government and justice of the said Town* as they shall think necessary and most convenient to be done. . . .[2]

'Moreover, whereas the English Nation have been always so good and peacable a Nation, dealing in all things whatsoever with a great deal of truth and honesty in all their Concerns, having shewed themselves on all occasions as His Highness the Olampana's[3] real Friends, therefore I do moreover grant them that all whatsoever priviledges are already granted or shall hereafter be granted at any time to any Nation that resides in all the Towns and Places that are under the Government and command of His Highness the Olampana, all the same priviledges shall be granted to the English Nation. . . .

'I do moreover promise hereby that if any person whatsoever shall abuse or wrong the English Nation in any of their dealings or Merchandize, I shall take care to do them justice and right. And in witness whereof I have given this Cowle that the said English and their Successors may enjoy the Contents hereof with a perpetual quietness.

'Dated the 23rd Day of the Month February in the year 1672.' (*Treat.*, vol. iii., 23rd Feb., 167½.)

In the first paragraph of this cowle three localities are specified as assigned to the British—viz., (1) 'The Place called Madrassapatam,' (2) 'Narimedo,' and (3) 'The Town of Chinapatam.' In the second paragraph the last is called 'the Fort and Town of Chinapatam.' When these paragraphs are read in connexion with various allusions in the earlier records, it appears probable that *Madrassapatam*, covering the limits of the pre-British town or village of that name, may have included the whole territory originally assigned by Naik Dāmarla Venkaṭappa; that *Chinapatam* was the specific name of the new fort and town

[1] *Sallabad*, sālābād, prescriptive claim; from Pers. *sāl*, year, and Ar. *ābād*, ages.

[2] Here follows a paragraph about the recovery of wrecks.

[3] *Olampana*, 'Alam-panāh, world-refuge, a title of the King of Golconda.

which the English erected within those limits, but south of the original village; and that *Narimedo* was ground adjacent to the native town on its west side, which was thrown in by the Rajah of Vijayanagar when he confirmed the Naik's grant in 1645. No mention is made of Triplicane; and we may conclude that Neknām K͟hān's grant applied to just so much territory as was acquired under Rajah Srī Ranga's cowle of 1645. The limits of that territory are believed to be those shown on the map of 1733.[1] A lease of Triplicane was granted in 1672 by Neknām K͟hān's successor, but there is good reason to conclude that this village was temporarily under the control of Fort St. George for a short period anterior to 1662.

The annual payment of Pags. 1,200 was known as the Town Rent. A separate amount of Pags. 50 was afterwards demanded for Triplicane, but eventually the sum of Pags. 1,200 was held to cover the whole territory. That rate was paid until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the rent was finally remitted by Muḥammad 'Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic.[2]

A lady designated 'Butche Paupana,' of the family of that Chennappa Naik whose name was given to the English Fort and town, contributed to the negotiation with Neknām K͟hān. Early in January, 1672, 'our Bramine Yenkatapotte at Gulconda' sent a very prolix report[3] to Governor Foxcroft announcing that 'the daughter of Damerla Timapanague being heere, I have assisted her, and made an end of some of her business with the Nabob; and whereas our towne was made at first by her Unckle Agapa Nague[4] [who] was the man that made and begun Chinapatam, after which the English have populated and augmented [it] so much that his name remaines now known in all parts.' The political agent explained that, on an earlier occasion, he and Verona had in vain appealed to the Nawab to let the English retain their town on the old terms; 'after which wee went to speake with Ackapa Nague and Timma Nague, acquainting them of the answer the Nabob gave us; and then they both went to the Nabob and told him that Chinapatam was made in their father's name, and that strangers do live in it, and if his Excellency should

[1] Bounded by a red line.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 31st Aug., 1752.
[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxvi., 8th Jan., 167½.
[4] Aiyappa Nāyak, brother of Dāmarla Venkaṭappa.

not rent the said towne to the English, twill never be populated or augmented.' Neknām K͟hān, however, remained obdurate. Coming to the present time, the political agent stated that, in accordance with Foxcroft's instructions to enlist Butche Paupana's aid, he had lately accompanied 'the said woman's people to the Devan.' Audience was granted, notwithstanding that Neknām K͟hān was sick and confined to his room. The 'principall man belonging to the said woman told the Nabob that his Mistress had sent him to acquaint his Excellency that the towne of Chinapatam was made in her Uncles name,' and that the Nawab's contentions were opposed to the original conditions of tenure. The political agent himself was then heard: Neknām K͟hān appeared impressed by the arguments set forth, and named the terms on which he would grant a cowle.

In this letter Butche Paupana is represented as the daughter of Timmappa Nāyak, brother of Aiyappa, while Timmappa and Aiyappa are sons of Chennappa Nāyak. Hence Paupana would be granddaughter of Chennappa. In a letter received by Langhorn in March, however, the lady calls herself Chennappa's great granddaughter:—

Butche Paupana to Sir William Langhorn.

'I am in good health and do wish to heare the like from your Worship. I have received your Worship's letter and have read it.[1] I have understood all which was mentioned. In the time when some of my relations begun to situate the towne of Chinapatam in the name of my Grandfathers father Chinapanague, as your Worship's nation is a great and understanding people, and my said relation[s] having favoured and assisted in all what they could then to your Worship's nation, therefore they did so much with that towne that the name and memory of the said my Grandfathers father is spoken and known so much through all the countries, when your Worships nation have augmented the said towne so much; hereby have resulted so much honor and creditt to my grandfathers father[s] ashes through the world. Tis not so much that I should also endeavour what I could in the said townes business, as by my duty I ought to do, that she [*sic*] may remain honored perpetually; and therefore I went to desire his Excellency, and gott him to grant your Worship the Coull after the desired manner. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxvi., 8th March, 167½).

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[1] The volume containing Langhorn's letter is missing. The document, which was dated 5th Feb., 167½, was, however, seen by Orme. (*Orme MSS.*, vol. cxxxv., sec. 4.)

The cowle was brought down from Golconda in April by Venkaṭapati, the British political agent:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Our Bramine arriveing the 7th current from Gulcondah with the Cowle from the Nabob for this Fort and Towne of Chinapatam, and his servants with him; also Barigola Yerakana Naigue from Ponnemoly, with sixty Peons, appointed by the Nabob to receive the 11,000 pagodas agreed to be paid him by Agent Foxcroft and Councill for the Divans use, In full of all demands for the time past and to the end of May next, from which time, at each yeares end, it was likewise agreed by the aforesaid Agent Foxcroft and Councill to pay the Divan 1,200 pagodas per annum yearely Rent, and so hold this Fort and Towne free from any Aveldore or Divans people, or any other Imposition for ever; and the Nabob having declared that if through our fault it was not brought to him within sixty days from the 10th of March last, that the Cowle should be void and of none effect, It is resolved to pay the said money unto the said Naigue for the use of the Divan without delay, hee being to take charge thereof by order of the Nabob; and likewise to despatch away our said Bramine Yencata Puttee after him with all expedition, hee being to goe along with the said money. . . . WM. LANGHORN, JO. HYNMERS, JNO. BRIDGER, TIM. WILKES, JA. SMITH.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 11th April, 1672.)

Immediately afterwards, news was brought of the death of Neknām Khān and the succession of Sayyid Mūsā with the title of Khān Khānān.[1] The new Nawab raised no difficulty about confirming the cowle:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Nabob Yecknam Cawne being deceased, and Mussa Cawne chosen in his place, haveing sent us a Confirmacon of the Agreement and Phirmand made by and with his Predecessor, with promise that he will be noe less, nay more a friend to us then hee was, and that wee should look upon the Phirmaund, etc., as received not from Yecknam Cawne but himselfe, It is resolved to be very necessary that, at his first entrance upon his Government, and our Bramines first appearance before him with the Divans Money, that a Present be made him befitting his quallity. . . . Accordingly, it is by all resolved that the Present be made in fine Scarlett, Lookeing Glasses and such like, to the value of pagodas 500 new, and to be sent along with our said Bramine Yencata Puttee, now came back from Punamele on purpose to conferr about this affaire. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 25th April, 1672.)

A *farmān* from 'His Highness the Ollumpana' dated the 23rd February, 1676, recited and confirmed Neknām Khān's cowle.

[1] François Martin states that Sayyid Mūsā became Generalissimo, and Sīdī Muẓaffar Chief Minister. The former was probably both Nawab of the Carnatic and Commander-in-Chief.

The only modification lay in the addition of the town of Triplicane to the territories granted to the English.[1]

TRIPLICANE.

The village of Triplicane, remarkable for its ancient temple dedicated to Srī Parthasārathi, lies immediately south of Madras on the old road between Fort St. George and San Thomé. Its limits, as shown on the map of 1733 ,embrace a portion of the Island. This proximity to Madras notwithstanding, only two references to the village have been traced in the records between the founding of Fort St. George and the French capture of San Thomé. The first, in 1654, alludes to Timmaṇṇa's benefactions to the Triplicane temple,[2] and the second, in 1662, to the desertion of soldiers who had been granted special leave to proceed to the village.[3] Neknām Khān's confirmatory cowle of 1672 for Madras territory is silent as to Triplicane; but in the following July Mūsā Khān, Neknām's successor, in granting the village to the British at a rent of Pags. 50, mentioned that it had been under the control of Fort St. George at an earlier date, but had been resumed by the Nawab during the dispute about the Madras customs. No effective steps towards occupation were taken by the British in 1672, and in the following year de la Haye placed a garrison in the Triplicane temple. Langhorn remonstrated, stating that not only did he hold the Nawab's grant, but that the village had belonged to Fort St. George before the Portuguese evacuated San Thomé.

Thus it is established that the British held Triplicane before 1662, and the question of the date of its acquisition arises. The grants which have been preserved—viz., those of the Naik and Rajah Srī Ranga, make no mention of the place. The cowle given by Mīr Jumlah in 1647 is not extant, but Ivie says that the Nawab 'confirm'd under the King of Gulcondahs great seale all our former priviledges in ample manner, as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King.'[4] Having regard to the subsequent differences with Golconda, the next opportunity

1 *Treat.*, vol. iii., 23rd Feb., 1676.
2 *O.C.*, No. 2441, 2nd Dec., 1654.
3 *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xiv., 8th Oct., 1662.
4 *O.C.*, No. 2046, 9th Oct., 1647.

for acquisition of territory was in 1658, when the agreement for the payment of Pags. 380 for the Madras customs was arrived at. No reference is made to Triplicane, but Greenhill says that Madras was left 'in better condition than formerly.'[1] On the whole, 1658 seems the likeliest date for acquisition.[2] It could not have been much later, for in 1661 or 1662 Neknām Khān repudiated the agreement, demanded the admission of a resident havildar, and soon afterwards resumed possession of Triplicane pending compliance with his demand. The following extracts embody the principal references in the records to the grant of the village. The first document is Nawab Mūsā Khān's order of restitution, addressed to the governor of Poonamallee :—

'*Nabob Mussa Cawncana to the Tarafdar*[3] *Mahomed Salabeg at Punnamale.*

'Whereas the towne of Triblicane was rented formerly to the English Captain according to Salabad[4] at 50 pagodas per annum; and am now informed that the late Nabob Neknam Cawn have taken the said towne away from the said Captain and kept it for the Divan's account by reason of the difference about Chinapatam buisnesse, and that the said Captain having made an end allready of the said buisness; and therefore I have now rented the said towne of Triblicane to the said Captain for 50 pagodas per annum according to Salabad. Seeing this, you must lett the said Captain take possession of the said towne of Triblicane according to Salabad, and so keep the Coppie of this letter by you, and returne this originall back againe to the said Captain.'[5] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxvi., 12th July, 1672.)

In the following year, during the interval between the two sieges of San Thomé, de la Haye occupied Triplicane in order to secure passage for his supplies. François Martin gives expression to the prevailing belief that the village was still under

1 *Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. ix., 12th July, 1658.

2 In a Consultation of 1693, the statement appears that 'Triplicane was granted to the English at the same time that Chinapatam was' (*P.C.*, vol. xx., 26th Dec., 1693), but the reference can scarcely be to the Naik's grant of 1639. It probably applies to the King of Golconda's *farmān* of 1676, in which both Chinapatam and Triplicane are specifically mentioned.

3 *Ṭarafdār*, the officer exercising chief revenue and police authority in his *ṭaraf*, or district comprising several villages.

4 *Sālābād*, established usage.

5 This document appears to be the result of an application, dated 13th April, 1672, addressed by Langhorn to Neknām Khān, for the restoration of Triplicane at a quit-rent of Pags. 50. The application, now lost, is mentioned by Orme. (*Orme MSS.*, vol. cxxxv., sec. 3.)

the control of Golconda; but Langhorn addressed several letters of remonstrance to the French commander:—

Sir William Langhorn to M. de la Haye.

'Cependant V. E.[1] occupe Triblicain qu'est de la ditte Compagnie (et non pas de Verana),[2] possede par eux de long tempts, et apres quelque differends avecq les Mores, en ayant le Cowl du Deuan renouvelle devant vostre arrivée; et y fortifies dedans moins que la Portee du Cannon de cette Place. Considerez, je vous Supply, si cela est de raison; et les autres vilages rente par nostre ordre au nom de Verona, non tant pour l'utillete que pour avoir un peu de liberte aux environs. . . . G.[3] LANGHORN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 5th March, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.)

Two days later he added, in a letter which has been already transcribed, that Triplicane was not one of the villages dependent on San Thomé, 'estant en nostre possession tandis que les Portuguez jouissoyent de la ditte Ville.'[4] A third letter ran as follows:—

Sir William Langhorn to M. de la Haye.

'Monseigneur, Comme je vous ay desjay escrit, Triblecain este en nos mains de long temps, qu ayant rentte et non pas autrement: et apres quelques differends avecq les Mores, l'Honorable Compagnie a eu le Cowl renouvelle par le vieux Nabob devant vostre arivee, apres avoir est[é] quelque temps sequestre: de la quelle les raisons et la resolution de ne le pas fortifier sont dignes de vous, et J'espere que barnebe ffonceca satisfera V.E. que nos Pretensions sur cette Village ne vous seront gueres incommodes. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., March, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.)

During the second siege, the Dutch made Triplicane their base of operations against San Thomé, apparently without remonstrance from the English Governor. At the end of 1673, Sir William addressed his political agent at Golconda regarding French claims to several villages around Madras:—

'*Sir William Langhorn to Bramene Yenkataputte.*

'I understand the ffrench Vice Roy desires or demands of the King severall townes here abouts, as Codamback, Yeagamour, Tricambar, Triblicane, Chepack, Podupacu, Mamalum, the townes which formerly depended upon St. Thoma, which by all meanes endeavour to hinder. Triblicain, you know, has alwayes

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[1] *V.E.*, Votre Excellence.

[2] Verona, however, rented several of the villages round Madras.

[3] For Guillaume.

[4] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 7th March, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

been in our hands;[1] Yeagamour is in hassan Cawn[s][2] hands, and Nimynbacka, Chepacka, Podupacka and Condour,[3] and severall other townes also which are very convenient for us to take our recreation in, who have no other designe in this Country but to live peacably and undisturbed in our buisness. . . . (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 12th Dec., 1673.)

In 1676 the King of Golconda issued a *farmān* which not only confirmed Neknām Khān's cowle of 1672 for Madras, but specifically recognized Triplicane as British territory. The following note of it has been preserved:—

'*Translate of a Phirmaund and Cowle granted by His Highness the Ollumpana to the Honble Sir William Langhorne, Governor and Agent, &c. Council, and their Successors, for the Affairs of the Honble East India Company in Fort St. George at Chinapatam.*

'To the same purpose as the forgoing granted by the deceased Necknam Cawn, which is recited and confirmed, except in it's included the ground belonging to the Town of Triplicane.' (*Treat.*, vol. iii., 23rd Feb., 1676.)

The village was then farmed to Verona, the Company's Chief Merchant, and on his death to his successor Pedda Venkaṭādri. In 1681, after cancellation by Streynsham Master of Venkaṭādri's lease, Lingappa, governor of Poonamallee, intervened:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. v., 22nd and 28th Feb., 168$\frac{0}{1}$.)

'The Towne Treplicane, which hath in forme[r] [yea]res been under the Company, and when the Rent was no[t pa]id for this Towne for about Eleven yeares, was taken fr[om] them and afterwards returned, as appeares by Moos[a] Chauns Rocca,[4] anno 1672, for 50 Pagodes per annum, and [th]e Kings Phyrmaund, procured anno 1676, mentions it to be under us as this place is. Which Towne having been left to Verona, and since his death to his successor, It was, upon this occasion of Pedda Yenkatadrys miscarryages, thought fit not to have it longer under him, but to appoint the Companys Peons to take care thereof; in order to which PeddaYenkatadry was spoken to the 14th Instant to order his servants to withdraw thence. . . . And this day there came a letter from Lingapa to the Governour about the said Towne, declaring he had given it to Pedda Yenkatadry paying 50 Pagodas per annum for Gods sake[5] for it; and rather then we should take it from him, he had now ordered it under

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[1] These words should not, it is considered, be read too literally.

[2] *Hasan Khān*, *alias* Verona.

[3] Egmore, Nungumbaukum, Chepauk, and Poodoopauk, are now well-known suburbs of Madras. The identity of 'Condour' has not been determined.

[4] *Rocca*, from Ar. *ruk'a*, a letter.

[5] *For God's sake*, for the use of the temple.

Durmaray Moodalaree,[1] the Avaldar of St. Thoma ; with many other arguments to affright us from taking it under us. . . .

'28th Feb. Received a second letter from Poddela Lingapa about Treplicane, wherein he says he will neither give it for Gods sake nor let Pedda Yenkatadry have it ; but Resolve to take it under Pullemele, threatening much that will be done to us upon Accanas[2] comeing downe, who is now on the way.'

Relations with Golconda.

The Moslem commanders at San Thomé were not on friendly terms with the Governor of Fort St. George. They suspected him of helping the French, and accused him to the King. Langhorn strenuously denied the charge in his letters to his political agent at Golconda. The following consultation and letters throw light on the situation :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Agent and Councell taking into consideration the many troubles which the Commanders and Aveldars in the Moors Camp before St. Thoma dayly cause us, and falsetyes they report to his Excellency the Nabob to provoke him against the Honble Company, . . . and finding that there is no remedy, but that . . . we must endeavour to make them our freinds, especially Sobnees Kisnapa, the Nabobs second Bramini, and Giaggapa, cheif bramini to Baba Saib whose Camp lyes next to us, which Sobnees Kisnapa and Baba Saib, being troublesome persons, must be dealt with ; it is thought fitt to give Cassa Verona instructions in order thereto. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 20th Oct., 1672.)

In March, 1673,[3] the Governor wrote to Venkaṭapati the political agent, 'Pray acquaint his Excellency that we have now notice that Babba, with Bussora and Shaccala Kisnapa are coming with their people to fire this Towne, wherefore we are preparing to bid them welcome.' In the following month Langhorn added,[4] 'I perceive that Chinapelle Meirza is sent downe to command the army against the ffrench. Now he haveing been an enemie to this place, although the justice of the late Nabob restrained his unkind intentions, I can expect no better from him now, but that he will take all occasions to exercize his Spleane against us.' This anticipation was justified by the event :—

[1] *Durmaray Moodalaree*, Dharmarāy Mudaliyār.

[2] *Accana*, Ākanā, joint Minister with Mādanā at Golconda.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 11th March, 167⅔.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xvii., 18th April, 1673.

Sir William Langhorn to the King of Golconda.

'I am now to acquaint your highness how that the Dutch, with Traimback Bussora and other commanders of yours, being drawne near to St. Thoma againe, Chinnapelle Meza and Mahumed Sala, two of your Captaines, have taken upon them to Sett their people round about this place also to beseige us, and [not] only to stop all provisions but our very fuell and Callicoes, or any other Sorts of Merchandize which they can meet with. . . . The Dutch are at this time both at Triblecain and in our Road within the reach of our Gunns between us and St. Thoma, and in respect to your highness, whose Service they are now in, we give them no manner of Molestation, but use them with the same Civillity and kindness as if they were your owne people. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 30th Sept., 1673.)

Writing at the same time to 'Namdar Cawn the Nabob,' who appears to have succeeded Mūsā Khān in the Carnatic, Langhorn, after congratulating him on his appointment, observes, 'If the late Nabob of honoured memory, Yecnam Cawn, had raised St. Thoma in Stead of fortifying it, he had secured the whole Court [? Coast], and prevented this mischief, which now will cost a great deale of labour to regaine." Langhorn's views as to the ultimate disposal of San Thomé were expressed as follows :—

'*Sir William Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.*

'The French and Dutch and all others will judge of the Kings power by the even[t] of this warr, and will take their owne measure thereby. My opinion to such an unquiet nation as they [is that] . . . a Factory without any fort were the most that should be allowed them, and that as farr from St. Thoma as can bee; for should the place bee taken and demolished, and they once suffered to have a Factory neare unto it, they will never bee quiet till they refortify. . . .

'If any nation has a Right to it, it is the Portuguess and none else ; though it were best for the Kings service that neither the one nor the other had it, but it were quite demolished ; and then the King would enjoy it and the rents all here abouts without either charge or disturbance. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 12th Dec., 1673.)

The second siege was less active, though more effective than the first. Langhorn wrote :—

'*Sir William Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.*

'Mierza, who keepes the cheife command of the Camp in his own hands, has layn all this time . . . behind Triblicane and the Dutch quarters, and never done any Service at all, whereas Bassoura, whom hee was pleased to tax with Cowardice, and Madala naigue in half the time brought their approaches close to the walls of St. Thoma,[1] and no doubt had given a very good account

[1] The first siege is referred to, at the end of which Maṇḍala Nāyak was killed.

of the Seige if Muddala Naigues men had not all left him for want of pay, after the poore man had sold and pawned all that hee could make mony of to keep them together. . . .

'I have settled 8 severall Corps de Guard of Blacks, and five severall Corps de Guard of English all alongst the Sea side of this Fort and Towne, all with strict orders to prevent the sending out of provision, and am most certaine that none doth or can pass with Mierzas or the Dutch noates [sic], which I think is as much as can bee either done by mee or desired from mee.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 22 Feb., 167$\frac{3}{4}$.)

In the course of the year the King of Golconda issued his first *farmān* for Madras, confirming all existing privileges. The following note regarding its substance was sent to Bengal early in the eighteenth century[1]:—'Anno 1674, the King of Golcondah granted a general Phirmaund confirming all our ancient privileges according to Sallabad, and permitting us to build Ships any-where on the Sea-Coast: and issued out a Husbullhookum[2] to all his great Officers throughout the Kingdom, strictly prohibiting them from molesting us in our Trade by exacting Custom or Juncan-Money in any of the Ports or Places in his Country.' Then followed the *farmān* of the 23rd February, 1676, as already noted. A 'Rocca from the Nabob Mahomed Ibrahim Cawn, dated 9th June 1677' is to the same effect.

On the conclusion of the siege of San Thomé, the Naik of Tanjore and Madura offered settlements at Negapatam and Tuticorin as the price of British assistance to be given him against the Dutch. Langhorn, however, discountenanced the proposition on the ground that the locality produced no merchandise of value.[3] Meanwhile the King of Golconda lost all grip of his government, and left the direction of affairs to his ministers. The effect was felt in Madras in the power assumed by Lingappa, governor of Poonamallee, an officer who from the outset showed himself unfriendly to the English at Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Things are soe much out of order in this Country through misgovernment at the Helm, the King minding nothing but his pleasures, and getting in monys by right or wrong, and redress soe hard to come by that for this five months we have hardly been able to gett soe much as an answer from the Divan, and

1 *Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. ix. *Collections to illustrate the Origin of Fort St. George*, 1789.

2 *Husbullhookum*, a document issued by officers of state under royal authority; from Hind. *ḥasb-ul-ḥukm*, according to order.

3 *O.C.*, No. 4044, 12th Jan., 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

yet our Bramany Egyb[1] constantly solliciting. The Kings Phirmaunds themselves slighted by his Tarofdars, great Officers, as perticulerly by Poddala Lingapa, a Bramany sent down with great authority over all these parts, who attempted to have broke your Cowle and Phirmaund by bringing your Agent a Phirmaund and Tasheriff,[2] and expecting a present . . . ; which he, weighing the great consequence, did with the advice of Councell timely oppose, and has at length overcome, and been commended for so doing from the Divan itself. But in the meanwhile the said Poddala Lingapa left no stone unturned to create us trouble in your business, stopping of paddy and callicoes, raising the Inland Customes, and not ashamed to say the King was a man that would not keep his word. . . .

'These difficulties, with our seasonable and constant opposition, as well heere as at Court, and pishcash sent up, and the great interest which Cassa Verona, your chief Merchant, has all over the country, we have at length carryed it ; the said Cassa Verona having now all the Coast along from hence to Armagon, except Paliacat, in his own hands. . . . Having received the King's Phirmaund with all due honour at your Garden out of the Towne,[3] but not the Tasheriff, all things are quiet for the present, and long may they soe continue. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4100, 16th July, 1675.)

A year later affairs in Golconda were even worse. The minister Mādanā Pant had sole control, and nothing was thought of but 'pilling and squeezing the people.'

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The two great Ministers Seidmar Giaffer[4] and Mussa Cawn laid aside and all taken from them. Chinapelly Meirza dead of poyson, and upon that Polepelly Vengana chaubuck'd[5] and turned out by Maddana to take the envy off of himself. Mahomed Hibrahim first made great Serkell[6] for pagodas 60,000 bribe, then, for pagodas 50,000 more, great Nabob (in place of Muskimia laid aside), and then part of his Government taken from him and given to Polepelly Vengana. Mahomed Sala three yeares since turned out of the Government of Ponnamaly Province which was given to Poddela Lingapa, and himself lately made Serkell of the Cornatt Country under the Nabob, and then restored to his government of Ponnemaly Province, and then taken from him and given back to Paddela Lingapa on promise of greater extortions. Bobba Saib for mony made Serlaskar[7] in place of Mahumed Meirza Amin, but just before succeeding, Chinapelly Meirza causing such disturbance that we have much adoe to obtain the receipts for the Town Rent, which yet we dare not stop on that score least they should take advantage and forfeit the Charter. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 23rd July, 1676.)

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1 *Egyb*, an envoy; probably from Pers. *hājib*, a minister, through Tel. *hejib*, a clerk or writer.

2 *Tasheriff*, a complimentary gift.

3 The Company's Garden in Muthialpetta, which was distinct from the Town Garden by the Burial-ground.

4 *Seidmar Giaffer*, Sayyid Mīr Jaffar.

5 *Chaubuck'd*, beaten ; from Hind. *chābuk*, a whip.

6 *Serkell*, minister, viceroy, governor.

7 *Serlaskar*, commander-in-chief ; from Pers. *sar*, head, and *lashkar*, army.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Meanwhile, as the Government of the country is now in so bad hands, nothing but fraud and oppression, and so voyd of shame that no Creditt can be given to either agreements, promises, Cowles or Phirmaunds, we find ourselves necessitated to go listing of souldiers and peons as we can meet with good men to increase our In and out Guards; . . . but which levys we shall be fain to keepe up more or less, notwithstanding any present composure, untill we see some better regulation in the Divans proceedings; for these Bramanys now in power are so wholly sett upon treachery and surprisall that there is no relying nor confidence can be put in them. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 22 Dec., 1676.)

The movements of the Marāthas began to excite attention at Fort St. George in 1676. Writing to Bombay in May, Langhorn observed:—'Wee have no certainty of Sevagees as yet, but it is reported as if his brother Eccogee, hitherto in the Visapores Service on the Southern frontier, haveing surprised a Mountaine and woody Country hitherto unsubjected, has sett up for himself.'[1] In June, 1677, the Council reported to Bantam that Sivājī was serving the King of Golconda against Bījāpur, that he had taken Gingee, stripped Ekojī of his possessions, and laid siege to Vellore. In October, Bantam was informed that Sivājī had pillaged Porto Novo and made himself master of the adjacent country. Before the end of the year, it was reported that Ekojī, advancing from Tanjore, had engaged his brother Santojī at Gingee and worsted him.[2] In 1678 a Marātha force approached Madras:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Yesterday there came intelligence from Congee Voram (which is the Chief Citty of these parts and about 40 Miles distance) that there was 1000 or 1500 of Sevagees Horse under the command of Santogee his Brother, which appeared before that place; wherefore the inhabitants were put into great feares, thinking the Towne would be taken and plunder'd. And they reported alsoe that those Horse, with other forces, now intended to proceed further into the King of Gulcondahs country, and to take Pullimelee Castle about 10 Miles inland from us. But this day came other persons from Congee Voram, who reported that those Horse of Sevagees, about 1000, came thither in pursuit of some Vizapore foot that were intended to releive and succour Veloor Castle which hath been beseiged by Sevagees forces these 14 Months. . . . The said Castle of Veloor is now surrendred to Sevagees forces. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 21st Aug., 1678.)

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[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xviii., 13th May, 1676.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xviii., 6th June and 8th Oct., 1677.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1672—1678

RELATIONS WITH THE DUTCH—REFORM OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

Relations with the Dutch.

On the 16th May, 1673, while de la Haye was still absent at Masulipatam, a Dutch fleet of thirteen ships, under Admiral Rijklof van Goens, arrived at Madras and, though England and Holland were at war, anchored under the guns of Fort St. George. Writing to the political agent Venkaṭapati on the 8th June, Langhorn says that he refrained from firing on the fleet only out of respect to the King of Golconda. He considered that the Dutch were not likely to be successful against San Thomé, where the French had 800 Europeans (besides 250 at sea with de la Haye) and a number of native auxiliaries. There was, however, only one good ship then at San Thomé, three large vessels having been broken up.[1] On the return of de la Haye, Langhorn wrote as follows to Masulipatam :—

Occurrences from Fort St. George.

'What resolution Van Ghonce will take now that the French Vice Roy is gott in with his ship[2] of 65 Brass Guns to St. Thoma . . . I cannot tell. . . . I hope hee will return back for Ceyloane. This I doe observe, that they durst not attempt three small ships in St. Thoma Roade a second time, finding I suppose that the Towne outgunned them the first.

'Wee have here 70 Gunns planted to the sea will play into our Roade well, although not so good as those, yett are demy cannon, whole and demy culverin and Saker,[3] and more wee expect by your ships with ammunition, &c.' (*Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, 26th June, 1673.)

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[1] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 8th June, 1673. [2] The *Breton*.

[3] *Demy cannon, whole and demy culverin and Saker*, pieces throwing shot of 36, 18, 10, and 5 lb. respectively.

The Company's fleet of ten ships was then off the Coast. It left England for Fort St. George and Bombay in the previous December under the command of Captain William Bass as senior officer. One of the vessels, the *Unity*, carried Dr. Fryer as a passenger. To illustrate the size and strength of the Company's ships of the period, Fryer's description is here given[1]:—

'It was the 9th of *December* in the Year of our Lord 1672 when, by virtue of an Order from the Honourable East India Company, I being received on Board the *Unity*, we took of each other a long Farewel; the Ship then breaking ground from *Graves-end*, to fall down to the *Buoy in the Nore*.

'The *London*, our Admiral, lay expecting our whole *East-India* Fleet there, which were Ten in Number; to whom his Majesty, *Charles* II., was pleased to grant Letters of Mart,[2] which impowered them to wear the King's Jack, Ancient[3] and Pennant, and to act as Men of War (the *English* and *French* at this time being at open Defiance against the *Dutch*).

'*A List of the Ships, Names of Commanders, Number of Passengers, Soldiers, Seamen, Tuns and Guns.*

Ships	Comman.	Pas.	Sol.	Seam.	Tun	Gun	Squadrons
London	Capt. Bass	03	14	120	500	40	Admiral[4]
Massenberg	C. Westlock	09	10	100	560	44	
Bombaim	C. Erwin	03	08	083	400	40	
Unity	C. Craft	02	08	076	350	34	
President	C. Hyde	03	16	120	500	42	Vice-Admiral[4]
Ann	C. Brown	04	12	097	550	36	
East India Merchant	C. Cooly	03	10	090	400	36	
Sampson	C. Erning	03	12	100	460	40	Rere-Admiral
Cæsar	C. Andrews	03	03	130	560	46	
Antilope	C. Golsberg[5]	03	12	094	460	36	

In August the fleet encountered van Goens off Pettapolee: engagement ensued which is thus described by Captain Bass:—

Captain William Bass to the Governor of Bombay.

'These are to give you a sad account of an Ingagement wee had with the Dutch the 22th August cominge from Metchlepatam bound for Maderass.

[1] *New Account of East India and Persia*, Fryer, 1698.

[2] *Letters of Mart*, letters of marque, from Ger. *mark*, a boundary. Letters authorizing the crossing of a boundary to make reprisals.

[3] *Ancient*, ensign.

[4] *Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Rere-Admiral:* These terms apply to the flag-ships of squadrons, not to their commanders.

[5] *C. Golsberg*, Captain (afterwards Sir) John Goldsborough.

About 5 or 6 in the morninge wee discovered the Dutch Fleete, wee standing in for the shore and they off, being distant from them 5 or 6 miles, at which time Captain Goldsboarah was 4 miles to Leeward of mee, and some of our fleete as farr to windwards, and some as farr asterne as the Dutch were ahead. About halfe an howr past 6 in the morning wee laid our head sailes to the masts to stay for our fleete, and bore away to Captain Goldsbourough. . . . At 10 the Dutch ships in the van fired at our ships, which made us all Ingage. It lasted till 6 at night, in which time wee lost our Viscadmirall, Rearadmirall, and Captain Goldsbourouh soe much disabled, and none goeing to their Releife which doe belong to their devision, for indeede I was soe much disabled as to men, hull, rigging, masts and yards, that I could not releive them. Captain Browne and Captain Erwin[1] being almost in as bad condition, but for the rest I leave to further Enquiry. I lost in this Engagement 5 men outright and 11 dead since of their wounds. The Dutch were 15 saile of ships of warr and 5 other small vessells, which lay to windwards of this fleete; they were farr bigger, more gunns and men then our ships. The first September wee, the remaining 7 shipps,[2] arrived in Madrass Roade. What may bee the further end of it wee know not, but hope God will in mercy goe along with us and bring us safe unto you at last.

'Thus I have given you the sad event of this engagement, my humble Service presented to your Honour. WM. BASS.' (*O.C.*, No. 3843, 2nd Sept., 1673.)

After this action van Goens concentrated his attention on the blockade of San Thomé. Langhorn strove to avoid hostilities on land, but professed fear of Dutch attempts on Madras:—

'*Sir William Langhorn to Bramine Yenkataputtee.*

'Wee have certainely found out by their own confession that 5 of the 50 peones which Mierza kept heere, and lately put in the roome of others at the Sea Side towards Triblicane, were not his, but the Dutch our Enemy's people, soe plotted between them and him; which, it is plaine, was out of an ill intent to betray this Fort and all our lives and the honble Companys estate into the hands of the Dutch, our declared enemyes, who, if they had returned hither afterwards, should not have failed of the reward of Spyes, according to the Law of Armes. Meane while wee are more confirmed of the treacherous designe of the Dutch and Chinnapelle Mierza in pressing us to suffer others of their Peones and of his also, the same in effect, to lye within our guard and gunns to the Seaward, meerly to betray us. Which pray represent fully unto his highness and his Excellency, and . . . demand justice against Chinnapelle Mierza for this treasonable action of his, sufficient to have caused all our throats to bee cutt, and to have involved both Kingdomes in an unkind warr. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 23rd Feb., 167¾.)

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[1] Captains Zachary Browne and George Erwin, commanders of the *Ann* and *Bombaim*.

[2] The ships taken were the *President*, *Sampson*, and *Antelope*.

'*A True and impartiall relation of some passages which have lately happend at the Seige of St. Thoma from* 15*th ffebruary to the* 28*th Ditto* 167¾.

'The Dutch and Chinnapelle Mierza and all their people lye on the Side of Triblicane, the Moores all out of Cannon Shott, and, like Sheep, keeping those few Dutch in the Middle between them and danger. Its true by day they keep 3 or 400 pittifull Peones on the other side farr enough off, but in the night time they all goe, for feare the French should meet with them; soe that the French freely range abroad on the South side of St. Thoma as farr as 2 or 3 Coz,[1] and very often bring in Paddy from those parts wheresoever they find it, and . . . 6 dayes since they brought in about 200 Calangs by land from Tricambour which is 2 Coz ½ from thence.

'As for the Dutch, they ride here only with 2 Ships, and have not soe much as brought any armed boates to keep the French in, as they should and ought to have done; nor indeed have they men enough to man them, haveing not above 500 Christians, white and black, ashoare, and the 2 Ships but ordinarily manned; for that the French come out when they please with their armed boates and despight of them, and have already taken 4 boates from the Dutch. . . .

'They dare not ride asunder for feare of the French Ship in St. Thoma Road, but some times they lye on this side, and then boates get in from Pollichedi, and then on the other side, when these last boates were taken as above said: whereas, had they kept 5 or 6 Ships here together, and half a score good boates well armed, none of these things could have happened, and the place had been taken before now. . . .

'Since which, 21th at night, the French Sallyed out with 200 men as farr as Valecherri, almost 3 Coz from home up towards the Mount, where they surprized 20 horse of the Camp, who thought they might have slept quietly at that distance, kild severall of them, and brought away 12 horse, 5 Garce of Paddy and about 1½ Garce Rice and Gram. Meane while, to drowne the noise of ill watches they keep, they raise falsitys of us, soe many that it is to noe purpose for mee to goe to rehearse them, it sufficing that, upon the word of an honest man and a Gentleman, the French have not had any manner of releif, either of provisions, powder, Lead, or any sort of amunition, no nor of counsell from us or any belonging to us. And indeed this place[2] having been now so long blocked up, and all provisions stopped but only from day to day, wee must bee unadvised should wee goe about to give them the meat out of our own mouthes, and to that people who wee have more reason to wish further off then the Dutch themselves, as being nearer and therefore more like to be troubled with them, whom truly wee accompt to bee the most unquiet neighbours in the world.

'All these provisions have been got in from the Dutch and Moores quarters by land and Sea, and not the least from hence; and all this while the Seige is their buisness, not ours, and yet they are allowed to put all these abuses upon us; and have been these 2 yeares Complaineing thereof without remedy. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xvii., 28th Feb., 167¾.)

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[1] *Coz*, Coss, a variable measure of distance, generally about two miles.
[2] Madras.

Reform of the Fortifications.

Langhorn's attention was directed to the state of the fortifications by the sudden collapse of the 'Fishing Bulwarke,' which occurred a week before he assumed charge. This bastion was the outwork at the north-east angle of the Christian Town. Its failure was probably due to the encroachment of the sea. The capture of San Thomé by the French and the outbreak of hostilities between England and Holland soon furnished greater incentives to the improvement of the defences :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Surveighed the Buildings and Fortifications, and findeing them goeing much to ruine for want of the needfull Repaires of the last yeares, by advice of the Bricklayer, Carpenter, Leiftenant Sutton[1] and Gunner Dixon, resolved to proceede to repaire them without delay, the Plaster which should preserve them being gennerally decayed, the Bricks in many places mouldred and eaten away, the Fishers point part fallen and all the rest being ready to fall, and the Walls, Points, Curtaines and Battlements in many places sunck, undermined and Ruined, so that, should we any longer delay, all would in a yeare or two more fall downe. Alsoe to finish and make Batteries upon Sir Thomas Chambers point, and open others on the round Point[2] towards the Island for secureing that side of the Towne, which lies quite open to the River and unfortified.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, Feb., 167½.)

Following the appearance of the French on the coast in April, 1672,[3] and the news of the declaration of war with Holland, Mr. Richard Mohun, Chief at Masulipatam, was directed to send up a supply of teak timber for the repair of the fortifications, for the Powder Mills,[4] and for the construction of gun 'Carriadges for the Inner and outer workes, here being between 40 and 50 Carriadges wanting and unserviceable, which in such jealous tymes ought not to be neglected.'[5]

1 Timothy Sutton appears as a serjeant in the list of Company's servants of 1658.

2 *Sir Thomas Chambers point and the round Point:* Chamber alluded in November, 1661, to a 'Point by the River side,' which was then building. Of the two bastions next the river, that at the south-west angle of the Outer Fort was the *Round Point*, which is separately mentioned above. Hence the other bastion—viz., the semicircular work at the north-west angle—must have been built by Chamber.

3 The *Phénix* and *Europe* were sent on in advance from Trincomallee.

4 The Powder-factory was in the native town near the Burial-ground.

5 *Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, vol. ix., 9th April, 1672.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It being Consulted about the following Queries :—

'1. Whither the French taking St. Thoma, and Rumours of warrs in Europe will obleige us to any Provision for the safety of the Town, Fort, Treasure, &c. interest of the Honble Company, the danger of the French being now much greater than ever of the Hollander.

'2. What security to be made and provision for the Fort, Town and Estate of the Honble Company.

'3. Whither the Fortifications, Gunns, and Garrison now in being be sufficient within and without.

'4. Whither the Curtains of the Christian Town to bee strengthened and Terrapined,[1] and whither to be raised higher.

'5. Whither Batteries to be made to the sea and where, whither upon the Fort Curtain[2] or where the Packing Stuff and Saltpetre Godownes[3] now are, in which case new Godownes to be made.

'6. Whither, if we make the Batteries to the Sea where the Saltpetre, &c. Godownes are, we shall use the inner or outer wall for the breast Work,[4] and in such case new build the said Wall, or Turfe it within.

'7. Where we shall build the new Godownes in Lieue of the said Saltpetre Godownes, &c., for Conveniency of the said gruff goods,[5] and for security.

'8. Whither it will be needfull to build a Poynt, answering to the Round Poynt,[6] to the Sea, to Clear the Curtain towards St. Thoma.[7]

'9. Whither we ought to proceed in repair of Fishers Poynt[8] and the staircase[9] to the Round Poynt new finished, and to Carry on the Curtain from the halfe Moon Poynt[10] by Wm. Dixons[11] as far as the river.

'10. Whither at the river side[12] a small Poynt ought to bee made to secure that side with 2 or 3 Gunns or thereabouts.

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[1] *Terrapin*, to back with earth.

[2] *Fort Curtain*, the east face of the Inner Fort.

[3] *Godowne*, from Tel. *gidangi*, through Malay *gadong*, a store-room. The Saltpetre, etc. godowns were on the east face of the Christian Town, on each side of the Sea Gate.

[4] The question is whether the front or back wall of the godowns should serve for the front of the batteries.

[5] *Gruff goods*, goods in bulk; probably from Dutch *grof*, coarse.

[6] *The Round Poynt*, also called Charles's Point, was at the south-west angle of the Christian Town.

[7] The proposed bastion appears to have been built as a Half Moon in the sea face of the Outer Fort, midway between the Sea Gate and St. Thomas Point at the south-eastern angle. Those of its guns which fired southward would therefore 'clear' or afford flank defence to the east curtain in the direction of San Thomé.

[8] *Fishers Poynt*, or 'Fishing Point,' was at the north-east angle of the Christian Town.

[9] *Staircase:* The steps up the Round Point are shown in the Frontispiece.

[10] *Halfe Moon Poynt:* This semicircular battery, also called Sir Thomas Chamber's Point, was situated at the north-west angle of the Christian Town. A sketch-plan of it is appended to the Consultation of the 11th February, 1678. Another Half Moon was afterwards built on the east face.

[11] *Wm. Dixon* was at this time Gunner of the outworks—that is, of the Outer Fort. Hugh Dixon was Gunner of the Inner Fort.

[12] *At the river side:* In the long west front of the Christian Town.

'11. Whither the Round Poynt ought to be raised higher, and how much.

'12. Whither the Curtain to be built from the Round Poynt to the river[1] should bee cleared or no.

'13. Whither the Companys interest here can bee secure without any of these provisions.

'14. Whither the Garrison ought to bee encreased, and to what proportion, and in what sort of people.

'15. Whither we ought to encrease our Gunners crew, and how many.

'To which it is thus Answered—

'[1] To the first it is unanimously answered that it is necessary to make speedy provisions, considering the taking of St. Thoma before our eyes.

'2. Answered thus: Fortifications, Artillery, Men, Armes, ammunition of mouth and War necessary.

'3. Within the Fort[2] Carriges defective, but Guns 49, sufficient: 1400 Iron shot in ditto, 6 or 700 stone shott . . .; want . . . Armes sufficient for 400 men: wants 22000 lb. of powder, 12000 lb. being within the Fort at present. The Fortifications within are all sufficient, only the Gates of the Fort need strengthening.

'About the Fortifications without[3]:—Answered, the Outworkes not sufficient, being much out of Repair; the Fishers Poynt fallen down, the Curtaines low, the new round Poynt not quite finished and wanting a staircase.

'4. Resolved that the Wall be raised from St. Thoma Poynt to the Saltpetre Godownes five foot,[4] the Officers of the Fort saying it will tend for the Defence of the Fort; and that a Line be carried on alongst the Towne wall from the Fishers Poynt alongst by the Sea to the Round Poynt by the river towards St Thoma.[5]

'5. This article advised by all the Officers and by Mr. Hynmers, Captain Goodlad, Captain Dawes and by Captain Fisher[6] to have 3 Gunns on each side the Sea Gate, and by Mr. Bridger, Mr. Herris, Mr. Wilkes to have no new Batteries.

'6. The outer Wall is fittest to stand because it is even with the Line.[7]

'7. Not resolved upon.

'8. Not resolved upon. Mr. Bridger, Mr. Herrys, Mr. Wilkes, Leiftenant Sutton, Wm. Dixon, Wm. Richardson negative: the rest affirmative.

'9, 10, 11, 12. Assented to by all.

'13. Assented to by all, Exceptis Excipiendis.

'14. Assented to by all that less than 300 Europeans could not suffise for the well keeping of this Garrison, which indeed would require 4 or 500. Mr.

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[1] The Round Point lay close to the river. Probably a curtain along the bank is meant.

[2] The Inner Fort.

[3] The outworks forming the Outer Fort and surrounding the Christian Town.

[4] From St. Thomé Point, at the south-east angle of the town, to the Godowns by the Sea Gate.

[5] *The Towne wall* was an enclosure wall, not a line of defence. Apparently the suggestion is that the wall along two adjacent sides of the town, probably the east and south, should be converted into a rampart carrying guns.

[6] Three ship Captains assisting in the Consultation.

[7] The contemplated line of defence.

Herrys saith not to exceed above 200 Soldiers since we cannot have English sufficient.

'15. Assented that it were necessary to have at every Poynt [ ][1] belonging to the Gunners Crew[2] that understands the Employment: at Bombaym there are 3 to each Poynt.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 17th July, 1672.)

As Foxcroft embarked on no works of defence, this Consultation affords a view of the fortifications as they were when Winter yielded up the place. From references previously quoted, it appears that the construction of the Inner Fort occupied the first thirteen years, 1640-1653, from the founding of the settlement, while a further equal period, from 1653-1666, was devoted to the gradual erection of the Outer Fort. Greenhill built the wall round the Christian Town during his second period of office, and Baker, Greenhill, Chamber, and Winter appear each to have been responsible for one of the four outworks which defended the angles of the wall. Baker built one of the two bastions next the sea, probably Fishing Point; Greenhill is believed to have erected St. Thomé Point; Chamber constructed a bastion by the river, which was almost certainly the semicircular work at the north-west angle; while the Round Point at the south-west is attributed to Winter because his activity in fortifying is mentioned by Foxcroft in 1666, and Langhorn alludes to the Round Point as being a new work in 1672.

The improvements resolved on in the consultation of the 17th July, 1672, were undertaken, and early in 1674 Langhorn described the situation as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The rayny season and want of materialls having put a stop to our workes, and the last violent Raine of 25 October having ruined the Turfe worke of the ffishers Poynt, as it did those of both the ffrench and Dutch, and great mischeife all about the Countrey; and wee having many Instances and advertisements of the Dutch their evill Intentions towards us at the return of their ffleet, as likewise the disgust of the ffrench in St. Thoma at our not answering their expectations, so that which way soever the Siege succeeds, wee

[1] Blank in original.

[2] *Gunners Crew:* Artillerymen were not sent out as such from England, but were recruited locally and formed into a detachment. Many were sailors taken from the Company's ships. The body was commanded by a chief 'Gunner,' who was Gunner of the Inner Fort, aided by an Assistant, who was Gunner of the outworks—that is, of the fortifications of the Christian Town. The Gunners also performed duties as Engineers.

are not without danger : It is resolved that there is an absolute necessity to goe on fortifying of this place in the best manner that wee shall be able, and as Time and Materialls shall permit, that our Souldiers, Inhabitants and Peons may have some encouragement to stand by us upon occasion ; hopeing that our Honble Employers will not disapprove of these so necessary and unavoidable Expences,[1] Their whole Interest upon this Coast, as well as the Lives of all their people and Servants being at Stake ; Our Ennemies[2] being at Sea and Land within lesse then Muskett shott of us, and better fortifyed in their Camp at Trivelicane then wee are here, and Rickloff dayly expected with a great ffleet and Land forces, so that wee are kept upon as continuall Duty as the ffrench are, but much worse provided, they having a well fortyfyed Place and all cleare about them, and 800 good Europeans in Garrison : We such thinn, low, slight, tottering Walls as allready advised the Honble Company, Pestered with a great Town[3] close to them and not above [ ][4] Europeans in Garrison ; the rest Mestizos and Blacks, although may help to keep watches, yet for service are but little to be relyed upon. W. LANGHORN, J. HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, TIMOTHY WILKES, JOHN BRIDGER.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 2nd Feb., 167¾.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Neither have we neglected those needfull defences and repaires without which all inoffensiveness and evenness of our proceedings betweene all partyes, and our applications to the Divan, had been of no effect, nor could have secured this your place, consisting of, with the out parts,[5] little less than 50,000 Inhabitants (so much has the justice and impartiallity of our Government prevailed, so different from the extortions of the Mores, and invited people from all parts, instead of its being deserted as might have been expected upon the many troubles and scarcity of provisions for two yeares time) any better then the Kings own town[s] heereabouts,[6] which the Dutch have sacked and burnt to a great distance on pretence of their obnoxiousness to the French, in despight of the Kings people who still opposed it as much as they could. . . . And the French, who have often been Masters at Sea during both sieges, would have offered violence where entreaties suffised not, and so have engaged us passively when not actively, upon whose score it was that wee first reinforced our guards both of Christians and Blacks to Seaward, keeping dayly about 150 Christians, about half our number, and 200 Blacks that way ; the rest of the Blacks, about 400 besides Pattamars,[7] lying round about to landward. . . .

'And yet all that we have been able to work upon, except the Round Point, the two spaces toward the river walled up, and the clearing the North and

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1 The Company approved the measures taken (*Let. Bk.*, vol. v., 13th March, 167¾).

2 *Our Ennemies*, the Dutch. Wheeler erroneously supposes the fortified camp at Triplicane to have been French (*Madras in the Olden Time*, i. 78). The French held the temple for a short time, but it was the Dutch who afterwards occupied and fortified the village.

3 The native city of Madras.

4 Blank in original.

5 Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta.

6 Egmore and the adjacent villages.

7 *Pattamars*, peons, foot-messengers.

South sides of the place from the houses adjacent, has been to Seaward, as well in regard of the continuall neighbourhood of the Dutch fleets and French also, and for protection of your shipping, . . . as also not to offend the Mores, who, especially with the Dutch restless instigations, would have been sure to hinder it. The latter being, it seemes, so much displeased thereat that they have newly caused draughts of the place[1] to be made, to shew the King in what posture it was, and what it now is, with the very Gunns planted; but being chiefly to seaward he took little notice thereof, although indeed they have no small command to the land also. And had we but opportunity to rebuild and raise the Caldera Point,[2] which answers to the Round Point to Landward along the River and to the Fishers Point towards the Towne (as if either French or Dutch hold St. Thoma there will be an absolute necessity), it would be a great addition to the security of the place against any attempts by sea or land. . . .

'And we are bold to say that, besides the safety of your place, estate, and nimble and full dispatch of your two last fleets, . . . we have saved your Honours more in Piscashes to these corrupt and insolent Mores who now in a manner truckle to us, then we have layd out in your workes; and these are permanent. As for piscashes, the more one gives, the more one must.' (*O.C.*, No. 3992, 20th Aug., 1674.)

There was a good deal of delay in the reform of Caldera Point, and the work was not completed until the time of Streynsham Master:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We observe your orders and approbations of what done and to do as to the Fortifications, etc., wherein we have studdyed to be as frugall as might consist with prudence and safety, and yet the difficulty and scarcity of bricks and lime have made us more [slow] than we intended, who otherwise should have gott up the Caldera Point as well as those to the landward[3] according to the annexed address[4] and advice of the Chief Officers of the Garrison; . . . . but that not being yet gone about, we shall now desist untill further order or cause for it. Meanwhile, the better posture we had brought the other points into, and buildings cleared from thence, the readyer should we have been to draw our forces to that side, or wheresoever the danger had appeared. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4044, 20th Nov., 1674).

Writing on the 24th December, 1675,[5] the Company left the question of Caldera Point to the Council at Fort St. George,

[1] *Draughts of the place:* These are not found among the Dutch records at the Hague or Batavia.

[2] *Caldera Point*, the bastion at the north-west angle of the Outer Fort. This is the first time this appellation is given to 'Sir Thomas Chambers point,' otherwise styled the 'halfe Moon Poynt by Wm. Dixons.' It was derived, perhaps, from the name of a Portuguese resident in the locality, but possibly from the 'caldera bushes' growing around it.

[3] Defensive works contemplated on the west side next the river.

[4] This report has not been preserved.

[5] *Let. Bk.*, vol. v.

exhorting them to economy in the execution of the work. The Council replied as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We make note of your order for opening the street to the Bazar[1] and fortifying the Caldera Point, which, if times permitt, shall be endeavoured with all possible frugality. The clearing of the ground was already done upon occasion of the troubles; but it is the Curtaine between the point to the N.E. and the Caldera Point, in length 232 yards,[2] which having long stood upon buttresses and of no manner of strength, had need to be built up very substantiall and terrassed, with a good Ditch, a fals bray[3] and Counter Scarp[4] without it, that, with the said two points,[5] being towards the Gentue Towne and therefore of the greatest necessity and danger, which we humbly present to your consideration.' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 23rd July, 1676.)

The Company sanctioned progress on what was necessary for the safety of the place, but called for a report on the nature and cost of the work done and proposed, together with 'a Platt thereof.'[6]

The following extracts relate to encroachment of the sea, which caused infinite trouble at this time and in later years. The first excerpt, which contains a description of the roadstead, shows that a wet ditch, filled from the river, had been constructed along the south front of the Outer Fort:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'And here it is not improper to acquaint you how that the sea having come very near your fortifications in a great storm about three years since, and gone off again as farr as ever it had been since Anno 1670, it has since the last yeare come still nearer and nearer, though the depth of the foundations, good Talus[7] and a Scarp[8] we have been making these last two yeares to the Fishers Point have hitherto secured it, which will encourage us to go making some more defences of like nature to that and other workes as soon as the Calms come in

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1 *The Bazar*, or market, was outside of and under the northern wall of the Outer Fort. The street mentioned may be Middle Gate Street. Sir Edward Winter's house blocked the way hereabouts.

2 The full length of the north front, including bastions and gates, was about 380 yards.

3 *Fals bray*, faussebraye, a low work built outside of a higher parapet to afford a second tier of fire.

4 *Counterscarp*, the outer wall of the ditch round a fort.

5 Caldera Point and Fishing or Fishers' Point.

6 *Let. Bk.*, vol. v., 15th Dec., 1676. The plan ordered has not been preserved.

7 *Talus*, an apron of rough stone to prevent scour.

8 *Scarp* here means the external wall of the bastion.

and materialls permitt. Meanwhile it will be absolutely necessary that you send out some knowing and experienced person to make some peers[1] towards both Monsoons,[2] or what other fences most proper to keep off and drive back the sea whiles yet in time, which it is conceived would be very apt to choak up again with sand in the eddy thereof. Your wisdomes well understand the usefullness of this fortification and jealousy of the natives, who will hardly ever consent to your fortifying anew should this be lost. The Expence will doubtless be great, but the importance greater if once well done. We doubt not but there may be some ingenious persons now going home who, belonging to the sea, . . . may give some satisfaction to whomsoever you shall entertaine, the good choice of whom exceedingly imports, for there are crowds of undertakers, Dutchmen especially, but great difference between speaking and doing. What wood and stone, &c. Materialls the ships can bring will be so much saved both in expence and time, this sandy naked coast affording neither,[3] and the Moores will not trust us with a single stone from the ruines of St. Thoma for fear of making Forts as aforesaid. . . . We have desired Captain Stead, a very good artist[4] now going home, to make the best observation that he can and enquiry, that he may be the better able to informe you hereabouts. . . .

'This shoare is all along a light white and black sand which the sea takes and leaves, but in many places clay at the bottome, as particularly in this Road. There is a point under water runns off over against the Fort Gate, which for five miles off is shoaler water than on both sides, but no sign of it upon the shoare: 1½ miles off the ships ride in ten fathoms water, which goes deepning untill that, as a ship looses sight of this low shoare, they loose soundings also. . . . The Iland on the back of the Fort is clay and some sand, broken with channells, and but very little above the high water mark. The Ditch which, at the fortifying of the outworkes for that present necessity, was left open to the southward, being then at a good distance from the sea, which we were faine to secure with a Steccado of 223 Toddy trees,[5] we have been fain to go filling up towards the Sea to prevent the breaking in thereof, and what more dangerous, the breaking out of the River that way, and must still be filling as we see occasion. The tide rises and falls about 2½ foot, and 3 foot at the springs.

'We understand from elderly people hereabouts that the sea has been much further off, . . . but here is also a remembrance that before this it has come a great deal further into the land and gone off againe, . . . which perchance may have brought in the Gentue superstition of setting yearly a parcell of little images of men and elephants with their Sea Saint Caricalu to keepe it back. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 22nd Aug., 1676.)

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[1] *Peers*, piers or groynes built into the sea to check erosion of the sand.

[2] *Both Monsoons:* During the south-west monsoon the sand travels northward along the coast, and in the opposite direction during the north-east monsoon.

[3] There is abundance of good stone within a few miles of Madras, but at this period it was quarried in native territory. The bastions of the Inner Fort were built of or cased with laterite, and the walls of the town, according to Fryer and Salmon, were of stone, doubtless either laterite or gneiss. The supply of bricks from the 'Potters' Town' in Peddanaikpetta was limited.

[4] *Artist*, scientific observer.

[5] *Toddy trees*, stems of the palmyra palm; from Hind. *tārī*, the fermented sap of this tree.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Sea coming in nearer and nearer upon us, it is resolved that we proceed to carry on the fence towards it, and particularly at the Fishers Point, the point Cavalia,[1] and the Honble Companys battery at the Sea Gate,[2] that we may not be wanting on our part for the preservation of the place so long as we can, and so to wayt upon this providence who sett its bounds to that unruly Element. Resolved likewise that we proceed without loss of time to lay the foundation of the new Caldera point,[3] to be carryed on hereafter as far as conveniency and opportunity permitts.

'Mem: That in yeares 1672, 73, 74 the Sea was at such distance from St. Thomas and the Fishers Point that we were fain to keep staccados of Toddy Trees between said points and Sea, qt[4] N° two hundred and fifty trees at the former, and N° one hundred and fifty odd at the latter, to command the passage, leaving way enough besides. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 19th May, 1677.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee observe the difficulties you have mett with by the Obstruccons given by Podala Lingapa, and are very glad that a period is putt to that trouble. Our busines is trade, not warr, and therefore wee recommend it to you to use all meanes possible for preserving of Peace, and yet be carefull to be in a condition to defend Our Fort: To which end wee now send you the Armes and Armour you have desired; and, for the better makeing Good your Fortifications both against an Enemy and the Sea, Wee have appointed these ships to take in what quantity of stones they can at Johannah,[5] where they may be had cheape, and question not but the Commanders of our ships, and others you have with you, will contrive the carrying on of that work to make it answer our ends without sending an Engineer from hence, those sort of men being alwaies found very expensive. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 12th Dec., 1677.)

A little earlier, a committee of experts, including Captain Erwin of the ship *Bombay*, was appointed to report on Caldera Point. The following consultation not only embodies the committee's opinion, but includes the views of the Council on other features of the fortifications:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We underwritten, having at the Agents request taken a view of the outworks of the Christian town, and thereupon conferred with the said Agent and

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[1] *Point Cavalia:* Probably the 'great Bulworke built by Sir William Langhorn,' which is identified with the 'Half-Moon' depicted on Thomas Pitt's map between St. Thomas Point and the Sea Gate. A cavalier, in fortification, is a work of exceptional height.

[2] Fryer mentions 'half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Water-gate.'

[3] New foundations were required, as the new Caldera Point was designed to envelop the old semicircular work.

[4] *Qt*, a symbol signifying 'content' in the sense of capacity, perhaps an abbreviation of *quantum*. Elsewhere we find *qts* (contents) of letters.

[5] *Johannah*, one of the Comoro Islands in the Mozambique Channel. It lay in the course of ships sailing to India from the Cape.

Councell, do altogether conclude that it is indes[p]ensably necessary for the defence and safety of the place in these troublesome times to build a new point at the n.w. part of the said town towards the River, and that the manner as the foundations are allready digged and begun is very well designed, scouring as well alongst the river as far as the Round Point, over the Iland, as also to the Ditch and new Bridge[1] and over all the Gentue Town, as also alongst the Bazar as farr as the Fishers point to the Seaward, which part of the Christian Town where the said new point is to be built appears to be the weakest and most dangerous part of the place, and most needing a good substantial point to defend the same. [Signed in the margin by G. Erwin and another.]

'And now that the sea does gain soe strangely upon the place to the Eastward all alongst the shoare, especially at the Fishers Point very much eaten away by the sea still deepning more and more upon the shoare, especially for the last two yeares, it is by all agreed to be so much the more necessary to build up the said new point, and a Curtain also alongst the Bazar from point to point, that there may be some strength on that side of the town to defend it. As likewise the Curtain to the southward, from the Round Point to St. Thomas Point, according to that part of it already begun at the round point, the security of the Fort itself and the whole interest of the Hon̄ble Company, the lives and libertyes of all his Majestys subjects in this place depending on the safety and tenableness of the outworkes which are so near and close to the Fort. . . . And as to the repairing of the dammage done by the sea against the Fortifications to the Eastward, it will be time to consider when it will be seen what effect the fowl weather season now drawing on shall have made against them. . . . WM. LANGHORN, STREYNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIM. WILKES, JACOB SMITH.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 13th Aug., 1677.)

Towards the end of 1677 the approach of the great Marātha Sivājī excited apprehension at Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Sevagee Raja having sent the Agent a letter of 22th September last by two of his Spys, desiring us to supply him with Ingeniers, to which was returned him a civill excuse, it being wholly unfitt for us to medle in it, there being many dangers consequent thereon, as well of encreasing his power as of rendering both Golcondah and the Moghull our Enemys, all these parts being spread with his Spys, and himself and Army having come nearer this way within two days march of this place: It is resolved to be indispensably necessary for the safety of this place and all therein that we go on entertaining all the Christians that we can meet with into the Garrison as far as to compleat the number of 250 effective for the present. As also that we hasten the bringing in of Lime, brick and Stone for the carrying on of the new Caldera point, and building of the Curtain from thence to the Fishers Point Northward,[2]

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[1] *The Ditch and new Bridge:* The Ditch was the drainage channel which bounded the west side of the 'Gentue Town'—*i.e.*, old Black Town. The new Bridge spanned the Ditch 250 yards north of the spot where the channel entered the river.

[2] *Northward—i.e.*, on the north side of the Christian Town.

as also from the Round Point, alias Charles's Point, to St. Thomas Point Southward, both according to the modell of that part allready begun at the said Charles's Point, . . . and now the more urgent in regard that the Curtain from the Gate[1] by Sir Edward Winters to the Choultry Gate towards the Bazar, having leaned upon Buttresses for these seaven or eight yeares in a tottering condition, is now fallen down the 2nd of this month after a great rayn, which it stands us upon to get up again as soon as we can, to prevent any designe of so evill a neighbour as Sevagee. . . . WM. LANGHORN, STREYNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIM. WILKES, JACOB SMITH.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 3rd Oct., 1677.)

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[1] *The Gate by Sir Edward Winters*, the Middle Gate.

CHAPTER XXIX

1672—1678

THE GARRISON—BUILDINGS AND DEMOLITIONS

THE GARRISON.

THE French occupation of San Thomé naturally led to a substantial augmentation of the Fort St. George garrison. An undated document, which reached London in June, 1673, shows that the military force comprised 241 British infantry and 14 artillery, supplemented by 163 Portuguese militia. The number of peons, or native soldiers, is not mentioned, but a nearly contemporaneous paper puts it at 550. The British infantry were divided into four companies, which took guard duty as follows:— One company in the Inner Fort, and one in the Outer Fort or Christian Town; a third company, called the 'free guard,' remained as a reserve in the town, while the greater part of the fourth had liberty to go to their homes in the native city, barracks not being provided. Next day the Inner Fort guard was transferred to the Outer Fort, whose duty-men then became the free guard, and so on in rotation:—

'Repartition of the Garrison Souldiers to the Points. Ditto of the Portuguez Inhabitants.

(*O.C.*, No. 3765, *cir.* Jan., 1673.)

'We have severall squadrons of 60 men each, that is 55 Centinells and 5 Officers,[1] and are upon their duty thus quartered:—

'One squadron entire lieth and keepeth Guard in the Fort every night - - - - - - - - - - No. 60

[1] Officers included sergeants and corporals.

'One other squadron keepeth their Guard at the severall Points or Bullwarkes of the towne, and are upon their watch thus quartered :—

'At the new round point, Charles his point,[1] 8 Centinels, one Officer - - - - - - - - - -	9
'At St. Thomas Point,[2] 8 Centinells and one Officer - -	9
'At the Fishers Point,[3] 8 Centinells and one Officer - -	9
'At the midle gate,[4] 8 Centinells - - - - - - -	8
'At the point by William Dixons,[5] 8 Centinells - - -	8
'At the Chowtry gate, being our maine guard,[6] 16 men, that is to say the Serjant and Corporall and 15 Centinells, whereof 3 or 4 goe the rownd along with the Serjant or Corporall - - - - - - - - - -	17
	120
'The same at every Porte [? Poste] of the third squadron or free Guard[7] - - - - - - - - -	60
	180
'The halfe Moone Point by Hugh Dixons[8] is supplyed with 11 men, that is to say one Officer and 10 Centinells from that guard or fowerth squadron which lay as a reserve upon the outguard the night before, commonly called the free guard - - - - - - - - -	11
'And over against the Land gate of the Fort[9] are lodged every night of the said free guard 6 Centinells - -	6
In all No.	197

'The rest[10] lye at their owne houses, in Number 44, there being one over.[11]

'There are moreover the 2 Gunners[12] and 12 assistants which are divided amongst the points, into which number, as I find any capable, I take them in, as I doe into the Garrison such as I meet with fitt for the service.

'The Portugueze Inhabitants I find to be 163, which am about to divide, vizt :—

'To the Round Point, alias Charles's Point - - - -	31

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[1] The south-west bastion of the Outer Fort.

[2] *St. Thomas Point*, for St. Thoma's Point, the south-east bastion of the Outer Fort.

[3] *Fishers Point*, or Fishing Point, the north-east bastion of the Outer Fort.

[4] *The midle gate*, the eastern of the two gates in the north curtain.

[5] *The point by William Dixons*, the semicircular bastion at the north-west angle, afterwards called Caldera Point.

[6] *Our maine guard* had been transferred from the Inner Fort to the Choultry Gate in the north curtain.

[7] *Free Guard*, the company held in reserve in the Outer Fort.

[8] *The halfe Moone Point by Hugh Dixons*, the bastion on the east front to the southward of the Sea Gate.

[9] *The Land gate of the Fort*, the western or principal gate of the Inner Fort.

[10] *The rest*, the remainder of the fourth company.

[11] *One over;* In all 241, or one man in excess of the proper total of four companies of sixty men.

[12] Hugh Dixon and William Dixon.

'To St. Thomas Point, which needs raising - - -	31
'To the Round Point to the Sea,[1] and the new small half moon to be made,[2] and batteryes between[3] - - -	31
'To the Fishers Point, which is falln down but to be repaired	31
'To the Choultry Gate, and Point neare William Dixons, which needs raising - - - - - - - -	39
	163'

An accident which befel an officer of the militia is thus reported:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Nicolo Gomes, one of the Captaines of the Auxilliaries then being all upon duty in regard of some apprehensions from the Dutch and Mores, having been unfortunately shott in the night by the Centinell at the Chowtrey Gate, and deceased of that wound; and having left an only Daughter marriageable but in a poor Condition; upon informacon thereof from severall of the principall Inhabitants of this place, and their Intercession for her: It is resolved by the Agent and Councell that she is a fitt object for the Honble Companyes charity, besides the incouragement to the Inhabitants to give their assistance for the defence of the Place with the more chearefullness. And yet not to bee too free of our Honble Employers money, to give her only Pagodas 20 on their Accompt, and to encrease the Sume by a greater contribution of our own, as was then performed. W. LANGHORN, J. HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JNO. BRIDGER, TIMº. WILKES.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 11th Oct., 1673.)

The garrison seem to have been as innocent of uniform as of barracks. In December, 1672, it occurred to the Company that, if uniforms were provided, the native princes might be inspired with emulation, and so afford a market for the Company's woollen cloth:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It being found here in Europe very necessary and convenient for the Soldiers to have coates of one collour, not only for the handsome representacon of them in their exercise, but for the greater awe to the adversary, besides the encoragement to themselves, wee have thought requisite that our Soldiers with you should bee put into the like habitt, for though it be hott in the daytime, yet the night being coole, (and in times of raine) it may bee a meanes to preserve their healthes.

'And this example probably may begett a vent of our cloth, if the practize will take with the Princes of the Country to put their Reigments and Com-

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[1] *The Round Point to the Sea*, the Half Moon on the east front, to the southward of the Sea Gate.

[2] *The new small half moon to be made:* This projected work was not constructed. It was probably intended to occupy a position on the east front to the northward of the Sea Gate.

[3] *The batteryes between*, two batteries on the eastern front, one on either side of the Sea Gate and close to it.

panies into Cloth Coates of severall collors; wherefore wee desire you to consider hereof, and if you find it may in any reasonable manner answer our expectacons, wee would have you give the Soldiers so much of our ordinary sorts of Cloth gratis as will make them such coates for a beginning, which wee conceive will last them severall yeares, . . . or, if you judge cloth may be too thick, you may make use of perpetuanoes,[1] and cause the turning up of the coate sleeves to be faced with something of a different coler. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. v., 13th Dec., 1672.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee likewise omitted to acquaint you how necessary it were that we had the authority of Martiall Law during these warrs, without which it is very difficult to keep your men to the strictness of discipline, and which both French and Dutch have full power for. . . .

'The bestowing of coates upon your Souldiers would be very creditable, and so we understand it is allready in practise at Bombayn; but the proportion of the English being so small in respect to the Portuges and Mestizos, unless we gave the same to all it would rather shew our weakness then our strength; for the same consideration is observed that the Genoese nobillity have laid aside their Gownes, but the Venitians, being with their Cittadins more numerous, continue theirs. But we hope your next letter will resolve us upon our advice of these new neighbours, and the encrease of this Garrison to circa 300 Christians, besides the Blacks now about 550, which is the least that we can possibly make any shew of defence with; for although the Dutch give us fair words for the present, there is no depending on an open Enemy soe neare. . . . WILLIAM LANGHORN, JOSEPH HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JOHN BRIDGER,[2] TIMOTHY WILKES.' (*O.C.*, No. 3853, 20th Sept., 1673.)

After the sea-fight off Pettapolee, the Dutch landed a force to co-operate with the Moslems against San Thomé. Langhorn wrote to Surat:[3] 'The Dutch, its said, sett forward yesterday morning from Policata with circa 1000 men to meet the Moores and joyne with them against St. Thoma, and expect their fleete back againe every day. . . . Meanewhile they are likely to be so neare us that we must ever be on our Guards.' A land conflict was, however, avoided, and at the end of the siege the Fort St. George garrison was reduced. The strength of the forces at San Thomé is thus recorded :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The French marched out at the last 590 Europeans, whereof at first, besides 8 good shipps of the Navy Royall, they had 1,300 land men, 100 Portuguez

[1] *Perpetuanoes*, a kind of woollen cloth manufactured in England, so called from its durable quality.

[2] Herrys and Bridger were Warehousekeeper and Purser respectively.

[3] *O.C.*, No. 3845, 2nd Sept., 1673.

and 800 Blacks (whom good pay and exercise rendred more usefull then their own men), and sometimes Masters both of field and Sea. The Dutch . . . shewed at last 4,000 good land men, Christians and Bundarees,[1] and 10 sayle great shipps in the Road : the Moores twelve thousand Horse and foot. . . .

'We have disbanded as many of the Natives and Mestizos as we can yett spare, reduceing the Garrison to about 250, the Gunners Crew to 15, and the Pattamars and Peons to 180, bringing down that expence as low as possible. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4044, 20th Nov., 1674.)

In the interests of the garrison, it was found necessary to frame rules for the licensing of public-houses :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Also, having had many complaints of the disorderlyness of the souldiery of this Garrison, occasioned through the multiplicity of punch and victualling houses, it is now resolved that no unmarried persons be permitted to keepe houses of entertainement, and only such as shall be permitted by the Governour ; and that no souldier or any other be permitted to stay at any of the said victualling houses after the ringing of the bell for 8 of the Clock in the Evening. . . .

'It is also resolved, for the encouragement of those that are in the Honble Companys service, that none that are out of their service shall keepe house of Entertainment.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 7th May, 1675.)

In the course of the year the number of companies was reduced from four to two of double strength :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Also, here being necessity to list about 16 souldiers to supply the decease and absence of others runn away and shipped aboard the Europe shipps, it is resolved to be for the Honble Companys service, and security of this their place, to take them in, and to divide the Garrison into 2 Companies without encrease of Officers for the present ; only to Ensign Bett, now to be made Lieutenant, being an old and deserving Officer and sufferer in the late troubles of Sir Edward Winter, to encrease his sallary to fanams 300 per mensem ;[2] and that they be held to strickt duty according to the Honble Companys orders, which this course will much facilitate.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 1st Nov., 1675.)

Early in 1676 Major William Puckle,[3] a 'Supervisor,' or Commissioner, appointed by the Company, was investigating the

[1] *Bundarees*, probably natives from Bunder or Masulipatam.

[2] About £3 15s.

[3] Major Puckle proceeded from Madras to the Bay, where he died before the close of the year.

conduct of affairs at Fort St. George. The following extract relates to the garrison :—

'*Some things by way of Query presented to the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George. . . .*

'5. Whither is it safe or convenient that, considering about half the Souldiers of the ffort are portuguezes, and more then half the Inhabitants of the new Town[1] are portuguezes, and that they now have two churches nigh unto the ffort,[2] where some thousands meet every week (besides French), that the said Inhabitants should be permitted to dwell in said Town.

'6. Whither any of the Honble Companys servants be entred into the Mores Service : how to gett them off. . . .

'These proposalls or Queres aforesaid were delivered in by Major William Puckle to the Agent and Councell, and by them answered as in the Margent [as follows]:—

'5. The Portuguez, &c., invited as they were, settled usefull and disarmed [as the] Inhabitants are, and the Souldiery out of office, and so firme a peace [now] between our Princes, with so great a dependance as they have on us [more] then on all other Europe Nations in India ; we humbly conceive this may be suspended untill some just occasion of jealousies at home or here, Provided that the great number is not of any single nation, but Topasses, Mestizos, &c. Converts, and now many Natives[3] of this place, having no other country but this. . . .

'6. The English who are in the Gulconda, Visiapores and Moghuls services are severall, but generally dissolute, hard to reclaym and less worth it, except our Christopher Wilkins sent hence long since per order of the Agent, &c., then being, along with the Ordnance which the Honble Company was necessitated to lend the King of Gulconda : which C. W. is by report a very good man, and it were very desirable that he could gett free, and come and end his daies amongst his countrymen.[4] WILLIAM LANGHORN, WALTER CLAVELL,[5] JOSEPH HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES, JACOB SMITH.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 29th Feb., 167 5/6.)

From the answers given to Major Puckle's questions, it appears that Timothy Sutton had ceased to be Lieutenant, and was awaiting orders for home. Puckle reported to the Company that 'you have one Lieutenant Oneale, a very good Souldyer and a sober man, that deserves incouragement.' In 1677 'Captain Phillip Oneall' was sent up to Masulipatam with a detachment

[1] *The new Town*, the Christian Town.

[2] One of these churches was, of course, St. Andrew's in the Christian Town ; the other was an 'open pandall Chappel,' built on ground in the Black Town granted by Agent Greenhill (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., May, 1692).

[3] *Natives*, Portuguese born in Madras.

[4] Christopher Wilkins, sometime Gunner of the Fort, appears to have been lent to the King of Golconda by Greenhill about 1658 (*Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. iii., 12th Jan., 166 4/5). In 1665 he was made a virtual prisoner as security for Simon Heaman.

[5] *Walter Clavell*, Chief in the Bay.

to take possession of a ship which belonged in part to the late Robert Fleetwood. The nominal list of the party shows that the salaries were: Captain, 10 pagodas; Corporal, 125 fanams; Surgeon's Mate, 120 fanams; and Private, 91 fanams a month.[1]

Puckle proposed that one of the two companies should be entitled 'the Governours own Company,' and be officered by a Captain-Lieutenant, an Ensign, and a 'Bringer-up,' while the second or junior company was to have a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign. The promotions were to be by brevet, and to carry no increase of pay:—

'Major Wm. Puckles paper delivered in to the Agent and Councell.

'I have had it much in my thoughts to offer to consideration what might be of incourragement to all your English Souldiers to be diligent and studious in the exercise of armes.

'That whereas it is the common principle of Souldiers to fight for honour, and observing the height of attaynment in your service millitary is the Office of a Lieutenant, and you having two compleat Companies with two Lieutenants (which is not usuall) nor known that ever I heard or read,

'I humbly offer to your self and Councell that you would make the oldest Lieutenant a Captaine, and appoint him a Lieutenant and Ensigne.

'The youngest Lieutenant to be Captaine Lieutenant, and appoint him a bringer up and Ensign, which will render them compleat Companies, and be for the honour of the Hono'ble East India Company whom they serve.

'That the Captaine, &c., be continued their old pay: tis only the title, which is more then pay with true Spirited Souldiers, that is desired by WM. PUCKLE.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 3rd March, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.)

Deficiencies in war material were frequently complained of:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Meanwhile we have no such needful . . . preparatifs either for ofence and defence as sloops and good stout Boats with oars, which such places as this should never be without, for want whereof the Moores are as good as masters both of Sea and Land, . . . and as far as 50 tons burthen might be hauled ashoare very well at the fowl seasons . . .; nor any defensive armes, as those head peeces, steel caps, collars, corslets, backs and breasts with shirts for the pikes, left hand gauntlets and good rapier blades which we formerly wrote for, and daggers, of great use in the medley; good pistolls also with the French fashioned locks, which are the playnest and soundest worke. But you were not pleased to supply us therewith, to the great disheartning of your people, who can never be expected to be very free of their persons if once they apprehend their safety but little tendred by those they serve, especially here where, though our numbers of English Souldiers and of seamen for the Gunns, sloops

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[1] About £4 10s., £1 11s. 3d., £1 10s., and £1 2s. 9d. respectively.

and boats were much greater then they are . . ., yet still we must expect to be the few against the multitudes. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 22nd Dec., 1676.)

In 1677 the Garrison was again increased owing to apprehensions aroused by the approach of a Marātha army:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Sevagee (or be it his sonn)[1] being entertained in the King of Golcondas service, and now upon his march to fall upon Chengy[2] with an army of 20,000 Horsemen and 40,000 foot, the van whereof (being about 5,000 Horse) allready past Trippaty and Calastry, 9 and 8 leagues Gentu from hence, and this night expected at Cangiawaran, about 4 leagues Gentu hence,[3] a distance which it is very usuall for his horse to march in a night time: And the sad experiences of all countries and places where he has used to frequent obliging us to take care for the security of the Hon^ble Companys Fort and Estate in our charge, It is resolved to list what Christian souldiers we can gett as far as fifty, and what peons as far as 100; the former, with our auxilliarys, to strengthen our outguards; the latter cheifly to send up and down to the severall quarters of his army to observe his motion, and to attend our Bramany[4] for the better obtaining of intelligences and prevention of surprisalls.

'As likewise to make two large Tents for shelter of our outguards when upon duty abroad at the passages and foords of the river, having found the want of them in our late troubles, and this to be done with all possible expedition.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 9th May, 1677.)

The Company thereupon advocated the formation of a British militia:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee take notice of the answers given by those not in our service to the orders for their repairing [to] and residing at the Fort, and doe require that the said order be effectually complied withall, for it will be a great strengthening to our Fort to have so many Interessed Persons there in time of danger, and they will be the better governed. And wee apprehend it would be convenient that these be listed as a Companie of Trained Bands to serve in time of danger, and Officers appointed them, and sometimes exercised in the use of their Armes, and some of our Council or senior Merchants to be the Officers, that on any occasion they may knowe whome they are to serve under without pay, as our trained Bands here.' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. v., 12th Dec., 1677.)

From the following extract[5] from orders for the Garrison, etc., drawn up by Langhorn, it would appear that native dress was often donned by Europeans:—

[1] Sambhājī, who succeeded his father Sivājī in 1680. [2] *Chengy*, Gingee.

[3] Tirupati, Kālahasti, and Conjeveram being 75, 65, and 40 miles from Madras, a Gentu league must have measured between 8 and 10 miles.

[4] *Our Bramany*, the native political agent.

[5] The orders are printed in full in the Appendix to *Madras in the Olden Time*, Wheeler, iii. 425-431.

'*Orders prescribed by the Hoñble Sir Wm. Langhorn, Barronett, Governour of Fort St. George, Madrassapatam, Coast of Cormandell and Bay of Bengall, for Affayrs of the Hoñble East India Company.*

'7. It is likewise ordered that both the Officers and Souldiers in the Fort shall on every Sabbath day, and on every day when they exercise, weare English apparell; in respect the garb is most becoming as Souldiers, and correspondent to their profession; in penalty of forfiting one months allowance on the Officers part, and half a months allowance on the Private Souldiers part.

'8. Whosoever he be that shall attempt to get over the walls of the Fort upon any pretence whatsoever, shall for so hainous and grievous an offence be kept in Irons till the shipps arrival; and then, his wages being suspended, be sent home for England, there to receive condigne punishment. . . .

'10. That when the Governour, &c., shall go on board, or abroade on horsebacke or in pallenkeen, it is thought fit, in respect of the small number of people, that not a man shall stir out of the Fort until the Governour returns home; upon penalty of half a riall of eight for the Merchant and Officer, and a daye's sentinell in armes to the Private souldier. . . .'

BUILDINGS AND DEMOLITIONS.

The following extracts concerning Madras buildings furnish incidentally some topographical details. The first two consultations, which are separated by an interval of nearly six years, relate to the Fort House, and show how want of means prevented Cogan and Day from doing more than scratch the ground for foundations, or raise walls of more durable material than brick in mud. But for the parsimony of the Company in the early days, the old Factory might have survived to form the nucleus of the present Secretariat building, part of whose site it occupied. The second extract discloses the fact that the Fort House accommodated not only the Agent and members of Council, but also the chaplain and several junior civil servants. Consequently the inadequate structure depicted by Fryer must be as conventional as the rest of his plan:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Surveighed the dwelling house in the ffort, the Carpenter and Bricklayer, Leiftenant Sutton[1] and Gunner Dixon also being Present; and by the Work-

[1] Timothy Sutton was in 1652 serving as a private soldier at Fort St. George. He appears to have succeeded Chuseman in command of the garrison in 1668. Dismissed in 1676, he continued to reside in Madras, and two years later paid tax for his house in the Christian Town.

mens, &c., advice it was Concluded that if the additionall Buildings set up at the North West side of the Terazza were not taken down, and some Buttresses or new Pillars set up on that side of the house Wall, the said Part of the house, being already weakened the last great Storm, would in all Probability fall down the next that should happen: which was accordingly resolved to be put in Execution forthwith. W. LANGHORN, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JNO. BRIDGER, TIMO. WILKES, J. SMITH.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 26th Jan., 167½.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The outward wall of the House in the Fort being found to be very crazy and tottering through badness of the foundation, and many cracks more and more appearing therein, which upon surveigh by the Chief Gunner and Ingenier of the Fort, Wm. Dixon, Muttamarra the chief Carpenter, and Nallana the chief Bricklayer, has allready obliged us to run up two Buttresses the last yeare to the North East, and one this yeare to the S.W. to support it; and these not suffising, it is found needfull to sett up one Buttress more to the S.W., one more to the N.W., three more to the N.E. and two or three Timbers to the S.E. where the Jettys[1] hinder the joyning of Buttresses, to prevent if possible the suddain falling of the said wall, and for the security of the lives of the Agent and others of Councell, the Minister, and Factors and Writers inhabiting therein, which, upon any great storm of wind and rayn (very frequent in these parts), are in very great danger, the whole house rocking in a strange manner, and built of Brick and playster without lime; the Agent and Councell being desirous to tarry if possible for leave from the Honble Company for the taking of it down and new building it, the necessity whereof is to be represented to them by these letters.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 1st Nov., 1677.)

The map of 1733 shows that the village boundary of Madras on the south embraced the greater part of the Island. The following extract shows that a portion of the Island was Company's territory in Sir Edward Winter's time. In the absence of record of a specific grant, we must assume that the ground was included in the Naik's cowle of 1639[2]:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolved to pull downe the two empty houses upon the Island, one built by Sir Edward Winter, the other by Agent Foxcroft, as good for nothing, nor used to anything, but onely fitt to harbour Rogues a nights or Enemies, and to use the materialls in the repaires. And whereas Sir Edward Winter claymes a right to the furthermost as his, upon enquiery wee find hee hath noe right to it, for hee never paid for the building, as Verona who paid for it testifies; and besides it is built on the Honble Companys Ground. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 6th Feb., 167½.)

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[1] *Jettys*, projections.

[2] Neknām Khān's cowle implies that Madras territory remained the same in 1672 as it was in 1639, except for the addition of Nārimedu.

Alterations contemplated by Jearsey to his house in Charles Street, on the bank of the river, were held to prejudice the defence of the Fort :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. William Jearsey going about to build adjoyning to the house he dwells in, called Agent Greenhills house, and to carry it up much higher then the old one now is, without leave either asked or given, for although he shewed some of us the Plat[1] of his design, he never gave the least notice of the rise intended ; and observing it hath been the constant policy of this place not to suffer any house within the Town walls to be raised higher then a ground floor, and duly observed, except the proper dwelling houses of the Agents Chambers, Greenhill and Winter, built during their own Agencys, untill Agent Foxcroft his time . . .; and the Leiuetenants Sutton and Gunner Hugh Dixon, and Serjeant Richardson being Consulted with and declareing it to be unsafe for the Fort, and that the old part itselfe was too high ; It is Resolved that, to shew Mr. Wm. Jearsey that we act not with any malice to him, whatsoever his mind and carriage be to us, that hee shall be suffered to build up the new part as high as the old, and not higher, which Agent Greenhill, by crippling his lower rooms to favour his upper, shews he had carried up as high as, in his Judgment, was safe and fitt . . .; And accordingly to send him word by Leiftenant Sutton, but with this Caution that, on any Occasion of danger of Enemys, it must and may be taken downe for the better Defence of the Fort. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 10th June, 1672.)

The next extract contains a reference to the public granary :—

Consultation in Fort St. George.

'Whereas the Paddy[2] Banksall was 16 years since built at the cost and charges of Bera Timona and Cassa Verona,[3] and in consideration thereof, in the Agency of Sir Thomas Chambers, a small imposition appointed to be raised on the Paddy and Rice which was brought to this Towne ; and the said Bancksall being now gone to ruine, its resolved that it shall be rebuilt at the cost and charge of the Hoñble Company, and the said imposition collected for their accompt.

'Resolved also that the streete betweene the midle and the Chaultry gate, which Sir Edward Winter in his Agency walled up and appropriated to his owne use, be againe opened and the wall thrown down, it appearing by certificates that it hath been a free street, and of great use to prevent many inconveniencies to the inhabitants. . . .

'The Jetty built by Mr. Wm. Jearsey into the River without, nay against, the Governours order, being a blind to the two points[4] upon the said river, hinder-

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[1] *Plat*, ground-plan.

[2] *Paddy*, probably from Malay *pādī*, rice in the husk.

[3] An earlier banksall, however, existed in the famine time of 1647 (Painters' Declaration, *O.C.*, No. 2542 of 1654).

[4] *The two points*, Caldera Point and the Round or Charles's Point.

ing the Gunns from cleareing alongst the Town side to the river, is concluded to be unsafe and not to be suffered.

'The Doore which he still keepes to the River, contrary to the Agents order, and many friendly advertisements from him to shut it up, and offers of all possible accommodation at either the next postern or the water gate,[1] both so near his house, and whereof very evill use appeares to have been made in the late troubles, likewise resolved to be of dangerous consequence and not to be suffered. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 7th May, 1675.)

The following consultation relates to the clearance of ground on the north bank of the Elambore River for the use of the Company's Washers. The land in question, which is now occupied by the General Hospital and Medical College, was shortly afterwards chosen for the site of the Company's 'New Garden':—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolved that from the great Ditch between the Gentu Town and the Potters Town,[2] all alongst the river unto the winding of the River to the Northward,[3] no more buildings or gardenings be permitted to be made, nor so farr up from it to the Northward as may be usefull to the Washers to wash, dry or whiten their callicoes on occasion of troubles with the Moores or others, that being the only part where we can protect them with the Fort Ordnance; but that, as opportunity shall present, the Justices of the Choultry shall be vigilant to clear as much as possible of the ground or sand on the North side of the river, on either side of Mr. Edward Herry his house and Garden,[4] from the house[s] and Gardens, &c. incumbrances allready there, so farr up as may be usefull for the washers aforesaid.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 1st Oct., 1675.)

Among the earliest settlers at Fort St. George was Thomas Clarke, country-born[5] son of a former Agent at Masulipatam of the same name. In 1640 or 1641 he built himself a residence to the north-west of Cogan's incipient fort. The house lay just outside the town wall which was subsequently erected. In 1673, when a

[1] *The water gate:* Not the Sea Gate mentioned by Fryer under this name, but an opening to the river on the west side of the Christian Town to facilitate the use of boats.

[2] The *Gentu Town* was the native town of Madras, and the *Potters Town* was the village of Peddanaikpetta, otherwise Comerpetta, which signifies Potters' village. The *great Ditch*, which lay between, is marked on Thomas Pitt's map as the 'Cannall of the Padda,' because it irrigated paddy lands to the northward.

[3] *The winding of the River to the Northward* at the present General Hospital, where the river merges into what is now called Cochrane's Canal.

[4] Herry or Herrys's house and garden was probably that shown as Fleetwood's on Thomas Pitt's map.

[5] 'Borne in the Countrie and never been out of it' (*O.C.*, No. 3098, 26th Sept., 1665).

Dutch attack was anticipated, the house was demolished to clear the ground for fire. Clarke, who was employed as Portuguese and Dutch translator, afterwards presented a petition for compensation, in which he stated that, when the town was threatened by the Dutch, Sir William Langhorn 'applyed the remedy by clearing the passage surrounding the Caldera Point, clogged up with the too neare approach of houses, among which was one belongeing to your Petitioner, built thirty foure yeares since, when neither bulwarkes nor scarce a house of Noate appeared, becoming the first Inhabitant through the Invitation of the then Agent, who removed about that time from Armegon'[1]:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Upon the petition of Mr. Thomas Clarke and the justice of his case, he being also a person soe well deserving of the Hoñble Company, and having been the example of obedience to all the other Inhabitants dwelling near the Caldera point without, in pulling down his houses in the time of danger, the Dutch being then howerly expected to assault the place on that very side as the fittest for their purpose, and having been built before the said wall or point was thought of; it is resolved by the Agent and Councell that the Justices of the Choultry shall summon in the Inhabitants of the place without the wall to contribute towards his dammage, as far as pagodas one hundred, the vallue of his materialls as they were vallued by the Master builders, Carpenter and Chief Gunner, the ground not being vallued, by reason it belongs to the Hoñble Company, to whom it never paid the ground Rent nor had any Lease for the same.

'And that they likewise leavy upon the said Inhabitants the pagodas one hundred and thirty disbursed for them by Cassa Verona for removing the Sand from the Sea Side, which they have never yet contributed unto.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 28th Sept., 1675.)

The proposed assessment produced so vigorous a protest from the people that the Council thought it discreet to drop the claim. The sequel will illustrate the pertinacity with which the inhabitants resisted, in later times, the imposition of any tax other than the customs dues:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'And that the Hoñble Company may the better judge by the experience of this their place, the Agent and Councell have been fain to lett fall the execution of their Consultation of the 28th September last for the levying of only pagodas 230 upon the whole Out-Town in compensation of Mr. Thomas Clarkes houses near the Caldera point pulled down, and Veronas expence in

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[1] The petition is entered at the end of *P.C.*, vol. i.

clearing the sand from the Sea wall during the warr, which had scarce amounted to 2 fanams per house; and yet all the Inhabitants, nay their own Merchants, all but Cassa Verona, had shut up their shops and gathered up to the pagoda;[1] and, by intelligence, their Tribes in the country had stopped all provisions from coming to Town, themselves being ready to forsake the place if the Agent and Councell had not timely pacifyed them by desisting from the said leviation. They did not vallue the summe, but the precedent.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 29th Feb., 167$\frac{1}{2}$.)

In 1677 Clarke petitioned again, adding a request for an increase in the salary of the appointment which he had held for the past nine years:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Thomas Clarke having delivered in a petition here annexed for augmentation of sallary, he having hitherto only pagodas tenn per month without any other allowance for dyet or House Rent, and likewise for allowance for his House near the Town wall pulled down in time of the warr of St. Thoma for safety of the place, &c.; The Agent and Councell being very sensible of the paines he has all along taken in the Hoñble Companys service, and how necessary he has been, and still is, unto them in such times of never ceasing troubles as we have hitherto found for these severall yeares, and for ought we see growing more and more cloudy as the new intrigues of Golconda with Sevagee give us but too much reason to apprehend, They have resolved that he be allowed three pagodas per month out of the Choultry Income over and above his present sallary, as well for House Rent as in consideration of his said House pulled down, . . . noting that the said house was standing before the said Town wall itself was built. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 19th May, 1677.)

'*To the Hoñble Sir William Langhorn, Bart., Agent and Governor, &c. worthy Councell.*

'*The humble Petition of Thomas Clarke.*

'I also begg leave to renew my former Petition to your Worships, &c., that whereas your Worships, &c., . . . were pleased to order the pulling down of my house near the Caldera Point, which was built long before the walling of the Christian Town, . . . for which your Worships, &c., were pleased to promise a compensation of my loss, which hitherto hath not been thought fitt to be resolved on, though three yeares since. But were the forbearance doubled, I dare not think the Hoñble Company and your Worships, &c., goodness and justice would permit me to be a single sufferer for the conveniency of their Town, or make the best part of my livelyhood a sacrifice for the publick; but I most humbly referr it and myself to your Worships, &c., most serious compationate consideration, begging your Worships, &c., to make it your own case; then, be the result what it will, I shall contentedly submitt. . . .'

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[1] *The pagoda*, the Gentu Temple in the native town.

Thomas Clarke acquired a house and garden in Muthialpetta, situated at the southern end of the street now called *Popham's Broadway*. The property passed eventually to Signor Niccolão Manucci.[1] A gate in the city rampart opposite to this residence was for many years known as *Tom Clarke's Gate*. In 1682, 'being very sick and weak,' Clarke applied to retire :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Agent and Councell took into consideration the Petition deliver'd last Thorsday by Mr. Thos. Clarke, and have, upon accompt of his living at some distance from the Fort, and the necessity of his giving his constant attendance upon the Governour, &c., about the Companys businesse, allowed him 2 pagodas per mensem more towards the defraying his Pallanquin charges, he being very crazy and much weaken'd by his sicknesse.' (*P.C.*, vol. vii., 8th May, 1682.)

Clarke died on the 4th October, 1683, and was buried at St. Andrew's in the Outer Fort. His tombstone now forms a portion of the pavement before St. Mary's Church. Part of the inscription runs: *Hic jacet Thomas Clarkc, filius Thomæ Clarkc Angli olim præfecti Anglicæ societatis in civitate Masulipatam.*

Clarke was succeeded[2] as interpreter and Portuguese writer by 'Joan Coroon, now a Souldier upon the Corps du Guard.'

It was not till three years after Clarke's death that compensation was finally made for his demolished house :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Elizabeth Clarke, widdow of Thomas Clarke deceased, having delivered in her Petition . . . for an allowance for an house of her husband's pulled down in Sir William Langhorns time for the building of Caldeira Point on said Ground, for which there was never anything allowed him ; . . . and in regard we find itt to be so, and that she is in a very poor condition, and no allowance given her since her husbands decease, Itt is order'd that Pagodas 100 be given her in full satisfaction thereof and of all other demands whatsoever. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. iv., 11th Oct., 1686.)

Among the questions put by Major Puckle in 1676 were the following, with the replies which they elicited :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'2. What English that are not in the Honble Companys service do live or have habitations in the English or Blacks Towns, how they are qualified, what trades do they drive. . . . ?

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[1] It is shown as 'Manoucha's Garden' in Thomas Pitt's map.

[2] *P.C.*, ix., 4th Sept., 1684.

[*Ans.*] 'Mr. Jearsey, and his nephew John Jearsey who serves him and has paid his fine[1] to the Honble Company.

'Timothy Sutton, formerly Lieutenant, whose discharging has been advised to them.

'Charles Ryley, an old souldier here, but has laid down his arms, and keepes a house of entertainment (upon sufferance. . . .)

'Richard Monck, lately a prisoner with the Dutch, marryed here; has laid down arms being sickly; drives no trade that we know of.

'John Augur, an antient man, marryed to an English woman; keepes an house of entertainment upon sufferance, having been long a souldier, and no other way to live.

'Booth Chadderton, came out as a souldier near two years since, and lately had leave to serve Mr. Herrys, but ready to take up arms again upon occasion.

'3. Why are so many portigues permitted to dwell in the English Town and pay no rent, nor any acknowledgement for their houses, whilst many English are necessitated to take houses in the Black Town and pay for the same?

[*Ans.*] 'The portuguezes and mestizas were invited hither by the severall Agents from our first settling here, and some came with our people from Armagon, and [were] encourraged, and severall had mony lent them to build upon this open Sand, under the protection of the Gunns; which by degrees has been walled in, they doing the duty of trained bands in watching and warding in times of trouble upon the outworkes. They have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, nor taken out any leases. . . .

'4. Why there is no survey made and taken of both Towns, with the lands belonging to them; and why those that have built upon the Honble Companys ground do not pay any acknowledgement, not a peper corn, for the ground their houses stand upon, nor have Leases with Covenants to maintain, &c.; and why no Register of the names of the tennants and inhabitants aforesaid?

[*Ans.*] 'The paddy ground payes rent Pags. 40 per annum, lett out to Cassa Verona at the rate it yeilded the three years last before it; and the Agent has severall times advertised the people who have gardened up and down the sands to take leases for their more quiet possession, but (saving six allready made to the English and others) they seem to be rather willing to let them fall back to sand as they were, which would be of evill consequence to this place, being all on a loose sand where, between the scorching reflex of the sunn and the flying of the sand, we should be scarce able to draw our breath, which was formerly the cause of great distempers, sickness and mortallity, rendering the place very uncomfortable, allmost uninhabitable.' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 29th Feb., 167$\frac{1}{2}$.)

Though the early town of Madras had, by the erection of walls and ramparts, long been divided into two separate quarters, no more distinctive appellations had hitherto been in vogue than *Christian Town* and *Out-Town*, or *Gentu Town*. Puckle designates them *English Town* and *Blacks Town*. In the modified form of

[1] *Fine*, a security bond for good behaviour.

White Town and *Black Town* these names were adopted, and they will henceforward be used in this work.

The paddy ground mentioned in the reply to the fourth question lay between the suburbs of Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta, considerably to the north of Black Town. The fact that this land was Company's property tends, as already pointed out with regard to the Island, to confirm the view that the Naik's grant of 1639 covered all the territory shown on the map of 1733 as being within the village limits of Madras.

CHAPTER XXX

1672—1678

SAWCER'S CHARGES—THE CIVIL SERVICE

SAWCER'S CHARGES.

IN 1672 the Company sent out a young man named Lawrence Sawcer as a calico sorter. Before he had been six months in Madras he impertinently wrote home a backbiting letter charging Sir William Langhorn with various irregularities. While no weight can be attached to accusations made in so underhand a manner, Sawcer's letter discloses some curious events which doubtless really occurred. Extracts from his letter are accordingly given. What action the Company took has not been traced, but a passage in a general letter despatched from Fort St. George in 1674 shows that the Council were not unaware that Sawcer was an informer. By that time, however, the calico sorter was dead. It is possible that Sawcer's letter may have influenced the Company towards the appointment of Major Puckle as Commissioner.

Lawrence Sawcer to the Honble. Company.

(*O.C.*, Nos. 3655, 3764, *cir.* Jan., $167\frac{2}{3}$.)

'Right Worshippful Sirs, . . . On the 23rd of June 1672 it pleased god I arived at this place where you are pleased to settle mee in order to the true sorting of your cloth, which if I Might a been sofered to a don it according to my Judgment, . . . you might expected a better Cargoe of Cloath then now you have; and yet I thinke I may adventure to say your Cargoe is better then it wold a been if I had not been here by eight, if not ten, per sent. The Reasons I shall here give you.

'First, Sir William will not let mee sorte a piece of Cloath without him, and he will receive Cloath under Muster, and when I object against it, hee will say, we must not bee to hard with the Marchants: then I answer him, wee must bee just to our Masters: then will hee not answer mee, nor take any

notis no more then if I had said nothing, but falleth into other discorse, puting it of with a lafe, and so falleth to sorting againe. When I say, this is but a second sorte, hee will say, it is a first, and hee and Mr. Bridger both of them set themselves to argoe with me against Your Worshipps Interest. . . .

'Sir William hath broke up the Poblicke table, which is a dishonour to your Worships and the nation, and alowing soe small board wages that noe where they can bee boarded for the Money, I meane the young men whereof myselfe is one, in my alowance; but I doe not Complaine as to myselfe if it were less. But truley the young men are forced to goe to a punch Howse to have thare diet, which is not Convenyant for them, because thay have thare many ell examples, and youth is to ready to take to anything that is bad. But I am every day perswading them to bee good husbands,[1] but I feare some of them will not take my Counsell: the great liberty that thay have I feare will bee thare ruen, and render them unfit for your sarvis. . . .

'Sir William hath taken, since the arivall of the French, a gret many Portages[2] into your servis, among which is a great many boyes that I am sure some cannot fire a Musket, and in my openyon puts you to a great deale of unnesisary Charge. I will undertake, with onely a sword in my hand, to drive twenty before mee. I pray God your Worships may neaver have ocation to try them. . . .

'You may please to take notis that the French were Incoraged to take St. May[3] by Sir Willaim, or elce they hade neaver adventured upon it. Hee wrot to the Vice Roye that the Moores had but foure Gunnes in the Forte and verey few men, and as sone as thay heard this, thay presantly begunne to fire at the Forte; and since the French possest themselves of St. May, Letters have past eavery day between the Vice Roye and Sir William. . . . Hee invited the French Commanders to dine with him, where for thare better welcom he fired all the Gunnes round the Forte, expressing himselfe how joyfull hee was of soe good Nabores. When the King of Gulkingdau had sent an army to beseige and take the place againe, Sir Willaim gave the French the Leberty of this towne to buy up all sorts of provitions, which not only dobled or trebled the price of provitions, but disgust[ed] the Moores. They have sent to him aboave twenty times to forbead him to send provitions to the French, but hee takes no notis of it, onely gets Verona to tell them that hee doth not send them any sopplyes.

'Na[y], here came three Frenchmen aboute the latter end of November from St. May to buy up provitions, and hee was soe kind to them to invite them to dinner. The Moores, haveing notis of it, presantly drew downe six or seaven thousand horse and Foote, and surrownded the towne, [and] Maide a demand of the three Frenchmen. Sir Willaim at that time caused Verona to goe and parley with them, and was forced, by Sir Williams directions, to tell them that here was noe Frenchmen in towne, notwithstanding thare boate lay at Anchor right against the Forte, which maide the Moores say that now they did believe all that thay had formerly tould them ware Lyes, as this was; where upon tooke a resolution not to depart untell they had the Frenchmen delivered. Whereupon Sir Willaim commanded all the Gunnes to bee shotted, sent word to Bobasay,[4] Commander in Chefe of the Moores, who then was within pistoll shot of St. Thomas poynte, that if hee advanced his men any neerer, that then

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[1] *Husbands* of their resources.
[2] *Portages*, Portuguese.
[3] *St. May*, San Thomé.
[4] *Bobasay*, Bābā Ṣāḥib

hee wold fire upon him, which was that the Moores wold have had, for if one Gunn had been fired, thay had presantly plundered the out towne,[1] besides taken aboute eight thousand peeces of Cloth which was then a whiting. Hereupon Verona, well Considering, maide this motion to Bobasay, that hee wold give him a wrighting under his hand for twenty foure thousand pagodas to bee paid at demand in case thay proved that here were French Men in towne, which thay will esely doe, for thay left two hundred men to gard the sea side, that thay should not goe without thare knowledg. The next night, which was a raire invention, about twelve a Clocke, a boate was provided, and the whole strength of your Forte Marcht the French to the seaside, beate away the Moores, tooke from some thare armes, from others thare vitules. This newes flew to Gulkingdau presantly, which brought Crabbed Letters from the Nabob. Well, this time also Verona stoode in the Gapp, and with foure and twenty hundred pagodas purtchased peace againe. And yet, for all this, Sir William hath Continyoued to send boates and Masullaes[2] eavery night since with provitions, [which] doth verey much insense the King against this place. . . . And all this to assist such a People that, if once they Come to bee seatled, will not onely prevent your traide but will take your Forte if thay can, for thay begin to say already that the Forte of St. George is to neare them. . . .

'The two French Popish Prests doe you a great deale of damage in this place, and Sir Willaim is soe great with them that makes mee thinke some-times hee is of that perswasion. . . . You will find in your Accompts some Piscashes have been given to the Moores which need not a been if Sir Willaim wold have left of trading with the French. Eavery night he sends provitions to them, for if hee had not, thay had long before this been starved out. Nay, I here some say that they have seene a Masulaw Loaded at a time with Powder, and by these Meanes your Money goes to the Moores, and the French Money Comes to Sir William. . . .

'LAWR. SAWCER.

'Noate that, against the returne of this pamphlett, his grand Confederate Mr. Jearsey gave out that your Agent was to be turned out, and himselfe (or the Gray Mare[3]) to be Agent. I referr the application of L.S. that himselfe should be Warehouse keeper.'

Some notice of this effusion must have been taken by the Company, for the Madras Council wrote as follows in 1674 :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Besides the supposition of the young mens being, by their eating out of the Fort, exposed to evill courses, the parties who have so informed have been much to blame; for besides that they are all dyeted in private houses free from disorder, and that the allowance is the least that they could be provided for, either at the Generall or particular tables, heere was not any so disorderly as one of the informers themselves, Mr. Sawcer, who indeed was so great a promoter of his old trade gameing, and the Punch Bowle, that, had he lived,

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[1] *Out towne*, the Black Town. [2] *Masullaes*, surf-boats.

[3] *The Gray Mare:* Perhaps Mrs. Jearsey, *née* Hemsinck, a Dutch lady, is indicated.

we should have been faine to have restrayned it; except Mr. John Crandon, who, for his disorderly and scandalous conversation and debauching of both your writers and souldiers, we have been fain, after very long forbearance in hopes either of his amendment or his voluntary removall severall times intimated to us, to dismiss, the 14th Current, from your service, and order him to depart the place. . . . WM. LANGHORN, JOSEPH HYNMERS, EDWARD HERRYS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIMO. WILKES.' (*O.C.*, No. 3992, 20th Aug., 1674.)

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The Company resolved in 1675 to establish definite grades in the Civil Service. Apprentices were to serve as such for seven years, receiving £5 per annum for the first five years, and £10 for the last two. They then became Writers, and after a year's service in the higher rank were promoted to Factors on £20. The next grade was that of Merchant on £40, rising to Senior Merchant on £50. The Governor and two senior members of Council enjoyed special emoluments of £300, £100 and £70 respectively; but in the case of the first, only £200 was salary, the remainder being gratuity. These rates prevailed for many years, with little modification.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'By our last Ships wee advised what wee had done for the encouragement of our servants when their respective times were out, and knowing that a distinction of title is in many respects necessary, wee doe Order that when the Apprentices have served their time, they be stiled Writers, and Writers haveing served their times they be stiled ffactors, and factors haveing served their times to be stiled Merchants, and Merchants haveing served their times to be stiled Senior Merchants.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 24th Dec., 1675.)

A list relating to 1677 of the covenanted and other civil servants sent out from England shows, by comparison with the list already given for 1654, how the establishment had increased with the growth and prosperity of Madras:—

'*A List of the Hoñble Companys servants at Fort St. George, reduced under their severall degrees in their due seniority, according to the Hoñble Companys late rules.*

(*O.C.*, No. 4262, 23rd Jan., $167\frac{6}{7}$.)

'1. Sir William Langhorn, Bart., Agent and Governor, came out to succeed Agent Foxcroft. Present sallary 200*l.* gratuity 100*l.* per annum. Arrived June 14, 1670 - £300

'2. Mr. Streynsham Master,[1] second in the Agency, came out to succeed Sir William Langhorn. Arrived July 7th, 1676 - - - - - - - - - - - - £300
'3. Mr. Joseph Hynmers, Book-Keeper, came out fourth of Councell at 50*l.* per annum, June 14, 1670 - - - £100
'4. Mr. Edward Herrys, Warehouse Keeper, Came out a Factor at 20*l.* per annum. Arrived Aug. 1st, 1662 - £70
'5. Mr. John Bridger, Generall Purser or Paymaster, came out, of Councell, at 40*l.* per annum. Arrived Aug. 21st, 1668 - - - - - - - - - - - - £50
'6. Mr. Timothy Wilkes, Choultrey Justice or Customer,[2] came out a Factor at 35*l.* per annum; his Sallary made 40*l.* per annum 1674. Arrived Aug. 20, 1668 - - £40
'7. Mr. Jacob Smith, Choultry Justice or Customer, came out assistant to Sir William Langhorne at 5*l.* per annum. His sallary made 40*l.* per annum 1674. Arrived June 14, 1670 - - - - - - - - - - £40
'8. John Nicks[3] came out an apprentice at 5*l.* per annum. Arrived Sep. 8, 1668. Factor 1676 - - - - £20
'9. John Davis came out an apprentice at 5*l.* per annum. Arrived Sep. 10, 1668. Factor 1676 - - - - £20
'10. John Thomas came out an apprentice at 5*l.* per annum. Arrived Sep. 10, 1668. Factor 1676 - - - - £20
'11. Elihu Yale came out a writer. Arrived June 23, 1672 - £10
'12. Vincent Sayon came out a writer. Arrived June 23, 1672 - - - - - - - - - - - - £10
'13. Francis Ellis came out a writer. Arrived June 23, 1672 - £10
'14. John Wilcox came out a writer. Arrived June 27, 1673 - £10
'15. John Pouncett came out for Surat. Arrived July 27, 1673 - - - - - - - - - - - - £10
'16. Francis Mansell, arrived June 24, 1675 - - - - £10
'17. Richard Browne, arrived June 23, 1675 - - - - £10
'18. Charles Eyre, arrived June 28, 1675. Writer - - - £10
'19. James Wheeler, arrived June 24, 1675. Writer - - £10
'20. Jonathan Prickman, arrived June 28, 1675. Writer - £10
'21. Richard Milton, came out an Apprentice, June 27, 1673 - £5

'Richard Portman, Chaplaine, arrived June 7, 1676. Salary 50*l.*, gratuity 50*l.* - - - - - - - - - - [£100]
'John Waldo, Chyrurgeon, arrived June 14, 1670 - - - £30
'Bezaliell Sherman, Chyrurgeon, arrived Aug. 7, 1676 - - £30
'Nathaniell Keeble,[4] assistant in the Mint, arrived here June 14, 1670- - - - - - - - - - £20'

In 1676 a brawl took place in the Council chamber between Mr. Edward Herrys, third member of Council, and Nathaniel

[1] Mr. Streynsham Master was supernumerary to the establishment.
[2] The Choultry served as a Custom-house as well as a Court of Justice.
[3] John Nicks was Secretary to the Council from 1672.
[4] Keeble married Nicks's sister.

Keeble, the Mint assistant, who is described as a jeweller. Herrys complained that Keeble refused to return a diamond which had been entrusted to him for setting. Keeble, being summoned to the Council room, challenged Herrys to meet him in a duel the following morning. Blows followed, and the Governor himself had to separate the combatants. 'After this, the said Nathaniell, having his handkercher blooded from his nose in [his] hand, severall times repeated that he would be revenged for this blood were he hang'd for it at the Flagg Staff.' Keeble was then confined to his room till he could find security for keeping the peace.[1] He, however, broke his arrest :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Nathaniell Keeble having on the 5th June, in the night, escaped out of prison from his Chamber, where he was confined with a sentinell at his doore, and leaped over the ffort walls, as per his owne Confession, his legg being sprained in the act, which disabled him from pursuing his intentions whatsoever they were, which, through so great hazard and danger, must needs be something extraordinary; and Mr. Edward Herrys, not without reason, declaring his apprehensions of some evell intentions of the said Nathaniells, especially after so plaine a declaration of his desperate minde, his known activity in climing walls, as well now as formerly those of Captain Lt. Betts his, then newly marryed and himselfe abroad, The Agents gentleness in pardoning where of its not unlike may have encreased his bouldness; it is resolved by the Agent and Councell that he be committed Prisoner into the Cock house[2] untill the returne of the Europe ships homeward, and then to be sent home for England, according to the settled orders of the ffort. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. i., 6th June, 1676.)

The next day Keeble made humble submission, and was pardoned.

The following extract relates to the collection of customs dues :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Customes, being only farmed of the Divan, are to be received at the antient rate: new customes would raise clamours and new demands from the Mores. As for the manner, the goods are still brought to the Chowltry, and there entred and dispatched. . . . All possible care and exactness is used therein, as you will see by the bookes sent home, the principall parts being all acted by English, Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Smith in Chief, and Mr. Drinckwater

[1] *P.C.*, vol. i., 5th June, 1676.

[2] *Cock house*, the lock-up in which Foxcroft was at first confined. Wheeler, who mentions the Keeble incident, erroneously writes 'Lock house' (*Madras in the Olden Time*, i. 62).

at the water side, placed by Agent Foxcroft, besides Mr. Thomas Clarke, Interpreter and Secretary of the Languages, whose labour will in part appeare by the Letter bookes to and from Gulcondia, and Joã de Sessia, a Portuguese Nottary, that being the most usefull and communicable language in these parts. As for under officers, it is not possible to be without the Natives, such as the multitude we have to do with consists of. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4044, 20th Nov., 1674.)

Some correspondence which passed regarding the suspension by Langhorn of the general Table, and the grant of diet allowances in lieu, contains interesting details :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We observe your Honours orders about setting up againe the General Table, unto which, with all submission, we answer that it was layen down at first by Agreement of the Agent and Councell and general desire of all your other servants through the great inconvenience thereof, and not by any particular fancy of your Agent alone. The said inconveniencies are now much increased, all your servants in Councell being married and children coming on apace, so that your great prudence will easily imagine that it is next to impossible for them, as much more for their wives (who for want of room have all been faine to procure houses out of the Fort) to be absent from their Familyes at those times so necessary to the well ordering thereof, and for their own comfort. And as for the young men without the Councill, your Honours need not be informed how discreditable as well as unpleasing a thing it would be for your Agent to be tyed to sitt like a pedant amongst his Boyes, especially heere being such a concourse of Dutch and French, either on business or civillity, whom we cannot avoid entertaining at your table. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3992, 20th Aug., 1674.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'As to the General Table, haveing allready wrote the needfull in ours 20th August last, we shall only add that, seeing it is your pleasure, we have sett it up againe for your Factors and Writers, which is all that the order mentions ; but the Councell being all married persons, Children coming on apace, and fain to live out of the Fort for more room, we humbly conceive you have exempted them. . . .

'Meanwhile, although your Honours well know that to be cheerefull and pleasant at the Table howers is one of the best precepts for health and long lasting, your Agent has so great a deference to your appointments that he denys himself even in that to attend the Table as often as he can, untill you shall thinck good to dispence him from it, entreating you to believe that his consent to the board wages was never out of such a sordid thought as the pinching a few fanams for you out of your servants mouths. True it is that, haveing observed in his predecessours time how hard a thing it was to please all folks, between the too much and the too little, and having such greater cares upon him, he should have been glad to have ridd his hands of the ungratefull task, as the blessed Apostles before him. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4044, 20th Nov., 1674.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have againe seriously considered what you write about Keeping of a publique Table, and we doe adjudge it both most honourable and convenient to have it maintayn'd; and the Sitting of the Youths at the Same table with you can noe way abridge you of any freedome. And at Suratt and Bombay Our president practizes the same, and we are sure it will be of great advantage to the Youths by enjoying soe good an example and preventing them from keeping ill Company." (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 24th Dec., 1675.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The marry'd persons in the Hoñble Companys service here representing to the Agent and Councell that the allowances they receive for Dyett and House rent are so small that they are not able to subsist thereupon, being at great expence unavoydable out of their own purses besides, which lyes very heavy upon them through the straightness of room within the Fort and Christian Town, and dearness of all provisions of late yeares still encreasing, the Agent and Councell have taken it into consideration, and finding it to be true, have resolved to allow Mr. Joseph Hynmers and Mr. Edward Herrys, who still discharge the places of second and third (considering Mr. Streynsham Master at present as extranumerary and otherwayes taken up in matters relating to the Government ready to devolve upon him) pagodas tenn per mensem each for Dyett, and pagodas fower per mensem House rent; the rest of Councell pagodas eight each for Dyett, and pagodas three each for House rent; the Surgeon and marryed Factors pagodas fower for Dyett, and pagodas two for House Rent; and washing, water and Barber to be allowed the Hoñble Companys servants below, as well as in, the Councell, to commence from the first day of this month of February. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 12th Feb., $167\frac{8}{7}$.)

At the end of 1677 the Company engaged a schoolmaster for Fort St. George. His duties were not to be limited to teaching the English children, but were to extend to the Portuguese and even the natives, thus foreshadowing the work of the Educational Department of modern times:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'And now that you have so many married ffamilies, and C[hildren] increase, for their due education wee send over one Mr. Ralph Orde to be School Master at the Fort at the Sallary of fifty pounds per annum to coñence from the time of his embarqueing here; who is to teach all the Children to read English and to write and Cypher gratis, and if any of the other Natives, as Portuguez, Gentues or others, will send their Children to School, wee require they be also taught gratis, and you are to appoint some Convenient place for this use; and he is likewise to instruct them in the Principles of the Protestant religion, and he is to diet at our Table. He hath received 5*l.* here in part of his sallary, which you are to deduct there.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 12th Dec., 1677.)

In Major Puckle's Diary (*Fac. Rec. Masulipatam* of 1st Feb., 167$\frac{5}{6}$) we have a list of the native Merchants who were 'joyned with Verona,' showing ten in Madras and five in neighbouring foreign territory. Details are given in *O.C.*, Nos. 4026 and 4196, of the work of the Writers, and the particular books each was engaged on. The following extract relates to individual members of the service:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Thomas Lucas,[1] of whose hand are these and allmost all your Papers from me, (the rest John Nix, a very good and hopefull youth allso, as were all those four hospitall boyes[2]) has done me such extraordinary service in your business these two Yeares, so apt and modest withall, that more cannot be said. . . . Mr. Crandon pretends home next ships (a good riddance), whose place would be incomparably supplyed by the yong man T.L., if your worships thought good, without whose order I am averse to introduce any other belonging to me, untill I see how you approve of Mr. Smith,[3] whose great Europe experience has been very usefull to you in the Chowltry. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3729, 1st Jan., 167$\frac{2}{3}$.)

Down to 1670 all the Chaplains appointed to Fort St. George had lived to return to their native land. Then followed three casualties in rapid succession, the Rev. Edward Newcome, John Hounsill[4] and Samuel Tutchin all dying at Fort St. George. The two latter were not in Orders. The last vacancy was filled in 1674 by Patrick Warner, who had been captured by the Dutch in the sea-fight of the preceding year. Warner, who was unordained, was followed by the Rev. Richard Portman.[5]

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have now to advise you of the decease of Mr. Samuell Tutchin, our late Minister, the primo June, after four months sickness of the flux,[6] during all which time Mr. Patrick Warner, late Minister of ship President, so worthyly supplyed his want, and has, ever since his landing, behaved himself so vertuously and becoming his calling, that has emboldened us to intreat him to supply the place; which he has been pleased to undertake for two yeares time, computing that to be sufficient to provide him a successor, when his inclinations are to returne home. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 3992, 20th Aug., 1674.)

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1 *Thomas Lucas* came out as a soldier according to Mr. Sawcer, who complains of his elevation.

2 *Hospitall boyes*, lads from Christ's Hospital sent out as Apprentices.

3 Mr. Jacob Smith, junior member of Council.

4 *John Hounsill*: 'honest Mr. Hownsell,' according to Sawcer.

5 For further information regarding these chaplains, see *The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny.

6 *The flux*; dysentery. Langhorn says that he himself was 'very roughly handelled by the said Countrey disease, which has held him near four months time.'

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We returne you our humble thanks in favour of Mr. Patrick Warner his allowance of sallary and gratuity, 100*l.* per annum, and for supplying the place with Mr. Richard Portman at the same, the former taking his passage with these ships. . . .

'We send a catalogue of the Bookes in this Library, having ordered the same to Metchlepatam and the Bay. . . .

'We make note of your order against the use of Romish Priests in marrying, burying, Baptizing, &c.; which to prevent, it will be requisite that your Factorys be still supplyed by Ministers in lawfull ordination, who will performe those dutyes as they should, which since Mr. Newcombs decease, Anno 1671, untill now has not been so. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 23rd July, 1676.)

Before Mr. Warner left, he addressed a letter [1] to the Company regarding the prevalence of vice among the soldiers and certain of the Writers. He reflected at the same time on Langhorn's action in firing salutes on the occasion of the 'consecration of a popish church within the walls.' [2]

Sir William Langhorn sailed for England on the 27th January, 1678, resigning his office to Mr. Streynsham Master, who had arrived eighteen months earlier. Two other ships left at the same time, carrying several passengers, among whom were Edward Herrys, John Waldo, the Fort surgeon, and the interloper William Alley:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'This Morning Sir William Langhorn and Mr. Edward Herrys tooke their leaves of the Shoare. The former Imbarqued upon the Shipp Bengale Merchant, Captain John Goldsborough, the latter upon Shipp Cesar, with his Wife and family, Captain Jonathan Andrewes (the son of Captain Thomas Andrewes who died the 19th Instant), to take their passage for England. So soon as Sir William Langhorn was on board of the Bengale Merchant, Captain Goldsborough spread the Flagg according to the order in his Dispatch, And both the said shipps sett sail about three a clock this after noon with a very faire and fresh gale of wind.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 27th Jan., $167\frac{7}{8}$.)

After his return to England, Langhorn purchased an estate at Charlton in Kent, endowed a school and almshouses, and performed other good works.[3] He took an active part in the affairs of the East India Company, and is described in a Company's letter of the 20th May, 1692, as 'one of the greatest Adven-

[1] Warner's letter, dated 31st January, 1676, is quoted in *Madras in the Olden Time* (Wheeler), i. 63.

[2] The Capuchin Church of St. Andrew, which was rebuilt in 1675.

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

venturers.'[1] In 1702 he was a member of the governing body.[2] At the age of seventy he married Grace, Dowager Viscountess Chaworth of Armagh, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, but she died a year later. In the little baptistry of Charlton parish church there is a fine monument to her memory, on which she is described as 'the Right Honble the Lady Grace, Viscountess of Ardmagh, . . . Whose admirable Endowments, Conspicuous Vertues, Nobleness of mind, Conjugall Affection, Sincere and Examplary Piety, were illustrious Instances that the Wise King required no Impracticable Accomplishments in his Perfect Matron.' Below are the following words:—

'In the same affiance the Body of Sir William Langhorn, who Deceased the 26th of February 1714 in the 85th year of his Age, is here Disposed to its Rest by that of his Beloved Consort.'

There was, however, another consort, for Sir William married secondly Mary Aston, who appears, from a tablet in the chancel of the same church, to have been only seventeen when her husband died. Langhorn left no children.

Two portraits of Sir William Langhorn are preserved at Charlton House, the seat of Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson, Bart. In one, which shows a full-length seated figure, Sir William is represented in advanced life. The other, of head and shoulders only, depicts him at an earlier age. The latter portrait is, with the permission of Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson, reproduced for this work.

[1] Quoted in *An Account of some Transactions in the House of Commons relating to the Late East India Company* (no date).

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xii., March, 1701 [1702].

CHAPTER XXXI

1678—1681

STREYNSHAM MASTER—COURTS OF JUSTICE—OUTLYING VILLAGES

STREYNSHAM MASTER.

UNLIKE Langhorn, the new Agent was an old servant of the Company. Born in 1640, son of Richard Master of East Langdon Court, Kent, Streynsham Master went out to Surat at the age of sixteen. In 1668 he was one of the Council there, and two years later, being in charge of the factory temporarily, he made a brave and successful defence against a determined attack by Sivājī. In 1672 Master returned to England in the *Antelope*, Captain Goldsborough, and was warmly received by the Company, who presented him with a medal commemorating his achievements at Surat. In September, 1675, he was nominated to succeed Langhorn at Madras :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Having had Consideracon that our Agents time is Expired, and Supposing he will not desire to Stay much Longer in the Country, Mr. Streinsham Master being presented to us as a fit person to serve us in that place and qualitie, we have elected him to goe by these Ships, and upon his Arrivall there to be Second at the first, and to Succeede in the Agency in January 1677 (our Stile) [1678], in case Sir Wm. Langhorn Shall resolve to Stay soe long, and in the mean time to goe downe to Metchlepatam and the Bay with one or two of our Factors at the ffort . . . to inspect and settle our Affaires in those parts. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 24th Dec., 1675.)

Master received his commission on the 24th December, 1675, sailed on the 8th January following, and reached Fort St. George on the 7th July. After visiting Masulipatam and the Bay, he

returned to Madras in January, 1677,[1] and sat as second in Council until Langhorn's departure a year later.

Streynsham Master inaugurated his rule by framing regulations for the administration of justice, and for the conduct of civil servants, and the directions issued on the 18th December, 1667, by the Court of Committees in London 'for the Christian and sober comportment of the Honble Companys Servants' were 'hung up in the Chappell and Dining Roome[2] to be observed accordingly.' Master entered into negotiations with Golconda for renting the outlying villages of Egmore, San Thomé and Trivatore. In 1678 some alarm was excited by the appearance of Sivājī's forces at Conjeveram, and the improvement of the fortifications on the north front of the Christian Town was consequently undertaken. Difficulties subsequently arose with Lingappa, governor of the country about Poonamallee and Conjeveram, regarding the importation of provisions and the control of the village of Triplicane. Lingappa's unreasonable demands were stoutly opposed, and a force of militia was embodied for the defence of Madras. The constitution of the garrison was modified, commissions issued to the officers, and Courts-martial authorized. St. Mary's Church was erected in the Fort, and various improvements were effected in the native town. Part of the Company's Garden in Black Town was handed over to the inhabitants, and a new Garden was established in Peddanaikpetta, on the site of the present General Hospital and Medical College. Attention was paid to conservancy: a Scavenger was appointed, and a house assessment levied. The taverns and punch-houses were licensed and regulated, and the post of Clerk of the Market was created. All these matters are dealt with in the following pages.

Streynsham Master was too independent in mind and action to win the approval of Josia Child, the moving spirit of the Company. His dismissal was resolved on, and William Gyfford was sent out from England to supersede him. The following vigorously-worded communication, brought out by the *Bengal Merchant* which bore Gyfford to Madras, reveals the cause of Master's obnoxiousness:—

[1] *Diary of William Hedges*, Yule.

[2] *The Dining Roome* was identical with the *Fort Hall* (*P.C.*, vol. x., 2nd April, 1685).



Sir Streynsham Master.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'And now we shall proceed to answear your Last Letter we had from Agent Master and our Councill there by this yeares Shipping, bearing date the 27 of January and Second of february Last.

'The first Paragraph we encounter is your Scornfull Excuse of your unmannerly passages of your former Letters, wherein you say you crave our pardon for your plainesse, and conclude that you usually write as you ought with obsequiousnesse; in which you betray your own weaknesse, first in supposing we cannot Judge between plainesse and Insolence, 2^{ly} in running yourselfe upon the same rock on which your Predecessour splitt, which, If our Agent had been as well versed in history as he is in the vain ostentatious pomp of India, he would never have been guilty of, what ever errour he might have fallen into: your pride in thinking your selves too good or too bigg to acknowledge a fault so obvious and notorious that no Indefforent man can read your letters, nor the best freind you have, though not of the Committee, without wondring at your intollerable presumtion and indiscretion.' (*P. from Eng.*, 5th Jan., 168$\frac{0}{1}$.)

Master relinquished the reins of office on the 3rd July, 1681, the date of Gyfford's arrival. He remained at Madras for a few months to settle his affairs, and finally sailed for Europe, a disappointed and unappreciated public servant, on the 9th February, 1682, in the Company's ship *George*.[1] On his arrival in England, cross suits were instituted between the Company and the ex-Governor, which were settled in the Court of Chancery in 1691 by the payment to Master of the sum of £1200. In 1698 Streynsham Master was appointed Chairman of Directors of the New East India Company, and was knighted by William III. He acquired Codnor Park and Stanley Grange, in Derbyshire, but he resided generally at his house in Red Lion Square, Holborn. He died in 1724 at New Hall, Lancashire, in the 85th year of his age, and was buried at Macclesfield. He married first, in 1674, Diana, daughter of Sir Thomas Bendyshe, Bart., who died in the same year, and secondly, in 1690, Elizabeth Legh, of Lyme. His daughter, Anne, became the wife of Gilbert, fourth Earl of Coventry, in 1715. A portrait of Streynsham Master by Charles D'Agar is, with the permission of its owner, Mr. J. H. Master, reproduced for this work.[2]

[1] The particulars which follow have been supplied by Miss L. M. Anstey. They are derived chiefly from the *Court Minutes*, the *Master Papers*, and Yule's *Diary of William Hedges*. Further details of Master's administration of Madras will be found in *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 1675-1680, Sir Richard Temple, 1911.

[2] The plate, which was prepared for Sir Richard Temple's *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, is, with the editor's concurrence, here utilized.

COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Master's first act was to reorganize the Choultry Court by increasing the number of Justices from two to three, and providing that not less than two should sit for the trial of causes and registration of bills of sale of land and other property. The following extracts illustrate the composition and duties of the Court:—

Rules framed by Streynsham Master.

'That the Customer, Mint Master (when there is one in that Office), and Paymaster, or any two of them, do every Tuesday and Fryday sett in the Choultry to do the common Justice of the Towne as usuall, and do take care that the Scrivan of the Choultry do duly Register all Sentences in Portuguez as formerly; and that there be an exact Register kept of all Alienations or sales of Slaves, houses, Gardens, boates, Shipps, &c.; the Companyes due for the same to be received by the Customer, and the Bills or Certificates for such Sales to be signed by the persons in the Offices aforesaid, or any two of them.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 31st Jan., $167\frac{7}{8}$.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'And because wee understand there is sometimes a want of Choultry Justices, wee doe order and appoint that the Customer, Mint Master, and Pay Master shall all three of them be constantly Choultry Justices; and that when you have any Senior Merchants or Factors that are fitt, and can well be spared, you doe appoint two or more of them to sitt as Assistants to the Choultry Justices, which may gain them experience, prevent Idlenes, and capacitate them for further busines. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. vi., 3rd Jan., $167\frac{8}{9}$.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas it hath been hitherto accustomary at this place to make sale and alienations of houses in writing in the Portuguez, Gentue and Malabar languages, from which some inconveniencies have arisen, It is therefore ordered that . . . all sales and alienations of houses and grounds shall be written in English, and the Choultry Justices shall not licence nor register . . . the sale or alienation of any ground unless the seller or conveigher thereof can prove his title to the same under the Hoñble Companys seale.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. ii., 9th Sept., 1680.)

For some time the need of a superior Court had been felt, and Master's Council resolved that a Court of Judicature should be erected for the trial by jury of civil and criminal causes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Councell taking into consideration how to direct a regular way of proceedings for the hearing and deciding of causes in a Court of Judicature in this place, by vertue of his Majesties Royall Charter to the Governour and

Company of Merchants of London tradeing to the East Indies, Dated the 3[d] Day of Aprill 1661 in the 13th yeare of his said Majestie Reigne, and by vertue of a Comission from the said Governour and Company under their Seale to Streijnsham Master, Esq[r], to be Agent and Governour, Dated the 16[th] Day of December 1675 in the 27[th] yeare of his said Majesties Reigne, it is resolved that the Governour and his Councell have power to judge all persons belonging to the said Governour and Company, or that shall live under them, in all Causes whither Civill or Criminall, accordinge to the Lawes of the Kingdome of England, and to execute judgement accordingly, as more at large appeares in the said Charter. And in regard the Inhabitants and Comerce of this place are much increased, and many complaints have lately been for want of a due course for the administration of Justice, It is therefore resolved ;—

'1. That the Governour and his Councell do sitt in the Chappell in the ffort upon every Wednesday and Saturday to heare and judge all Causes.

'2. That the Justice and Justices of the Choultry, and our Constable Bayly, or Officer under them, shall execute all orders, writts and summons from the Governour and Councell for returning of Jurys, Executions after judgment, aprehension of Criminalls, and such like. . . .

'3. That all Tryalls in the said Court be by Jurys of 12 Men, and that the Jurys be returned by the Justice or Justices of the Choultry. . . .

'4. That there be a Clarke of the Court, and the same to be also Clarke of the Peace. Clement King is nominated and apointed.

'5. That there be an Officer of the Court, and the same to assist the Justices. Philip Ashton is nominated and apointed.

'6. That there be a Marshall to take charge of the prisoners. Robert Bayly is nominated and apointed. . . .

'Excepting, and it is hereby ordered, that all causes of small misdemeanour, matters of the peace, and actions of Debt of the vallue of 50 pagodas New and under, shall be examined and decided by the Justices of the Choultry as formerly, and also all other Causes of a higher or greater vallue by consent of the partys ; in all which Cases (if any partys find themselves agrieved) Appeals are or shall be allowed to the Court of the Governour and Councell, there to have a Tryall by a Jury, and according to the verdict shall have judgement and Execution awarded.

'It is ordered that this Consultation thus far be affixed up at the Fort gate and in the Chappell for publike notice. . . . STREIJNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JNO. BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES, JACOB SMITH.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 18th March, 167⅞.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That Clement King may the better attend the office and business to which he is apointed, 'tis ordered that he be discharged from bearing Armes and doing the duty of a Soldyer, and be allowed 100 fanams per mensem pay, dyett at the Companys Table, and a Chamber in the ffort wherein to keepe the Register and papers, and to doe the business of his Office as Clarke.

'And 'tis humbly desired that the Honble Company would please to allow the building of a Towne Hall and convenient Offices, which are exceedingly wanting for the publike administration of Justice, and the preservation of good order and Government.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 21st March, 167⅞.)

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. ii., 27th March, and 10th April, 1678.)

'This day was the first sitting of the Agent and Councell in the Court of Judicature, which was kept in the Chappell in the Fort about Nine a Clock in the Morning, where was first openly read the Kings Majestys Charter under the broad Seale to the Hoñble English East India Company, dated the 3d day of Aprill 1661. Then was Read the Hoñble Companys Comission under their large Seale to Streynsham Master Esqr to be Agent and Governour (the orders for settling the proceedings in this Court, as in Consultation the 18th Instant, being Read publikely in the Chappell after Divine Service on Sunday last), and then the Court was proclaimed by the Cryer in forme, and William Jearsey appeared to answear to the plaint of John Tivill, whose Declaration was read, and the Copy thereof delivered to William Jearsey, who promised to bring in his answear upon the next Court Day : then the Cryer made proclamation againe, and the Court adjourned to Saturday next.

'10 Aprill, 1678. Upon this day was the first Tryall in the Court of Judicature by a Jury between Mr. John Tivill, Plaintiff, and Mr. William Jearsey, Defendant : the Verdict was for the Plaintiff, pags 1174—33 fans.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a great want of a place for the Court of Judicature to sett in within this Towne, and there being a convenient place by the Choultry gate, which, in the now building of the Curtaine, may be made capable of that use at a small charge, It is resolved and ordered that the same be built and fitted accordingly. . . .'[1] (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. ii., 6th May, 1680.)

The decision to constitute a Court of Judicature was due in part to the difficulty experienced in dealing with criminal matters. Two murder cases had, in fact, been pending for a long period :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Here has hapned a murther by a Portuguez Inhabitant, Manoel Brandon de Lima, upon a Black Christian in his service (but no slave) by him killed with 17 wounds of a dagger in his own house the 19 Oct., as particulars herewith, whom we have in safe custody against you send us out a sufficient power to proceed against both him and the Englishman[2] advised in our last. It is not unlike that the formers Countrymen, who, as the Spanyards and Italians, are usually more tender of the surviver then of the consequence, may solicit at home, as well here, to gett him to be sent either to England or to Goa ; which, if so commanded, we must obey, but our judgments are to have the example made here by fair tryell upon the place, for which reason we keepe the said Englishman also. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 4215, 6th Aug., 1676.)

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[1] The building for the Court of Judicature appears to have been just within the Choultry Gate of the Outer Fort, while the Choultry was adjacent, but outside.

[2] *The Englishman*, William Gilbert.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'William Gilbert, a Prisoner, having presented a petition (entred hereunder), the Councell returned him answer that, having so lately allowed something for Clothes, when it appeared he was in want he should be again considered.

'*The Humble Petition of Wm. Gilbert* Humbly Sheweth, That whereas your Petitioner and one John Hartley unhappily and unexpectedly to your Petitioner mett in a Garden adjacent to this place, where the said Hartley drew upon your Petitioner, and he, in defence of himself and preservation of his own life (as nature teaches every man), drew likewise; and the said Hartley, after some passes made against your Petitioner, eagerly ran himself upon your Petitioners Sword, and unhappily (to your petitioners no small grief) got such a fatall wound that in a very short time he dyed of it; whereupon your petitioner was committed close prisoner, and hath continued so for 31 months, contrary to the known practice of the Lawes of England, where no Prisoner, for any fact (unless in case of Treason), is detained more than Six Months before he receives a legall Tryall.

'May it therefore please your honour seriously to consider your Petitioners long and dolefull Imprisonment and sufferings, and in Commiseration and pittie thereof to order that he may now at length be sent home: otherwise, that you would be pleased to give him a larger allowance for his subsistance, and to furnish him with Clothes and other necessarys, having hitherto received only 40 fanams[1] a Month for his Dyet during all his said Imprisonment.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 31st Jan., $167\frac{7}{8}$.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolved that the 25th day of this Month be apointed for the tryall of the two Prisoners for Murder, William Gilbert and Manoell Brandon de Lima, according to the Kings Majestys Com̄ission or Warrant under the privy Seale, Dated the 5th day of December 1677 in the 29th yeare of his Majesties Reigne; and although by misinformation John Hartley be mentioned in the said Com̄ission or Warrant to have kill'd William Gilbert, whereas William Gilbert is the man living and John Hartley the man kill'd, yet it is thought fitt and resolved . . . to proceed to the tryall of the said William Gilbert according to the Lawes of England, and that at the next Court of Judicature, publike notice shall be given of the time and place for the said tryalls. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 5th Sept., 1678.)

A petition on behalf of de Lima was sent in, signed by forty-four of the Portuguese inhabitants. Among the signatories was John Pereira de Faria, of whom something will be heard in the sequel. De Lima was convicted of murder, but he was sent home on appeal. Gilbert was found guilty of manslaughter only in self-defence:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Acording to apointment, this day the two Prisoners for Murder were brought upon their tryall, the Court being held in the Choultry, and the Jury

[1] About ten shillings.

and Witnesses summon'd and sworne in forme. William Gilbert was first tryed, and the Jury brought in their Verdict not guilty according to the Indictment, but they found it guilty of Manslaughter se defendendo; whereupon he desired to abide by or stand to the Verdict, and was sentenced to forfeit his goods and Chattells to the King. But he hath none.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 25th Sept., 1678.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Henry Law had his tryall on Wednesday last for the Death of John Ballance, and, then convict of Manslaughter, was this day brought to Court againe; and demanding the benefit of Clergie,[1] it was allowed, and sentence passed on him to be burnt in the hand, which was executed accordingly.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 18th Mar., 16$\frac{79}{80}$.)

OUTLYING VILLAGES.

Warned by the attempts of the French in Langhorn's time to gain possession of the villages round Madras, Streynsham Master applied to the King of Golconda for a grant in perpetuity or, failing that, a lease, of San Thomé, Trivatore, and Egmore, situated respectively south, north, and west of Fort St. George. Shortly after the evacuation of San Thomé by the French, Langhorn had advocated the renting of that place, but the Company viewed the proposition with disfavour.[2] The town was then farmed to Verona at a rent of Pags. 1,300 per annum, and the Chief Merchant spent a considerable sum on house erection in the endeavour to re-populate the place. In 1678 the King of Golconda contemplated a visit to Masulipatam, and Streynsham Master thought the opportunity favourable to apply for the grant of additional territory:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas the Chief and Councell at Madapollam, in their letter of 18th May, have desired advices how to comport themselves in the matter of presents if the King should come downe thither, tis thought good to . . . propose to them the obtaining of some of the Townes about us Rent free or at moderate Rents,

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[1] *Benefit of Clergie:* From an early period the clergy enjoyed an immunity of their persons in criminal cases tried before secular judges. The privilege was subsequently extended to other persons connected with the Church, and ultimately to laymen of education. A layman found guilty and claiming benefit was tested as to his ability to read Latin. If he passed the test, he was branded on the hand with a hot iron to prevent his claiming the privilege a second time.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, 15th Dec., 1676.

to be settled upon the Honble Company by Phyrmaund from the King for ever in returne of such presents, and the said Rents never to be raised, vizt.

'Trevetore,[1] and the Villages under it.
'Egoomooroo,[2] and the Villages under it.
'St. Toma, and the Villages under it.

'The Councell, having considered what the Hoñble Company write about Renting St. Toma (in their letter of 15th December 1676, vizt., That they no way incline unto it, not being able to foresee what quarrells it may engage them in with the Moors, Portuguez, ffrench and Dutch), did notwithstanding Resolve to Rent it, or get it Rent free of the King, upon this occasion; finding 'twould be a profitable Rent for the Hoñble Company if it can be procured at 1300 pagodas per Annum, as Verona now payes for it, it being worth more, and will in a short time be improved, when the Hoñble Company hath it, to about 2000 pagodas per Annum; besides, having of it in our hands may prevent the Quarrells the Hoñble Company feare, and bring further advantages; but it can in no way engage us further in quarrells then our letting it alone can doe.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 3rd June, 1678.)

Verona's tenure of San Thomé was a precarious one. The following extract illustrates the fiscal methods of the time:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Yesterday Verona received Letters from Gulcondah from the Nabob Mahmud Ibraim advising that, whereas the Towne of St. Thoma and the Villages under it had been rented to Verona at 1300 pagodas per Annum, there was some body that had offered to give 2500 pagodas . . ., and therefore, if he would not give more, 'twas intended to lett it to those that offered most. . . . Whereupon Verona returned answear this day, sending the Copys of all the Phirmaunds and Letters he had received about it, wherein he is promised it shall remaine to him as long as the Sun and Moon endures, and insisted upon that Right, and the Charge he has been at to build houses and draw people to it; but withall, knowing money goes further than any right or argument, ordered a bribe of somewhat under 500 pagodas to be given to the Nabobs Chief Bramany to stop his Mouth, who is the Person that has the Chief mannagement of those affaires, and very greedy of Money.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 12th Dec., 1678.)

The grant of the concessions desired by Master was not made, but the Prime Minister, Mādanā, intimated to the native political agent at Golconda that, on receipt of a present of 3,000 pagodas, 'he would then talke concerning Renting of St. Thoma and Yegamor, and obtaine the Kings leave to let the same to us at farme.'[3] The sum was accordingly paid, and a draft *farmān* was

[1] *Trevetore*, Trivatore, a large village 5 miles north of Madras.
[2] *Egoomooroo*, Egmore, a village 2 miles west of the Fort.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 17th Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

despatched[1] to Golconda for the lease to the Company of San Thomé, Trivatore, and Egmore. The Dutch had lately been permitted to rent villages at Pulicat, and Master relied on a clause in the *farmān* of 1676 which provided that favours granted to other nations should be extended to the British :—

Streynsham Master to Braminy Vīra Rāgavayya.[2]

'I now send you a copy of the Phirmaund and Coull, which we reques[t] to be granted us by his Highness the Ollampana when he shall please to let at farme to the English the Towns of St. Thoma, Tribitore, Yegamore, and the other Towns and places belonging to them. . . . I am confident his Highness will not object in the least, since he hath soe lately promised the English Nation, in his last gracious Phirmaund and Coull granted for this towne, if he should at any time grant any more priviledges to any other Nation, that all the same priviledges shall be also granted to the English Nation.

'And the reason why we desire to have the said places remaine under us is Chiefely to noe other end that we might not be disturbed by any of the Divans people that are round about us, and that we might live quietly and peaceably. For when the said places shall remaine under us, if at any time any Europe Nation should have a designe to attempt them, they will not soe readily doe it, being under the English ; for we cannot foretell what may be the ffrench Nations designe soe soon as they make peace with the Dutch and other confederates in Europe. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xviii., 1st March, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.)

The rents which Master was prepared to pay were, Pags. 1,300, rising to 1,500, for San Thomé and its villages of 'Pallacawrana, Nammangalam, Olandor, Nandambawca, Mambalam, and Sattevido'; Pags. 900 for Trivatore and its dependent villages of 'Sattangawdo, Chedayamcuppam, Tandore, Yerradalachery, Ernoar, and Cartivawca'; and Pags. 670 for Egmore and its villages of 'Porishavawca,[3] Pudapawca, Vepery, Keepawca,[4] Chettypatta,[5] Omanjacca, Lumgabawca,[6] Roshana, Buduro, and Agaram.'

Master's negotiations fell through, and Madras limits remained as restricted as heretofore. Of the numerous villages mentioned, three were acquired in 1693, and five more in 1708, as will be related in the proper place. While the negotiations were in progress, Lingappa, governor of Poonamallee, who had paddy

[1] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 1st March, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.
[2] British political agent at Golconda.
[3] *Porishavawca*, Pursewaukum.
[4] *Keepawca*, Kilpauk.
[5] *Chettypatta*, Chetput.
[6] *Lamgabawca*, for Lingumbauk, now corrupted into Nungumbaukum.

stocked for sale at 'Vipere[1] and Egamoore,' decreed[2] that no grain from other sources should be admitted to Madras. Master prepared to import grain by force, and the native governor's order was withdrawn. Lingappa then appropriated San Thomé for himself:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Lingapa, the Governour of Punnamalee Countrey, tooke possession of St. Thoma the 17th August 1679, farming the same out of Veronas handes for Pagodas 1500, which is the same Rent Verona gave for it. The Reasons that he urged to the Divan of Golcondah to wrest it out of Veronas handes, and to Let him have it, is that he had Rented in this Countrey 2 Lack Pagodas Revenue per annum, which he is not able to bring up, pretending that Madras and Palliacat People keep up the price of Paddy there, by which other People, he sayeth, are hindred from fetching it out of his Countrey, and with out having St. Thoma to himselfe He would not continue his said ffarme.

'Verona, to prevent the inconveniences that may accrue to the Revenues of this Towne by stoppage of Goods, Graine and the Callico Investment this Yeare, hath writ to Gulconda to use all meanes possible to wrest St. Thoma out of Lingapas handes againe.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 28th Aug., 1679.)

Lingappa had given trouble previously, and he was destined to give more. In 1678 he had stopped all paddy coming to Madras except through Poonamallee, so that he might sell his grain at an exorbitant rate.[3] On that occasion paddy was brought in forcibly by the Company's peons. Lingappa resided at Conjeveram, and his uncle Mādanā[4] looked after affairs at Poonamallee. In 1681 Lingappa placed an absolute embargo on provisions. According to the Fort St. George Diary,[5] 'the Juncaneer[6] gave notice that he had received orders from Lingappa not to permit any goods or Provisions to come into this towne of Chinapatam, and that the Drums were beated in all the inland villages forbidding the Country people to carry anything to Towne, and watches set to stop them.' Master adopted vigorous measures, and on the 9th April sent out a party of fifty soldiers and as many peons, under Lieut. Richardson, to requisition rice and firewood. The force started at about 5 p.m., and reached Condore at sunset,[7]

[1] *Vipere*, the village of Vepery, lying between Egmore and Peddanaikpetta.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 27th Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 8th Feb., 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

[4] Not the Minister at Golconda of that name.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. v., 6th April, 1681.

[6] *Juncaneer*, the collector of the Golconda *juncan*, or customs.

[7] The village of Condore has not been identified. Other references indicate that it lay south-west of Madras. Sunset was at six o'clock, so the village may have been 2½ to 3 miles from the Fort.

when Richardson proclaimed his orders. At midnight he seized what he could, pulled down the house of the 'Watchman of St. Thoma, Triplicane, and Condore, and all that part of the Country,' and returned to the Fort at daylight the next morning.

In 1682 Lingappa's position appears to have been exalted to that of the Nawabs. 'Our Brameny Egyb Viraragaviah,' writing in May from Golconda, announced that, 'Brameny Accana . . . ordered Bramine Lyngapa to take upon him the Government from Kisna river as far as all the Carnatica country as Nabob Yecknam Cawn had formerly, and made him the Chiefe person of all those countreys. . . . Wherefore it is very necessary to keepe a fitt person of the Company to be by Podula Lyngapa.'[1] The succession of Nawabs of the Carnatic after Neknām Khān appears to have been, Mūsā Khān 1672, Nāmdār Khān 1673, 'Muskimia'[2] 1675, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 1677, Poddala Lingappa 1682.

[1] *Let. to F. St. G.*, 17th May, 1682. Vīra Rāgavayya, sometimes called 'Virago,' succeeded his father Venkaṭapati on the latter's decease in November, 1675. His salary as Egyb was 12 pagodas a month. Vīra Rāgavayya was dismissed by Master for undue friendliness with Lingappa, but he was afterwards reinstated.

[2] *Muskimia*, perhaps Mustaḳīm Miyān.

CHAPTER XXXII

1640—1688

THE COMPANY'S MERCHANTS — THE PEDDA NAIGUE — THE COMPANY'S GARDENS—ST. MARY'S CHURCH

THE COMPANY'S MERCHANTS.

THE frequent references made to Verona in previous pages show how extensive was the power wielded by the Company's Chief Merchant. The office, which was as old as the settlement, was first occupied by Seshādri Nāyak, who was superseded in Ivie's time by the Brahman Venkaṭa. Next followed Beri Timmaṇṇa, a dubash who had exercised influence in Madras as early as 1648. During Chamber's administration Ḥasan Khān, alias Kāsī Vīraṇṇa, was associated with Timmaṇṇa, and the partnership continued until the latter's death about 1678. Timmaṇṇa left two brothers, Pedda Venkaṭādri and Chinna Venkaṭādri, and a son, Venkaṭa Narāyan, all of whom held responsible office. Verona, who had long been the predominant partner, became sole Chief Merchant, and head of a joint-stock known as 'Cassa Verona and Company.' All orders for the East India Company's 'investment,' or purchase of native goods for export, were given to Verona for execution through his agents, and all imported English merchandise was purchased by him. The following extracts illustrate the powers and privileges enjoyed by the Chief Merchant :—

Fort St. George Consultations.

(*P.C.*, vol. ii., 5th June, 1678, etc.)

'The Cirkell, Nabob Mahmud Ibrahim, sent a letter to the Agent acknowledging the receipt of the mony sent for the rent of the Towne, and a Tasheriff congratulating his comeing to his Imployment. Alsoe he sent another Tasheriff to Cassa Verona, as is usuall when one is sent to the Agent.'

'*27th Nov.* 1678. And whereas Bera Timona, Deceased, and the said Cassa Verona in a joynt Stock were joyntly the Honble Companys Chief Marchants, and enjoyed the said priviledge of paying halfe customes in all the King of Gulcondahs Countrys by virtue of the former favour shewed to the Honble Companys Chief Marchant Sheshadree Naigue, and alsoe by virtue of a Coule from Nabob Necknam Chaun, which said priviledge, since Bera Timonas Death, Cassa Verona hath enjoyed for all goods passed into or out of this Towne and all those Countrys, in his owne name or in the name of himselfe and partners, the Sons and Brothers, as Heires to the Estate, of the said Bera Timona, to whom he bequeathed his part in the said joynt Stock, [therefore it is ordered that Verona shall continue to enjoy the privilege].

'*25th November* 1678. There having been information that Chena Vincatadry, one of the Brothers of Timona Deceased, had exacted a tax from the Shopkeepers, Fishermen, Beetle[1] and Tobacco Marchants, he was called before the Councell, and . . . confined to the ffort till further orders.

'And he having the chief command of the Peons in the Honble Companys Service at the pay of 100 fanams per mensem, being taken into that imploy by Sir William Langhorn, it is not thought convenient that a person in his quality, being one of Veronas partners, shall bear that command, whereby he may injure the Townes people, or under colour head a party against the government; therefore he is discharged of the same. . . .

'And whereas Pedda Vencatadry, the other Brother of Timona Deceased, hath to this time received a custome of the Gentues, by permission, for 8 or 10 yeares, for maintenance of the right hand Danceing Wenches, and, for the collecting the same, imployes a Concopla or Writer at the Choultry, it is ordered that the Customer from henceforward doe not permitt any such collection. . . .'

'*1st January* 167$\frac{8}{9}$. The Governour and Councell mett in the Councell Chamber, and gave the accustomary New Yeares Gifts of Scarlett and Broad Cloth to Cassa Verona, &c. Partners, the Companys Principall Marchants, the Pedda Naigue,[2] Choutry Bramini, and Linguist.'[3]

Verona[4] died in 1680, and was succeeded as Chief Merchant by Pedda Venkaṭādri:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'In the morning, about 3 a Clock, Cassa Verona dyed, having been taken sick the 13th of a malignant feaver; and, being not apprehensive that his end was soe neare, made noe settlement of his Estate and family. Thirty guns were fired in the ffort and outworkes at his funerall. As his body was carrying out of towne to be burned by the Gentues, some moors, Fackeers[5] and others, put a stop to it, saying he ought to be buryed as a Moor, for he was a Mussleman

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[1] *Beetle*, the betel leaf (from Malayal. *vettila*, leaf), which, in combination with areca-nut and lime, is habitually chewed by natives of India. The Madras betel gardens were in the north-west part of Peddanaikpetta.

[2] *Pedda Naigue*, the official title of the Chief Watchman.

[3] *Linguist*, the interpreter.

[4] Verona's autograph may be seen in *P.C.*, vol. ii., p. 102.

[5] *Fackeer*, from Ar. *faḳīr*, a religious mendicant.

and built a Musseet[1] in the towne to be buryed in. Whereof notice being brought to the Governour, he advised with the Councell thereabout, and sent order that the body should be burned as a Gentue, and not buryed by the Moors, it being apprehended to be of dangerous consequence to admit the Moors such pretences in the towne. Verona left one only child, a Daughter, by his Wife which dyed in August 1678. She is about 11 years old, and marryed to a kinsman of his said wifes. By his last wife which he marryed at Condore, now living, he hath noe child, and therefore she would have burnt with him, but the Governour would not suffer it. A son of his elder brothers he adopted for his owne son, a boy now about 10 yeares old.' (*P.C.*, vol. iv., 28th March, 1680.)

This remarkable man's excursions in religion are mentioned by François Martin[2]:—

'Avril 1680. La compagnie d'Angleterre perdit dans ce mois, à Madras, un homme quy luy avoit rendu de grands services dans son commerce. Il se nommoit Virena. L'on dit dans sa jeunesse qu'il fut esclave d'un Chrestien et baptisé, qu'il avoit passé chez les Mores quy le croyoient Mahometan, et ensuite chez les gentils dont il proffessoit ouvertement la religion. Cet homme ne scavoit ny lire ny écrire ; cependant il estoit parvenu à Madras par son esprit à estre le premier marchand de la compagnie d'Angleterre, quy a fait de très bonnes affaires sous sa conduite. Il est vray qu'il y trouvoit son compte, mais il empechoit aussy les traverses et les avanies que l'on a faites depuis a cette nation. Il estoit en crédit parmy les officiers du pais, mesme à la cour de Golconde, par les présens qu'il y faisoit. Il a fait du bien à plusieurs personnes pendant sa vie, sans distinction de nation ny de religion. Comme il avoit des comptes ouverts avec la compagnie, après sa mort le gouverneur s'empara de ses effets. Cette affaire a fait du bruit pendant un long temps à Madras, et mesme à Londres, sous le soupçon, peut estre encore sur l'assurance que l'on a eue, que beaucoup des effets du deffunt avoient passé entre les mains des personnes quy n'avoient pas droit d'y prétendre.'

There was certainly ground for the belief that Verona was a Moslem. The following extract from a document of 1665[3] shows that in his earlier days he was known as Ḥasan K͟hān[4]:— 'Upon the arriveall of a Captain from the Governor of Punemalee, China Vincatadree, Tymona's Brother, . . . went to him, and had a long discourse with him about Tymona and Verena, desireing

[1] *Musseet*, a mosque ; from Ar. *masjid*, through Port. *mesquita*.

[2] *Mémoire*, MS., François Martin. (Communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.)

[3] *O.C.*, No. 3162 (no date). The document, which was drawn up by Jeremy Sambrooke, is entitled 'An Information given in against Sir Edward Winter for endeavouring to have the Towne of Madras beseiged.' Internal evidence shows that it dates from about July, 1665.

[4] Timmaṉṉa and Ḥasan K͟hān were the Company's Chief Merchants in Agent Chamber's time.

him to speake for their comeing out;[1] but the Captain told him hee thought hee could doe nothing in this buisiness, onely for Hassan Cawne, that is Verena, hee haveing 3 names as being a Moore; Tymony haveing bin a long time the Companys servant, and the other a Moore.'

The East India Company proposed to recognize Verona's services by the gift of a gold medal and chain. On hearing of his death, which occurred before the presentation could be made, they gave the curt direction, 'Turn Veronas Gold Chain and Medall into Pagodas.'[2] With the new Chief Merchant two colleagues were associated and a number of lesser luminaries:—'Tis order'd that Pedda Venkatadry, Moodu Verona, Allingall Pilla,[3] have ¼ part of the Stock, and be Cheife of these following Merchants, vizt. Representatives of the 100 shares, viz., Sura Vengana, Ariapa Chitte, Muddu Chitte, Pasmarte Cassea, Pattical Balachitte, Ranga Chitte, Chitte Preto.'[4]

Master's dealings with the merchants were not approved of by Josia Child:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Governour and committee of the East India Company, taking into consideracon the great and unreasonable abuses inflicted upon Pedda Vincatadry, China Vincatadry, Allingal Pilla, and other of our Native Indian People of our Town of Madrasspatnam by our late unjust and tyrannicall Agent Streynsham Master, do, for prevencon of such oppressions for the future, Ordain and app[o]int for a standing Law and Rule in all Places within the Jurisdiction of our Agency of Fort St. George—

'1st. That no person in our Service shall be suffered to depart home for England till he have paid all just debts to the Natives of India, or given bail to their Actions.

'2. That the Oaths of all Native Indians of good fame and credit within the Agency of Fort St. George shall be admitted in all tryalls of law and Equity, as well betwixt Natives and Natives as Natives and Englishmen, they swearing by the Liveing and Eternall God who created the heavens and the Earth, in whom they beleave, and from whom they expect reward or Punishment in another world for the good or evill accons they do in this life.

3. That in case of great consernment, their Oaths be likewise taken in their owne Pagodes for afirmacon or discovery of the truth.

4. That this Law be published in most solemn manner by Beat of Drum̃, and

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1 Timmanna and Verona had been placed under restraint by Foxcroft.

2 *P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 20th Sept., 1682.

3 *Allingall Pilla:* An autograph shows that this merchant's name was Alangāda Pillai. Allingall's Pagoda, shown in Thomas Pitt's map, was doubtless built by him. It is identified with the present Ekambareswarar temple in Mint Street.

4 *P.C.*, vol. v., 14th July, 1681.

sett upon the gat[e]s of Madrass in the English, Portugeez, Gentue [and] Malabar languages, to the intent all Persons may take notice of it. Jos^a. CHILD, [&c.].' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 27th Oct., 1682.)

Governor Yale made a new agreement[1] with the Merchants in 1688. Under this scheme the capital stock was Pags. 20,000 in one hundred shares. Twelve of the shareholders were Chief Merchants, whose duties were apportioned as follows:—Two were chief of all, to keep the seals and summon the rest to meetings; two had charge of the cash chest, which was kept at the Merchants' godown in James Street; three were responsible for the Indian goods, and two for the English merchandise; while the remaining three looked after the 'Washers, Beaters, Weavers, painters and dyers.' The Chief Merchants met twice a week for business. They selected twenty of the junior members of the Joint Stock to go up country and make purchases.

The full capital was subscribed by seventy-six persons, who each took from half a share to six shares. The senior of the twelve Chief Merchants were Chinna Venkatadry and Allingall Pillai. The former died in May, 1689, and 'was honoured with the usuall respect of Gunns on such occasions at the fireing of his funerall Pile.' He was succeeded by Allingall Pillai.

THE PEDDA NAIGUE.

A native functionary of some importance in Madras was the Pedda Naigue, chief of the Talliars or Watchmen, who were the earliest form of police. His duty was to maintain a fixed establishment of peons, and to be responsible for the preservation of order in the Black Town and pettahs. He could arrest brawlers and confine them, pending their appearance at the Choultry Court. In the event of the commission of robbery, he was bound to compensate the sufferers. His office, like that of the Town Conicoply, was hereditary. It had doubtless existed in the village of Madraspatam from time immemorial, and was recognized by the British from their first settlement. The earliest reference to the Pedda Naigue in the records occurs in the Painters' and Weavers' declaration of 1654,[2] where mention is made of 'Peddy Nagues house, and his free grounds in the Village, and Duties on the Fishermen of Madraspatam.' This village was the Potters'

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 12th Aug., 1688. [2] *O.C.*, No. 2542 of 1654.

hamlet of Comerpetta, afterwards called Peddanaikpetta, in which land was assigned to the Chief Watchman as remuneration for the performance of his duties. He was also entitled to petty dues, paid in kind, on grain and fuel brought in from the country, and on fish caught in the roadstead and river. The following cowle given by Agent Chamber in 1659 was produced to the Council and recorded in 1686:—

'The Worshipfull Thomas Chamber his Cowle given to Pedda Nague.

'Whereas formerly you watched our Towne with 20 Peons, and having not sufficient maintenance allowed to content you, for 2 or 3 Yeares you left that Imployment, Saying also that 20 Peons, the Town being greater than formerly, were not sufficient to watch itt; wherefore we made this agreement with you as followeth, Vizt.

'That Moorte Nagues Son, Timmapa, Shall build a house and dwell in the Towne, and watch the Said Town with 50 Peons, and for the said Service you shall be allowed the following duties, Vizt.:—

'That you shall have 18 Paddy feilds given you rent free. . . . [Then are enumerated petty dues on provisions, &c.]

'Also that the 50 Peons aforesaid shall be imployed about the Town, as he that hath the charge of the Choutree shall think fitting. And if any man shall be delivered by us into your Custody, and shall make his escape, that you shall pay the debt the person escaped owed. Also, that if we should go abroad at any time to take our pleasure, you shall procure 100 or 150 Peons to accompany us. And if occation shall require 150 or 200 Peons, your Timmapa, with the Said Peons, shall go upon what imployment we shall send him, and also allow them 4 dayes batty,[1] but if we Should detain them longer, that then we are to give them batty. Also, that if any house is robbed, you shall make satisfaction for what is lost. And if any Merchant or Inhabitant of this Town shall run away, and any of your people, having knowledge thereof, shall conceal itt, that then you are to bring that party run away againe, and correct him that knew of his departure. This being the Cowle given you by us, you being peaceably and quietly to take your duties aforesaid, and to do the Company what Service you are able.

'Dated in Madraspatam the 22th June, 1659. THOMAS CHAMBER.

'Vera Copia—JOHN STABLES, HENRY ALFORD.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 8th Nov., 1686.)

In 1672, Langhorn reaffirmed the orders regarding allowances admissible to the Pedda Naigue:—

Orders by Sir William Langhorn.

'By orders of the Hoñble Sir Wm. Langhorn, Barronett, Governour and Agent for Affairs of the Hoñble English East India Company in Fort St. George,

[1] *Batty*, 'batta,' from Hind. *bhata*, an extra allowance.

for the reviving of the antient orders concerning the marketts in Chinnapatnam as they were observed from the beginning.

'In Paddy Bancksall the former allowance was—Custome for the Gentu pagoda, for every heape of paddy, one measure: for Peddinagg the watchman, on every greate ox-load of paddy, ¾ measure; for small ox-load, ½ measure. . . .

'The allowance of seaffish was: for every great nett, 5 ffish to the Hoñble Company, and to Peddinagg the watchman 10 ffish. And on the ffish they catch with a hooke, one ffish for the Company, and one for Peddinagg the watchman. . . .' (*Pub. Cons.*, 18th Aug., 1672.)

The Company, on receiving the consultation of November, 1686, relating to Chamber's cowle, considered that the Pedda Naigue was too well paid:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have read over Sir Thomas Chambers his Cowl to the Pada Naigue, in which it Seemes to us that the Duties allowed him to receive are very great, considering how the Inhabitants of your place [are increased], and consequently the Provisions comeing thither; and therefore wee would desire you, for the encrease of our Revenue, to farme out that Office to the Person that had officiated it already, or any other that will give most for it . . ., casting away the Preposterous distinction[1] between Christians and the Natives, which is and will ever be a meer Cheat to the Company while it is continued. And therefore Wee enjoyn you, without more Capitulation, to compell all Persons within our City of Madrasse or Town of fort St. George to pay just alike in all duties. And that, to make the most of our respective farms, you farm not out any duty for above one year, and that you doe appoint a day in each year to let out all the Companys farmes in a Publick way by the Box with sealed Papers,[2] or else by the Candle. . . .'[3] (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 25th June, 1688.)

The Company's Gardens.

While claiming ownership, on behalf of the Company, of all territory included within the boundaries of Madras, the earliest Agents, Cogan, Day, and Ivie, in their anxiety to obtain settlers, made liberal grants of land to private persons without limitation of time or exaction of ground rent. Considerable spaces, however, were reserved for direct use by the Company. Some of them, like the 'Company's Paddy Fields' and the gardens west of Muthialpetta, were afterwards leased to individuals, but three large tracts situated in Black Town, Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta, respectively, were devoted to public purposes.

[1] The Peddanaigue's dues were not payable by the English.

[2] Sealed tenders.

[3] Auction sale, in which bids are received as long as a small piece of candle remains alight. The last bid before the candle goes out secures the article offered.

The first of these, which was known as the *Inner Garden* or *Town Garden*, was doubtless set apart from the formation of the British settlement, for it embraced the Burial-ground. It was enlarged by Langhorn until it covered an area of about eight acres. Streynsham Master relinquished great part of it for town extension, reserving apparently the cemetery only, for no subsequent allusion is made to the garden save as a place of interment. This was probably the spot selected by Foxcroft, just before the *coup d'état*, as a suitable place for his contemplated interview with Winter.

The Muthialpetta garden, situated between that suburb and the drainage channel to the westward, appears to have been called originally the *Outer Garden*, and afterwards the *Company's Old Garden*. On the map of 1733 it is shown as 'Company's Gardens,' and it probably included the 'Company's Fruit Garden' depicted on Thomas Pitt's map. Like the Town Garden, it contained a small pavilion. Its site is now covered by buildings, for it lay on the east side of the present Popham's Broadway, in the heart of modern Georgetown.

The garden in Peddanaikpetta was of later origin than the other two, and was known as the *New Garden*. It was established by Master on ground which Langhorn had originally assigned for the use of the Washers. A handsome structure was erected there, which, at first intended for the reception of native envoys, was subsequently developed into a suburban residence for the Governor. Some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to its site in consequence of an erroneous surmise by Wheeler[1] that the Garden House was built in the middle of the Island, near the point where the statue of Sir Thomas Munro now stands. Thomas Pitt's and later maps, as well as numerous allusions in the records, prove conclusively that the house and garden occupied the locality on the north bank of the Elambore River where the Medical College and General Hospital are now situated.

The first application to erect a new 'Garden House' for ceremonial purposes must have been made by Langhorn, for the Company wrote in 1676:—'We note your desire for building a Choutry: wee do give you liberty to build a small Garden house,

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Wheeler, i. 177.

takeing care that it be no great Charge to us.'[1] Some two years later the Council resolved that 'the Honble Company having given liberty for the building of a Garden House in the outer Garden . . . , It is ordered that the said House or Choultry be built accordingly, and that it may be handsomely built and of proportionable size, large enough to receive Phirmaunds from the King and persons of quality, the design for which it was intended and desired; and yet so contrived as to be no great Charge to the Honble Company.'[2] Whether work was commenced by Langhorn in the Muthialpetta garden is uncertain, but it is considered that the 'new garden house' inspected by Gyfford on his arrival in 1681 was in Peddanaikpetta, and that it was begun by Master on ground which had been enclosed in the preceding year.

The following extract describes the formation of the New Garden in lieu of the Inner Garden, most of which was sold for building purposes. It shows that the Town Garden included the Burial-ground and 'Choultry.' If the last term applied to the Choultry Court building, we should be compelled to infer that the garden traversed the whole length of Black Town from north to south. Such an extent being inadmissible, we conclude that the word signifies the pavilion which the garden contained :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a spot of high ground[3] by the River side to landward, from the ffort westward, upon which formerly Sir William Langhorn and Councell had, by order in Consultation the 1st October 1675, forbidden any buildings to be set, but it hath since been much incroached upon by the increase of People building there, it is now thought fit and Resolved to secure the said ground for the Company by inclosing it with a small brick wall, and making a Garden there, it being the best place to set the ffort upon when the Sea shall come to[o] near where it is. And to pay the Charge of inclosing the said ground, removing the houses upon it, &c., It is Resolved to sell some part of the Companys Garden within the Mallabar or Gentue Towne, Reserving thereof the Walkes upon each side of the burying place and the Choultry. Soe that by thus disposing of part of the Towne Garden, there is a double advantage accrueing to the Company; first by increasing of Inhabitants. . . ., securing of goods, and accommodating of Marchants within the Towne; and secondly by securing a better piece of ground in every respect for the Company whilst the houses upon it may be taken off with a small charge, and yet burying

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[1] *Let. Bk.*, vol. v., 15th Dec., 1676. [2] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 18th April, 1678.

[3] Afterwards known as Hoghill. It was levelled in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

place and Garden enough Reserved. . . . And the care thereof is left to the Chief Gunner, and to the Expence Cancoply. STREIJNSHAM MASTER, JNO. BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES.' (*P.C.*, vol. iv., 6th Dec., 1680.)

In a memorandum now in the possession of the Master family, Streynsham Master alludes with pride to his action in making part of the Inner Garden available for the Town.

'*Memorandum of the good services done . . . by Streynsham Master.*

'The Company haveing a garden in the Blacke Towne, which was much enlarged by Sir William Langhorne by taking downe severall of the Inhabitants houses which adjoyned thereunto, soe that it tooke up a great space of ground within the walls of the Mallabar Towne;[1] I inclosed with a Brick wall the Burying place and Garden house therein, and laid all the rest of this Garden into the Towne, dividing it into Streets to be built, and selling the Ground. . . .' (*Master Papers*, 6th June, 1681.)

At the end of the volume of Public Consultations for 1684 is found a sketch-plan of the land sold, which belonged to the 'Company's Old Garden.'[2] This plan shows that an area of about four acres was disposed of, including half an acre belonging to the 'Old Powder House.' Marked on the plan is a road called *Garden Street* running north and south, three ways named *Garden Lane*, *Merchants Street* and *Merchants Lane*, leading off it towards the west, and a *Back Lane* parallel to and east of *Garden Street*. These routes have not been identified with any shown on Thomas Pitt's map, but it is surmised that the land sold lay to the east and south of the Burial-ground. In February, 1682, it was resolved[3] to construct new buildings for the manufacture of gunpowder.

The house in the New Garden was not completed during the governorship of Master. His successor Gyfford, however, inspected the building within a week of his arrival from England, and resolved to press on the work.

Fort St. George Diary.

'In the Evening the Governour took a Generall Survey of the town and all the Fortifications thereof, as also the new garden house and tanque,[4] and finding the most part almost finished, and the rest brought to such a height

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[1] The earthen rampart of Black Town.

[2] Meaning the Black Town Garden.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. vii., 27th Feb., 168½.

[4] *Tanque*, a 'tank' or artificial pond, from Port. *tanque*.

that the Charge would be more to take them quite down than to finish them; and Considering the inconvenience of letting them remain as they are, after having discourst with the Councell about that affair and asking their opinions, with their advice and approbation 'twas resolved that they be finished as was at first designed.' (*P.C.*, vol. vi., 9th July, 1681.)

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

Streynsham Master will ever be remembered in Madras by the church in Fort St. George which stands as a monument of his administration. The steadily increasing Protestant population had long outgrown the tiny chapel constructed by Winter in the Inner Fort, and Master, soon after his arrival and some time before he assumed office as Governor, set himself to raise subscriptions for a new edifice. Among papers in the possession of the Master family is a list, in Streynsham Master's handwriting, of thirty-eight donors,[1] which is headed:—

'*For the Building of a Church in the Towne of Madraspatam.*

(*Master Papers*, 26th Sept., 1677.)

'Wee under written doe oblidge our selves to pay upon demand into the hands of Mr. John Bridger and Mr. Richard Portman, minister, our severall subscriptions:—

Streynsham Master	Pags. 100
Joseph Hynmers	80
Edward Herrys	80
John Bridger	60
William Jearsey	60 and a Saint's Bell
Richard Portman	50
Timothy Wilkes	40

* * * * * * *

Among the remaining subscribers are Jacob Smith, Vincent Sayon and Thomas Lucas, 20 pags. each; Elihu Yale, 15 pags.; Philip O'Neale, James Bett, Bezaliel Sherman, Richard Browne, and John Davies, 10 pags. each; John Nicks, 6 pags.; Richard Milton and William Richardson, 5 pags. each, and Tilman Holt, one month's pay. The name of Sir William Langhorn is conspicuously absent. The amount subscribed, Pags. 805, was

[1] A few of the names are quoted by Yule in the *Diary of William Hedges.* The entries here given are extracted from a full list supplied by Miss L. M. Anstey.

deemed sufficient to justify a beginning of work, and the first sod was turned, or perhaps we should say the first basketful of sand was lifted, on the 25th March, 1678. The position chosen for the edifice was outside the south curtain of the Inner Fort.

In the Fort St. George Diary[1] we find the following :—'*Easter Munday, Aprill the primo.* The foundation of the *English Church* (to be built with the voluntary Contributions of the English in these parts) was begun to be laid ; and in respect that it was lined out and the ground first broken up upon Lady Day last, 'tis intended to be called St. Marys, and will be 80 foot long, 56 foot broad within the Walls, and built with three Iles arched with Brick and Stone.' These dimensions were adhered to, and the structure was raised in the most solid and substantial manner. It was furnished with a vaulted bomb-proof roof, the value of which was proved during the bombardments of 1746 and 1758. There has been no settlement of the foundations, and the fabric is as sound to-day as when it was built. The church was completed and opened for service two years and a half after its commencement. There is no older masonry structure in Fort St. George than St. Mary's. The present north curtain, and perhaps the Fishing Point (now called the North-East Bastion), may, however, be of equal antiquity.

From a consultation of October, 1680,[2] it appears that 'the New Church was Dedicated by virtue of Commissions Directed to the Governour and Mr. Richard Portman, the Minister, from the Lord Bishop of London. The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with volys of small shott fired by the whole Garrison drawne out, and the Canon round the ffort. The Church named St. Marys, as at first intended, and from this day forward all publicke and Divine service to be there performed.'

A copy of the surrender of the building by the subscribers is preserved in the Registry of the diocese of London.[3] The document provides that the church shall never be put to any profane use. The exigencies of defence, however, in later years compelled its adaptation as a barrack at one time, and at another as a store-house. The surrender is signed on behalf of the subscribers by Streynsham Master, the Governor ; John Bridger

[1] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 1st April, 1678. [2] *P.C.*, vol. iv., 28th Oct., 1680.
[3] *The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny, p. 87.

and Timothy Wilkes, of the Council; John Nicks, the Secretary; Richard Portman and Richard Elliot, Chaplains; John Davys, Elihu Yale, Vincent Sayon, John Willcox, Richard Browne, James Wheeler and Timothy Harris, civil servants; Capt.-Lieut. James Bett, second in command of the garrison, and Ralph Ord, school-master. The architect is not named, but he was probably William Dixon, on whom, as Chief Gunner, all engineering duties devolved. The work has been attributed to Edward Fowle, but that Engineer did not reach Madras until 1684, when the edifice had been already completed.

A plan of the church, dated 1760, is preserved among the Vestry records. It shows[1] that the internal dimensions of the building were 64 feet by 56 feet. The sanctuary increases the length to 80 feet, and a recess under the gallery at the west end augments it to 86 feet. The gallery, which possesses a finely carved rail, was originally set apart for the Governor's use. It is approached by two curved external staircases. An organ which was acquired by Government in 1687 seems to have been handed over to the church:—'Capt. Weltden[2] having offered an Organ to Sale for Pagodas 70, which is below prime cost, Itt is order'd to be bought and paid for.'[3] In 1693 a seat for the Mayor was provided:—'It is ordered that the Church Wardens doe forthwith cause a handsome seat to be made in the Church for the Mayor, next belowe the Clerks Desk in the mid Isle, with a place for a Mace to lye on each side of him best to be seen. And that the Mayors wife be placed next belowe him on the same side. And take care to seat those Gentlewomen that will be displaced by that meanes where best it may be to their Content, having due regard to their Qualities.'[4]

In 1692 Sir John Goldsborough brought out instructions[5] to proceed with 'the building of a Steeple to your Church with the money collected for that purpose, according to Dimensions given him.' The Company promised at the same time to send 'a ring of six tunable Bells to fix in the Steeple.' The term steeple includes presumably both tower and spire. Thomas Salmon, writing after he left Madras in 1700, asserts that neither steeple

[1] A copy has been supplied by the Rev. Canon C. H. Malden.
[2] *Captain Weltden*, commander of the ship *Curtana*.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 2nd June, 1687.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 4th Jan., 169$\frac{2}{3}$.
[5] *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169$\frac{1}{2}$.

nor bells had been provided; but Pitt's map, which dates from about 1710, shows the spire complete. The Chaplain's quarters, however, which embraced the tower on its west and south sides, were built before 1701[1] from Church funds, and the construction of the tower must necessarily have preceded that of the quarters. It may be concluded that the tower and Chaplain's house were erected at the end of the seventeenth century, and the spire at the beginning of the eighteenth. The tower, which was detached from the body of the church, made the extreme length of the building 125 feet.

The fabric of the church has undergone little alteration since it was first erected. An extension of the gallery to the tower was made in 1760.[2] Considerable damage was done to the building during the siege of 1758, but the church, with the exception of the tower, was thoroughly repaired in 1767. Ultimately it became necessary to take down the spire, which was not rebuilt till late in the eighteenth century. The extension at the east end of the church for a new sanctuary, organ chamber and vestry is a nineteenth-century addition.

The churchyard, of limited extent, is paved with tombstones. The great cupolas and obelisks which filled the Burial-ground in Old Black Town afforded so much cover to the French during the siege of 1758 that it was resolved to dismantle them. Many of the inscribed stones they contained, as well as monuments from the demolished Capuchin church of St. Andrew, were transferred to St. Mary's. Some of the stones are said to have been utilized as gun-platforms when Hyder Ali threatened Madras in 1782, but these were subsequently restored to the churchyard. The stones are of gneiss from Pallavaram,[3] and many bear inscriptions in raised letters with well executed floral borders.

Two monuments still remain to mark the old cemetery. One is a tall obelisk containing the graves of Joseph Hynmers and his stepson David Yale; the other is the vault of the Powney family. By the end of the nineteenth century all recollection of the existence of the old Burial-ground had been lost, and the two monuments were regarded as isolated memorials. It was not

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 6th Oct., 1701.

[2] *The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny, p. 308.

[3] Sometimes called *charnockite*, as being the kind of stone sent to Calcutta for the mausoleum of Job Charnock.

until excavations for the new Law College revealed quantities of bones that the old cemetery was rediscovered.

The registers of St. Mary's Church date from the 28th October, 1680. The first volume is a copy made on parchment in 1739[1] by Alexander Wynch, at that time a Writer, but eventually Governor of Madras. The old silver plate comprises an alms-dish presented in 1687 by Elihu Yale, then Governor, and a flagon and basin purchased from funds given by Lady Goldsborough in 1689. Streynsham Master's Bible, printed in 1660, was given to the church in 1881 by the late Mr. C. G. Master, M.C.S., a descendant of the former Governor. The sanctuary contains a large Altar Piece, a copy, though not an exact one, of Raphael's cartoon of the Last Supper.[2] The origin of the picture is unknown, and the first mention of it in the Vestry records occurs in 1782. The surmise has been advanced that the painting was brought from Pondicherry after the second capture of that place by the British in 1778. The picture does not appear in the list of spoil taken at the first capture in 1761. An allusion to an altar-piece in St. Mary's has been traced in a work[3] published in 1724 by Thomas Salmon, who bid farewell to Madras in 1700, but the condition of the painting scarcely warrants the belief that the picture dates from so early a period. The same reason precludes the conjecture that the picture might have come from San Thomé, as its date would thereby be thrown back to 1662, when the King of Golconda made himself master of the Portuguese town.[4] Had the picture been acquired by San Thomé at a later period, it might conceivably have been sent to Madras for safety at the time of Hyder Ali's incursion, but, if so, it would have been restored when danger was over.

1 *Handbook to St. Mary's Church*, Rev. C. H. Malden.

2 *The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny, p. 369.

3 *Modern History; or, The Present State of All Nations*, Thomas Salmon.

4 François Martin states that, when the French yielded San Thomé to the Dutch in 1674, all the pictures and other ornaments of the churches were sent to Madras. These articles, which had been carefully conserved by the Moslems during their eleven years' possession, would naturally have been delivered to the Capuchins, but they were probably restored when the San Thomé churches were reopened.

CHAPTER XXXIII

1678—1681

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS—MILITARY DISCIPLINE

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

IMMEDIATELY after assuming charge of the government, Master decided to reduce the size of the new bastion proposed for the north-west angle of the White Town, the foundations of which had already been put in:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour, with the Councell and Chief Officers of the Garrison, having been to view the Bastion that is begun to be built at the Caldera point, and finding it to be a very large worke of a great compass, which would cost much mony, take up much time, and after finished will require many men to defend it; besides, its likely the government of the country may give more trouble in the raising a worke of that bulke then a less; It was thereupon resolved, in consideration of the aforesaid inconveniencys, with the advice of the Chief Officers, to lessen the worke according to the modell hereunder, and to carry on the Curtaine for the clearing of the Street,[1] as is shew'd therein. STREIJNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES, JACOB SMITH.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 11th Feb., 167⅞.)

The 'modell' is a sketch-plan drawn in the Consultation book. It shows that the original half-moon, which had been pulled down, measured 63 feet across its gorge. Langhorn's projected bastion enclosed the half-moon, and measured 159 feet at the gorge, which extended 90 feet beyond the half-moon to the westward. The faces of this bastion were to be 150 feet in length and the flanks 54 feet. Master's reduced bastion was placed wholly on the west side of, and close to the demolished half-moon, and had faces and flanks of 54 feet. Master takes credit for a saving of

[1] *For the clearing of the Street—i.e.*, to provide fire down the Choultry Street of the Black Town.

800 pagodas[1] effected by the reduction. He comments as follows on Langhorn's additions to the defences :—

'The Character of the Government at Fort St. George from 1672 to 1677, Sir William Langhorne Agent.

'Those workes of the Fortifications built in his time have been most of them twice done, first with Turf, which was very chargeable, and soone mouldered and washed downe, then with Brick and Stone, all done upon his owne fancy and humor without adviseing with anyone, at double the Expence need have been, and much washed into the Sea through folly; nay, all one end of the Towne[2] was in danger (by endeavouring to make a ditch, and bring the Sea into it) had it not been imediately stopt up againe with Palmera Trees, &c. The Caldera Point or Bastian, Contrived by him of an unreasonable bignes, was, soone after he was gone, reduced near halfe.' (*Master Papers.*)

Fort St. George Diary.

'Meirza Mahmud Ameen, the Governour of Pullimelee, having been to visit Verona at his Garden without Towne, said Meirza shewed him a letter from the Nabob Meirza Mahmud Ibrahim, wherein he wrott that Lingapa had informed at Court that the English at Madrass were building a very great Bulwarke; but the said Meirza Ameen having advised the Nabob that the English were only repairing an old bulwarke, the Nabob replyed that 'twas not fitting to disturb men in mending and repairing their own houses. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 13th April, 1678.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Bastion at the Caldera Point being raised to some heighth more than the Curtaine will be (tho not so high as tis intended), and it being absolutely necessary, in order to the Safety of the place, to carry on the Curtaine from the said point to the Choultry gate, now that there is time and opportunity to procure materialls seasonable for working; and Lewis Kintall Fialio, the Owner of the Houses that stand in the way, is prevail'd with to let them be pull'd down, which houses, as they stood, have hitherto hindered the strengthening of that place, so that it hath been the weakest part of the Towne; It is therefore resolved that the Curtaine from the Caldera point to the Choultry gate shall be built now, before the vyolence of the raines sett in, and that it may be done with great frugallity, according to the orders of the Hoñble Company. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 18th April, 1678.)

Advantage was taken of the presence of the homeward-bound fleet in the following January to desire the captains of the ships, in conjunction with the principal military officers of the garrison, to report on the fortifications and buildings :—

[1] *Master Papers*, 11th Feb., 1677 [1678].

[2] The south face of the White Town.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Hoñble Company . . . having been pleased to direct us to the Commanders of their Ships, and others we have with us, to contrive the carrying on of the worke of Fortifications, for the better making them good, both against an Enemy and the Sea, without sending an Engineer from England; It was thought fit to give directions to Captaine William Basse, Capt. John Stafford, Capt. William Stannard, Capt. William Thompson,[1] Capt. Philip Oneale, Capt. Lieut. James Bett, Chief Gunner William Dixon, and Lieutent. William Richardson, or any five of them, to take a Surveigh of the Fortifications and the Hoñble Companys buildings in this Fort and Towne, and having debated thereof, to report the same to us in a writeing under their hands. . . . STREIJNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JOHN BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES, RICHARD MOHUN.'[2] (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 16th Jan., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.)

'*The Commanders and Officers Report. . . .*

'We, the Commanders of the Ships in the service of the Hoñble English East India Company, and the Officers of this their Garrison, . . . doe here give up our result according to your desires. . . .

'1. That it is of absolute necessity that the Curtaine next to the Gentue Towne, which is part fallen downe, from the New Caldera Point by the River side to the Fishers Point by the Sea, be all new built, agreeable to that part which is allready done by the new Point.

'2. That 'tis of absolute necessity to rebuild the Bastian called the Fishers Point, which is fallen downe into the Sea, and to be built upon Spiles;[3] and Spiles of wood drove downe about that part of it next to the sea, to prevent the Sand from being washed away by the Sea.

'3. That 'tis necessary to build a new wall, stronger and higher than the old one, at such places where 'tis wanting from the ffishers Point alongst the Sea Side to St. Thomas Point.

'4. That 'tis of absolute necessity to build the Curtaine next the Muckwa[4] or ffishers Towne, from St. Thomas Point by the sea Side to the Round Point by the River side, agreeable to that part which is allready done by the Round Point.

'5. That the two Gates[5] at that side next the Gentue Towne being too narrow and little, and alsoe the gate at the Sea side being all too little and streight for the passage of people, goods and Cattle, and the Gate houses too little for lodging for the Guards constantly there kept, and the said Gate houses being gone to decay, it is of absolute necessity that, in rebuilding the Curtaines and walls, the said Gates be made large for the convenience of traffique, and for the Egress and regress of people, goods and Cattle; and alsoe that at that side towards the Muckwa or Fishers Towne it is necessary that a Gate be made for the better Conveniency of Traffique in the passing of people and Cattle in bringing Goods and Provisions to Towne.

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[1] The commanders of the *Williamson*, *Falcon*, *Nathaniel*, and *Society* respectively. The fleet sailed 1st February.

[2] *Richard Mohun*, lately arrived from Masulipatam.

[3] *Spiles*, piles.

[4] The 'Muckwa Towne' was on the bank of sand south of the White Town.

[5] *The two Gates*—viz., Choultry Gate and Middle Gate.

'6. That 'tis of absolute necessity to build strong and convenient Prisons to secure Criminalls and offenders.

'7. That the Hospitall being a small place, and too little roome for the accomodation of sick men, it requireth to be enlarged 3 or 4 roomes.

'8. We find that the Hoñble Companys Warehouses are not sufficient to hold all their goods, soe that there is a necessity for more to be built; and it would be a great accomodation to the Shiping and landing of goods if there were a range of Warehouses built at the Sea side from the Platt-forme by the Sea Gate to the other high Platt-forme, wherein the Companys Merchants and Strangers goods might be secured.

'9. That the out part of the House in the Fort, which was added to the former by Sir Edward Winter, stands in a dangerous condition, and, if it be not pulled downe in time, will fall, and may doe great dam̃age and mischief if care be not taken to avoid it by pulling it downe and rebuilding it.

'10. There is alsoe want of accomodation for the Guards in the Fort, soe that if the Guard room̃es were enlarged, the single Men of the free Guards, which are not then upon watch, might lye there warme and dry, and be the better kept in Decorum.

'11. And we are alsoe of opinion that it is of absolute necessity to keepe two Sloops or Vessells of 60 or 80 Tons a peece to attend the ffort and Towne in case of Warr; and many other Services may be done by them, which may be noe great charge to the Hoñble Company. WILLIAM BASSE, JOHN STAFFORD, WILLIAM THOMPSON, (Capt. Stannard is not yet arrived from Metchlepatam), PHILIP ONEALE, JAMES BETT, WILLIAM DIXON, WILLIAM RICHARDSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 20th Jan., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.)

Orders were immediately[1] issued for rebuilding the north curtain wall of the White Town, and a few weeks later the reconstruction of the Fishing Point was undertaken:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas the Commanders and Officers, in the surveigh they tooke of the Fortifications, . . . did report that it was necessary to build the Bastian of the Fishers Point upon Spiles; now upon consideration thereof, It is the opinion of the Agent and Councell and the Officers of the Garrison that, if Spiles were drove down about that part of it next to the Sea, as then reported, it will be as well secured against the Sea without laying the foundation upon spiles, which will be very chargeable and require much time to doe; therefore it is ordered to be built according to the present opinion of the Agent and Councell and the Officers. . . .' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 18th March, 16$\frac{79}{80}$.)

The views of the Company on the subject of fortifications generally, and civil buildings in particular, were imparted in 1679 as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have seriously considered of the condition of our buildings, particularly the outward wall of the House in the Fort, the necessity you represent

[1] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 6th Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

of repaires of the Fortifications, the want of a New Chappell and more Warehouseroom, with inlargement of your guard roome and offices, &c. All which wee doe agree with you are necessary in their due time, but our stocke is not now in so thriveing a condition that wee can afford to bee at so great a charge at once, and therefore . . . wee doe refer this matter wholy to your discretion to doe therein what you shall finde needfull, except in new erections, which wee cannot at present consent to untill a stock be raised for defraying the charge thereof. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. vi., 3rd Jan., 167 8/9.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We observe what you find necessary to be built for security of the Fort and Town. . . . Our opinion is that our Fort and Town of Madrass is strong enough when it is able to keep off any sudden incursion of an armed power. It is not our over-many great guns nor chargeable Fortifications must support our trade in those parts, but a fayr complyance with the King of Golcondah and his chief Minister. Possibly it may be necessary to make a shew and look big upon some occasions towards the Governors of the Country, but to be alwaies fayr with the King and his chief Minister. If the Kings power should be engaged against us, it is not your guns nor any other pomp, or ostentatious shew, or appearing force, can reintegrate us in our trade. Five hundred Pounds in Piscashes upon such an occasion would possibly be of more use to us than the continual expence of great fortifications, and the charge that follows in consequence of them. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. vi., 3rd Dec., 1679.)

In 1681 the unfriendly Lingappa formulated some fresh unreasonable demands by the mouth of a 'didwan'[1] named Krishṇama, sent up from Conjeveram. Master dismissed the messenger with a verbal reply, delivered in the presence of the Portuguese militia, who were mustered for the occasion. Advantage was taken of the opportunity to tell off the militia to their posts, and we thus obtain some much needed information regarding the earthen defences of the Black Town. It is noticeable that the appellation *Malabar Town* is now beginning to displace *Gentu Town*, thus marking the increasing number of Tamil inhabitants.

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. v., 18th April, 1681.)

'This morning, when the Didwan was to come to receive his Dispatch from the Governour, all the Portuguez Inhabitants, upon notice given them yesterday, apeared at the ffort gate[2] to receive armes; who being mustered, officers amongst them were apointed to command the others at the severall Posts assigned them as follows:—

[1] *Didwan*, an envoy. The late Mr. A. T. Pringle considered this word to be the Tam. form *tudan* of Sans. *dūta*, a messenger.

[2] *The ffort gate*, the western gate of the Inner Fort.

In the Christian Towne.[1]

	Men.
At St. Thomas Bulwarke, John Sardinia de Fonseca - -	16
At Charles Bulwarke, Antonio Nogeira de Souza - -	15
At James Bulwarke, Joan Perera de Faria[2] - - - -	15
At the Choultry gate, Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera[3] - -	17
At the Middle gate, Gaspar de Moto de Brito - - -	17
At St. Peters Bulwarke, Lucas Luis de Olivera[4] - - -	15

In the Mallabar Towne.[5]

At the Corner Bulwarke,[6] Antonio Lewis de Vallo - -	24
At the Bridge gate, Antonio Pallia de Lima - - -	20
At the Bridge Bastian,[7] Gaspar de Cunhia de Sylva - -	20
At the Cape Bulwark,[8] Bernado Medan - - - -	20
At the Garden gate,[9] Antonio Francisco - - - -	20
At the Faulcon Bastian,[10] Manuell de Fonseca - - -	20
At the Chitty Gate,[11] Francisco Carneiro dal Cassona - -	20
At the Sea Bulwark,[12] Francisco de Brito Correa - -	21
14 Posts - - - Men	260 '

[1] Two of the four principal bastions of the White Town have evidently been renamed. With the exception of *James Bulwarke*, the posts appear to be enumerated in order, clockwise. *St. Thomas Bulwarke* preserves its old name, but the Round Point has become *Charles Bulwarke*, while the Fishers' Point is transmuted into *St. Peters Bulwarke*, perhaps in allusion to the Apostle's earliest avocation. Caldera Point is not mentioned. Later references prove that *James Bulwarke* was on the east front. It was probably situated south of the Sea Gate, and is identified with the bastion built by Langhorn.

[2] *Joan Perera de Faria*, a substantial merchant and shipowner, who gave his name to that poverty-stricken quarter of Madras, north of the General Hospital, which is now known as 'John Pereiras.'

[3] *Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera*, a merchant who appears to have been the father of Luis de Medeiros. The latter became an Alderman of Madras, and owner of the residence which was eventually developed into the present Government House.

[4] *Lucas Luis de Olivera:* A Lucas Luiz de Oliveira was 'Captain Môr' of San Thomé in 1698.

[5] Here also the posts seem to be taken in clockwise order.

[6] *The Corner Bulwarke*, probably a work near the river bank at the south end of the western rampart of Black Town.

[7] *The Bridge Bastian*, a work near the middle of the western rampart.

[8] *The Cape Bulwark*, the bastion at the north-west angle of the Black Town.

[9] *The Garden Gate*, the gate near the Burial-ground and Company's Town Garden, commonly called Tom Clarke's Gate.

[10] *The Faulcon Bastian*, a work in the middle of the northern rampart, so named perhaps through being defended by one or more small guns of the kind known as falcons. This bastion is elsewhere referred to as Mud Point, Tondavoodoo Point, or Madapollam Point.

[11] *The Chitty Gate*, the large brick gate-house at the north end of Middle Gate Street. This was opposite the entrance to Comatee Street of Muthialpetta. Chittee Street, a little further east, had no gate facing it.

[12] *The Sea Bulwark*, a work at the sea end of the north face of the Black Town. It was afterwards called New Point.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

The Garrison received considerable attention during Streynsham Master's rule. At the outset the Governor drew up a private memorandum on his predecessor's administration, in which Langhorn's attitude towards the troops is thus described and criticized:—

'The Character of the Government at Fort St. George from 1672 to 1677, Sir William Langhorne Agent.

'The Military Government he [Langhorn] understood did wholy belong to him without any advice or assistance of the Councill therein, as he had often said, and therefore the old orders for the Garrison which hung up at the Corps du Gard were taken downe, and new orders put up in his owne name without any mention of the Councill therein. . . . The officers of the Garrison, altho they were called Captaine, Lieutenant and Ensigne, being divided by him, with Major Puckles advice, into two Companys, yet never had Commissions given them, nor the Pay, only the Titles. The officers doe punish the Soldyers for Drunkenes, and such offences as the orders of the garrison direct (tho by the orders there is no punishment for Drunkenes), by the Wooden Horse,[1] the Iron Jacket, Neck and Heels,[2] &c., but many Runaways returne againe without punishment. Every Weeke one of the Companys have been exercised by him by turnes, by which meanes he kept the soldyers in some awe and greater temperance then otherwise they would practise; and indeed this is the best thing he hath done; and in this there hath been this evill by reason he would Drill or Exercise the Companys allways himselfe, and never suffer the Officers to doe it, which kept them from gaining experience and respect from the Soldyers; for when he has been otherwise employed soe that he could not attend this Exercise, the Soldyers have not been called to it for three or four weekes, but then, to make up that Loss, he hath exercised them three or four dayes together.' (*Master Papers.*)

Master's first step was to reduce the strength in accordance with Major Puckle's recommendations:—

Orders by Streynsham Master.

'For lessening the charge of the Garrison tis ordered that the two Companys of Souldyers be reduced to 80 Men each Company, as was agreed in Consultation the 3^{d} March 167$\frac{7}{8}$, Mr. Walter Clavell and Mr. William Puckle being then present at the Councell; and there being 25 Men above that nomber now

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[1] *The Wooden Horse* consisted of a lofty frame on four legs, which supported a gabled top made of planks. The culprit was perched on the sharp ridge. A musket was slung to each foot to give him a firm seat.

[2] *Neck and Heels:* The offender was securely tied, chin in contact with knees, and remained so trussed for the period of his punishment.

Mustered, Capt. Oneale and Capt. Lieutenant Betts were sent for, and ordered to discharge them, and to keepe in the two Companys no more then 80 private Centinells and Corporalls, besides Drums and Sarjeants, &c., as aforesaid. And tis ordered that about 50 of the black guards or peons be discharged at this time, and so many in a month or two after as may reduce the number to no more then should appear to be absolutely necessary, it not being convenient to turne off too many at once.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 31st Jan., 167⅞.)

A few months later the officers petitioned for the grant of commissions, relative rank, and increase of pay. The last point was referred home, but the other requests were acceded to:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It was thought fitt to grant them [the Officers] Comissions for Captaine, Lieutenants and Ensignes in the forme as hereunder written, and to settle their precedencys in the degrees and ranks with those in the Civill and Mercantile imployments as followeth :—

Captaines in the degree of Senior Marchants,
Lieutenants in the degree of Marchants,
Ensignes in the degree of Factors,
Serjeants in the degree of Writers.

* * * * * * *

'And it is thought fitt that such Officer whose turne it shall be to command the Guard in the ffort shall every day be admitted to Dinner and Supper at the Hoñble Companys publike Table, as is practiced at Bombay and hath formerly been used in this place.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 14th Oct., 1678.)

Master issued commissions to:—

Philip O'Neale, as Captain of a company.
James Bett, as Lieutenant of the Governor's company.
William Richardson, as Lieutenant of O'Neale's company.
Nathaniel Bonus, as Ensign of the Governor's company.
Tilman Holt, as Ensign of O'Neale's company.

This he did by virtue of his own commission as 'Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort St. George.' In later times, when there was a Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the Governor still retained supreme military command within the Fort. His secondary function gave rise to a nice point when Lord Pigot was arrested by order of his Council in 1776. The office was voluntarily relinquished to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army by Governor Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1859.

Order by the Governor.

'Streijnsham Master, Esq., Agent for affairs of the Hoñble English Eas India Company upon the Coast of Chormandell and in the Bay of Bengale and Governour and Commander in Chief of their Fort St. George and Town of Madrasspatam during their pleasure, with the advice and consent of his Councell, To all to whome these presents shall come, Greeting.

'By virtue of the Power given to me by the Hoñble the Governour and Company of Marchants of London tradeing into the East Indies in a Commission under their Seale Dated the 16th day of December, Anno Domini 1675, . . . I doe Constitute and apoint

You Philip Oneale to be Captaine of a foote Company,

You James Bett to be Lieutenant of my foote Company, hereby giving you full Power and Authority to traine, exercise, conduct, Lead and bring them together, according to Military and Martiall Discipline, as Captaine or Lieutenant of the same Company, willing and commanding all Iñferiour Officers and Soldyers of the same Company to obey you as their Captaine or Lieutenant, according to this Commission given you; and you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from my selfe. . . . STREIJNSHAM MASTER.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 14th Oct., 1678.)

The home authorities left the question of pay to local decision, but objected to the grant of commissions, and especially to the title of Captain. They wrote:[1] 'Wee like not your giveing Commissions to the Officers of our Garrison without our particular order, neither will wee allow of the title of Captain or Captain Lieutenant to any that is not either Agent himselfe or of our Councill, notwithstanding the opinion of Major *Puckle* deceased.' Meanwhile the Madras Council had fixed the pay and ranks as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. iii., 21st July, 1679.)

'And in regard a Captaines Pay is great, being 8*s.* per Diem according to the Custom there,[2] It is therefore Resolved that there shall be noe Captaine, but only two Lieutenants and two Ensigns to command the two Companys of this garrison, which shall be called the Governours Company and the Seconds Company. The said Lieutenants to have 4s. per Diem, the usuall pay of Lieutenants, the Ensigns to have 3s. per Diem, the usuall pay of Ensigns, and the Sarjeants 18d. per Diem, the usuall pay of Sarjeants, the said pay to be reckoned at 9s. to the Pagoda, 3d. to the Fanam, and noe other allowance to be made for lodging or Dyett; and there being now five Commission Officers, one of them is reduced.

'The Officers, being sent for into the Councell and acquainted with this Result, seemed well content therewith, and returned their thanks for the same.

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[1] *Let. Bk.*, vol. vi., 3rd Dec., 1679. [2] At Bombay.

Whereupon they were ordered to Modell the Companys accordingly, to deliver up their old Commissions, and to take up new ones :—

Philip Oneale for Lieutenant of the Governours Company.
James Bett for Lieutenant of the Seconds Company.
William Richardson for Ensigne of the Governours Company.
Thomas Lott for Ensigne of the Seconds Company.
Tillman Holt for Provost Marshall, and he shall have a Lycense gratis to keepe a house of entertainment in his owne dwelling-house, but not elsewhere.'

The Company, however, still disapproved of the issue of commissions, and, under the dominant direction of Josia Child, wrote as follows after Master's supersession by William Gyfford:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Our late Agent's giving comissions to the Officers of our Garrison wee looke upon as a vaine Ostentatious thing, and to no good purpose. Wee therefore hereby revoke and annull all Comissions given them [from] receipt of this letter, and order expressly that no Comission be given any Officer in our Garrison of ffort St. George, or at least that new ones be given them under the hands of all, or four at least, of our Councel there. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, 18th Nov., 1681.)

Hitherto the standing orders governing the conduct of the Company's servants, both civil and military, had been posted at the Main Guard. After the grant of commissions the Council resolved that, as the regulations in use in Langhorn's time were in some respects unsuitable, separate orders for the civil and military servants[1] should be framed, the former to be hung up in the chapel, and the latter at the 'Corps du Guard.' The Council also provided for the establishment of Courts-martial:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'And for the better executing of the orders of the Garrison, and the ease of the Governour and Councell, who cannot have leasure to attend the hearing and determining every offence among the Soldyers, it is thought fitt and resolved that there shall be a Councell of the Commission officers, not under the number of three, who shall be apointed to sett once a weeke for the examining and awarding all small fines and penaltys upon the Offenders against these orders, as shall be limited and apointed therein. And that the said Councell of Officers may proceed regularly, he that shall be in the imployment of Gentleman of the Armes[2] shall allwayes be Clarke to the said Councell of

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[1] The orders are reproduced at length in *Madras in the Olden Time*, iii. 440-461 (Wheeler).

[2] In September, 1681, 'Thos. Elkin, Gentleman of the Armes, being very sick and lame,' was superseded by Thomas Huston, the Armourer, who thenceforward held both offices.

Officers to enter their proceedings and Sentences in a booke to be kept in the ffort Register.

'There being alsoe want of a person in such imployment as a Marshall to take charge of all Persons committed for any Offences, and to inflict the punishments upon offenders, 'tis thought fitt and resolved to apoint a person that shall be provost Marshall, who shall have Comission and Instructions to execute the said Office, as is hereunder written. And the same person shall performe all things belonging to the said office both in Civill and Military cases. He shall take place of the Sarjeants, have Serjeants pay, and the fees apointed and belonging to the office, and attend upon that business only . . . .

'Thomas Lott, Eldest Sarjeant, is now nominated and apointed to be Provost Marshall.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 24th Oct., 1678.)

Among the instructions prescribed for the Provost Marshal was the following:[1] 'You shall preserve and keepe all manner of instruments for punishments in your custody, as Gyves, Sheckles, Bolts, Chains, Billboes, Mannacles, Whips, etc., using them either in case of judgement, or command from the Governour and Councell, or from the Justice or Justices of the Choultry, or from the Councell of Commission Officers.' Early in 1679 Lott was promoted Ensign *vice* Bonus dismissed for 'delivering up his Colours in the Field,' and Isaac Abraham was appointed Provost Marshal[2]:—

The next extracts illustrate the punishments commonly inflicted:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Giles Scudamore, Elias Loyd, Henry Salter, Frederick Perdue, Charles Lacon, John Goldsby and Thomas Arnold, who run away from this Garrison the 3^d of Aprill, and were taken at Triveloore, and returned by force the 10^th of the same Month, being called before the Councell and examined concerning the said fact, the Commission Officers being present, were sentenced to ride the wooden Horse for 3 daies, 3 hours at a time, and to serve 5 yeares de Novo, the first two yeares at 81 fanams per Mensem, and the 3 last yeares at the usuall pay of the Garrison. . . . And Giles Scudamore, Corporall, and Elias Loyd, Rounder,[3] being upon guard and having received the Word that night before they run away, beside the said punishment of rideing the Horse, shall be confined a Month in Irons, with allowance of Rice and Water, and forfeit that Months pay to the Honble Company. And Henry Salter and Frederick Perdue, private Sentinells, and John Goldsby, Gunners Mate, alsoe running away off their guard, beside the punishment of rideing the Horse, shall each of them forfeit one Months pay to the use of the poore, excepting 40 fanams apeece for Dyett Mony.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 5th May, 1679.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 24th Oct., 1678. [2] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 6th Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] *Rounder*, a junior non-commissioned officer, who went the rounds and inspected the sentries.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas the Commission officers, by their Consultation of 27 of this moneth, have adjudged that John Morris, Corporall, for sleeping upon his watch the 26 Instant, to pay one months pay to the use of the Poore, to ride the Wooden Horse for three severall dayes, 3 hours at a time, and then to be confined a moneth in Irons, with allowance of Rice and water . . ., and, by the same Consultation, have awarded Roger Lawrence, for being drunke the 26 Instant, and not able to mount his Guard, to pay 20 fanams to the use of the Poore . . ., and for contemning the Government 15 drubbs at the brich of a Gunn;

'The Councell, considering that this being the first offence of John Moris, Corporall, on his humble Petition his Fine and moneths imprisonment have remitted, but his 3 dayes rideing the Horse 3 hours at a time approved of. And Likewise that Roger Lawrence do pay 20 fanams to the Poor, and for contemning of the Government do receive 15 drubbs at the Brich of a Gunn.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 29th Dec., 1679.)

The uniform of the garrison at this period appears to have been red with green facings:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'And whereas there was some Perpetuanoes sent out last yeare, and some this yeare which will not sell, It is thought fitt to cloath the Soldiers with the Redd ones at 7 fanams per yard, and line the said Cloathes with Callico Dyed green, and the Mony for the said Cloathing to be stopt out of their pay, the English in 4 Months and the Portuguez in Six Months.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 14th July, 1679.)

When Lingappa was blockading Madras and threatening active hostilities, the Portuguese Militia was called out, while the native inhabitants offered to raise a corps at their own expense:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The Portuguez Inhabitants, being this day sent for, apeared and took armes for the defence of the Towne, and were quartered as their stations were appointed the 18th Aprill last, which they did accordingly.

'Allsoe the Gentue and Mallabar Inhabitants came and offered to maintaine at their owne charge 215 men for the defence of the Towne, which was accepted of, and armes delivered them out of the ffort.

'The Mallabars alsoe came and offered to entertaine 150 men for the defence of this Towne, and the Washers 25 men, which was accepted, and armes delivered them.' (*P.C.*, vol. v., 27th June, 1681.)

The establishment of Company's Peons was quite distinct from that of the Peddanaigue. The former were native soldiers, the latter police:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We have given orders for . . . our Peones, which are att present 198, to be lessened to 100 which we hope, with carefull imploying them, may be sufficient for our present busines, with the assistance of the Pethanagues Talliers, who is obliged to guard the towne in consideration of the Customes he receives; and if there should be occation for more Peones, we think itt better to entertaine the Washermen and beaters in that Service, haveing noe other employment for them att present. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 14th Aug., 1684.)

CHAPTER XXXIV

1677—1681

QUIT RENT AND CONSERVANCY—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—CIVIL SERVANTS—FRANÇOIS MARTIN'S VISIT TO MADRAS

Quit Rent and Conservancy.

A feature of Master's administration was the initiation of a demand for ground rent from the inhabitants of Madras, and the levy of a tax for conservancy. As the collection of these imposts was in later years attended by many disputes and difficulties, it will be convenient to trace the circumstances of their origin. It was on receipt of the first royal *farmān*, issued in 1674, which confirmed all the ancient privileges, that the Company considered they possessed adequate authority to impose taxes other than customs. They wrote as follows to Fort St. George:[1] 'The ffort and Town of Madrasspatam being made over to us by the King of Golcundah, Wee would have you to consider whither we have not a right to a Quitt Rent for the howses in the Town, or what other Improvement may be made, by virtue of that Grant. But herein to be very cautious of causing any disorder or discontent among the inhabitants, or to cause the King of Golcundah to augment the rent upon us.' This communication was followed up by Major Puckle's visit of enquiry. On receipt of that commissioner's report, the home authorities wrote again:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have well considered what is written about raising a Revenue in the Town, and shall expect a further accompt thereof by the return of these Ships; and when you have more fully debated it, wee would have you send us the true State of that affair, and make a Survey of all the houses built by the English, Portugall[s] or Blacks or others, and examine on what termes

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 24th Dec., 1675.

they were built, and give an Accompt of their foundation, and what rent they pay; for, by the accompt wee have of it in Mr. Puckles Diary, wee see no reason why the English should pay rent in the Portugall Towne, and those pay none in ours, nor why, if wee receive noe Rent, wee should not at least have an acknowledgment of our Right, and Covenants from them as to repaires.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 12th Dec., 1677.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Upon consideration and debate of settling Quit Rents for the ground upon which the Houses and Gardens stand within this Towne and the limits thereof, and finding it inconvenient to demand annuall Quit Rents in respect the Natives are altogether unacquainted with such Customes, and will not be brought to understand and practice them, It is Resolved therefore to be the best way and most proffittable to the Company to make an absolute bargaine and sale of the grounds, every purchaser paying for the purchase at a Reasonable rate to be set, and conveighances[1] to be made to them under the Companys Seale . . ., and Registered with the Nomber and Date by the Clarke of the Court, and the Record thereof kept in the Towne Hall[2] by the said Clarke, which shall at all times be sufficient title. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. iv., 16th Dec., 1680.)

The first attempt at conservancy was made in 1678 by Streynsham Master. The Council resolved to impose a house-tax for this purpose, and to create the office of 'Scavenger.' The earliest incumbent was the 'Scrivan of the Choultry,' but, after a short interval, it was not considered derogatory to the dignity of the civil service to appoint a senior covenanted servant to the post.[3] Ultimately the Scavenger combined with his primary function the duties of the 'Rentall General,' or officer collecting the ground rents; and for nearly a century the double appointment was held by a civil servant of high degree:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour having proposed a way for keeping the Towne cleane after the manner in England by taxing every house at a moderate rate, and to

[1] *Conveighances:* The form of conveyance specifies ground 'lying in this Towne of Madraspatnam alias Chinapatam.'

[2] *Towne Hall:* The 'convenient place by the Choultry Gate,' which was fitted up by the order of the 6th May, 1680, as a Court of Judicature, appears to have been used as a Town Hall.

[3] The duty of the Scavenger was to collect the cash, not the dirt. The learned authors of *Hobson-Jobson* contribute a long article on the office of Scavenger at Madras and Fort St. David, and they trace the use of the designation back to 1702. They confess that the discovery that such an office was filled by a senior civilian imparted a shock, and they suggest that the term 'Scavenger' had the now obsolete meaning of 'an Inspector of Goods subject to duties.' It appears, however, that the post was created nearly a quarter of a century earlier, and that it was directly connected with the cleansing of the streets.

apoint a Scavinger to collect said monys, and therewith to hire Cooleys[1] to carry away the dirt and filth which in this, as in all other Townes in these Countrys, lyes in the streets very offensively; the Principall persons, with many others of the Gentu Towne, came this day to the Governour requesting that there might not be taken a particular List or Roll of all the Houses in the Towne, they offering, rather then soe, to make a collection among themselves upon each Cast or Sect, as they have used to doe for some other Grall[2] Expences upon their Festivalls. Whereupon the Governour asked them why they aproved not of the way he proposed; to which they answeared that the Divan, or the Mogull and Braminy Governours of the Country for the King, might come to know the great number of houses and familys that is in this Towne, and thereupon might raise new Impositions upon them and create trouble to the Towne. But the matter being more nearly inquired into, it seemes they were afraid that if such a Roll were taken, it would be a ready way to lay a tax upon the Towne for the building and repairing the outwalls, or any other new imposition never yet imposed upon them. And thereupon was urged to them why all the Towne ought not to bear an equall share in repairing those slight Mud walls,[3] as well as those poor people only that lived next to the walls;[4] to which they could answear no farther then that it had never yet been required of them for these 40 yeares, and the Company had thriven well, and were better able to bear it themselves now then ever; therefore hoped 'twould not be imposed upon them now; and for cleaning the Streets they would take care to doe it among themselves without further trouble to us. Whereupon the Governour referred them to Verona to consider farther of this affaire. By this it may be observed how jealous this people are of being imposed upon by new Customes.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 13th July, 1678.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'For the Sweeping the Towne Cleane and wholsome 'tis ordered that every house be taxed at a moderate rate, and a Scavenger apointed to collect the same, and therewith to hire Men to carry away the Dirt and all other filth that is offensive. And in regard there is but few houses in the Christian Towne, soe that the tax would fall heavy if they only should bear it, 'tis therefore thought fitt that all the Christian houses in the Gentu Towne shall be taxed toward cleaning the Christian Towne, and the tax upon all other houses in the Gentu towne to bear the charge of cleaning the Gentu Towne. STREIJNSHAM MASTER, JOSEPH HYNMERS, JNO. BRIDGER, TIMOTHY WILKES.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 1st Aug., 1678.)

A list has been preserved[5] of the houses taxed to pay for the conservancy of the Christian Town. The levy ranged from ¼ to

[1] *Cooleys*, hired labourers; from Tam. *kūli*, hire, wages.

[2] *Grall*, abbreviation of the word 'general.'

[3] *Those slight Mud walls*, the rampart on the north and west faces of old Black Town.

[4] Probably an allusion to rent paid by natives for the use of recesses in, or lean-to sheds against, the walls as habitations. There is a street in Madras called Wall Tax Road, but this derived its name from a later rampart built in a different locality, viz., along the western boundary of Peddanaikpetta.

[5] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. xxxviii., Oct., 1678.

1 fanam per house, and the total assessment was 110½ fanams. Two-thirds of this was devoted to the cost of four coolies, and one-third was remuneration to 'the Choultry Scrivan, John Figera,' for collection and supervision.

The tax was levied on 118 houses in the White Town, and on 75 in the Black Town. From the roll of owners, it appears that in the White Town there were 33 English, 79 Portuguese, and 3 natives. The Governor's name is not shown, perhaps because the Fort House was his only residence, but all the principal civil and military officers are represented. The house of Sir Edward Winter is taxed, as are residences belonging to William Jearsey, Thomas Lucas, and Timothy Sutton, the last of whom was once Commandant of the garrison.

The Portuguese names in the White Town include John Pereira de Faria, Cosmo Lourenço Madeira,[1] Luis de Kintall Fialho, and Lucas Luis de Oliveira; while Cassa Verona appears as a native owner. In the Black Town, the proprietors bear Portuguese names with a few exceptions, like Mr. Proby, Thomas Clarke who owns two houses, and one Henry Law, who some time afterwards received Benefit of Clergy. What the conservancy arrangements in the Black Town may have been we do not know, but the following extract shows that some license prevailed:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Townespeople, notwithstanding all strickt orders given for the keeping their Hogs or Swine out of the Streets, which are very much annoyed therewith through the whole Towne not observing the same, it is ordered notice shall be given by beat of Drum that if any Hogs or Swine be found Straying in the Street, any one may kill them and have them for their paines; but if any Person shall kill a Hog or Swine in the Owners ground or compound,[2] he shall pay treble the price for it.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 17th Oct., 1678.)

The next two extracts relate to the regulation of the markets and the perambulation of the bounds:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a want of a Clarke of the Markett to prevent frauds and abuses in weights and Measures, and to preserve good orders in the Marketts in the

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[1] Cosmo Lourenço Madera died in 1703, and was buried at the Descançao Church, Adyar (*Inscriptions on Tombs*, J. J. Cotton).

[2] *Compound*, the enclosed ground surrounding a house; from Malay, *kampung*, an enclosure.

Towne and Suburbs, It was thought fitt to apoint John Barker, late Steward, to that imployment at 140 fanams per Mensem, and to give him in charge to seale or chop[1] with the Companys Marke all the Weights and Measures according to the Standard of the Choultry, and to make and keepe a Roll of the names of all the Shopkeepers, that thereby some moderate income may be raised from thence. And this Clarke of the Markett is to apply himselfe to the Justice or Justices of the Choultry for remedying of such things as he shall find amiss, and to follow such orders as they shall give him therein.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 9th Dec., 1678.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour, accompanied with the Councell and severall Persons of the Factory, attended by six files of Soldyers, the Companys Peons, three hundred of the Washers, the Pedda Naique, the Cancoplys of the Towne and of the Grounds, went the Circuit of Madras ground, which was described by the Cancoply of the grounds, and lyes so intermixed with others (as is accustomary in these countrys) that it is impossible to be knowne to any others; therefore every village has a Cancoply and a Parryar,[2] who are employed in this Office, which goes from Father to Son for ever.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. ii., 21st Dec., 1680).

Manners and Customs.

Master duly upheld the dignity and importance of his office. On his visits of inspection to Masulipatam and the Bay he was attended by a considerable retinue. Ceremonial visits were exchanged with the Dutch at Pulicat. Rules were prescribed for the carrying of umbrellas of state by the Company's servants in Fort St. George, and the wearing of arms by foreigners without special licence was prohibited. Among the regulations laid down for the civil and military officers we find[3]:—'That except by the Members of this Councell, those that have formerly been in that quality, Chiefs of Factorys, Commanders of the shipps out of England, and the Chaplaine, Rundells[4] shall not be worne by any man in this Towne without the Governours permission; and by no women below the degree of Factors Wives and Ensignes Wives, except by such as the Governour shall permitt. This last Clause to be put up at the Fort gate for Publike View.'

[1] *Chop*, to stamp; from Hind. *chhāp*, a stamp, whence *chhāpnā*, to print.

[2] *Parryar* here means an hereditary drum-beater; from Tam. *parai*, a drum, whence *pariyan*, pl. *pariyar*, a drum-beater. These men are of low caste. The term 'pariah' has been extended to include all the lowest castes, which in the city of Madras number one-fifth of the population.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 31st Jan., 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

[4] *Rundell*, an umbrella or 'roundel,' so called from its shape; held by an attendant over the head of a person of importance.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'According to the Custome of this Garrison, where no Strangers, tho inhabitants of the Towne, have been permitted to weare Swords of late yeares, the Governour sent to Gaspar Moto de Brito, a portugueze Gentleman, and to Botaveel,[1] a ffrench Gentleman, to have off their Swords; whereupon the Portuguez came forthwith upon Saturday Evening to the Governour at the Garden, shewing him his papers signed by the King and Prince of Portugall, and the Generall of the Order, whereby he was made a Fidalgo de habito Christo, and so he durst not, he said, for his life not weare his Sword: therefore intreated he might be permitted to weare it as had before been permitted by Agent Foxcroft and Sir Wm. Langhorn to one of a meaner order in this Towne. Whereupon the Governour did permitt the said Gentleman, Gaspar Moto de Brito, to weare his sword. The French man, notwithstanding the notice sent him, did weare his Sword yesterday; and this Morning came with it to the ffort to speake to the Governour, who sent him word he should leave his sword at the Guard and come up; which he refusing to do, the Captaine of the Guard by order disarmed him. Then he desired to speake with the Governour, which would not be admitted, but he was dismissed to his house.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 8th April, 1678.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is . . . ordered that if any Christian (except the Subjects of his Majesty the King of Great Britaine, &c.) shall weare any armes or weapons offensive or defensive within the jurisdiction of this towne, as fire Armes, Sword, Dagger, Ponyard, or such like, or great Clubs, Stafs, or Canes ferild with Iron, without order or license of the governour, every Person soe offending shall pay 50 pag^{s}. for every such offence, whereof one halfe to the Informer, and the other halfe to the use of the poore; and in case of non payment after conviction, they shall suffer imprisonment until payment thereof.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 12th June, 1679.)

With the Dutch all was now amity and peace. Pulicat and Sadras sent to compliment Master on his accession, and the Governor was subsequently entertained at Pulicat. Rijklof van Goens had just succeeded the venerable Jan Maetsuyker as Governor-General at Batavia; Jaques Caulier was Governor of Pulicat, and Lambert Hemsinck Chief at Sadras. In March, 1678, two gentlemen from Castle Geldria in Pulicat arrived at Fort St. George. Master had gone with a party 'to take the fresh aire at St. Thomas^{s} Mount,' but Mr. Hynmers entertained the strangers:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. ii., 13th to 16th March, 167$\frac{7}{8}$.)

'13. This morning the Agent, &c., returned home from the Mount, and the two Gentlemen aforesaid from Pollicatt made their visitt, and delivered

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[1] *Botaveel*, perhaps for Beaudeville. Manucci mentions a 'Monsieur Boutuvil' of Pondicherry (*Storia do Mogor*, ed. by William Irvine, iv. 145).

their letter and Compliments from Mon^r. Jaques Caulier, the Governour of Pollicatt, and were dined in the Fort with the Agent and Councell, and treated with Gunns, and this Night lodged in the Agents apartment.

'14. This day the said Gentlemen from Pollicatt were againe treated in the Fort by the Agent and Councell with Gunns, and that Evening they departed, being accompanyed to Tandore, and there sup'd with the Agent, &c., and upon their departure a Complimentall letter delivered for Governour Caulier in answer to his.

'16. In the morning Mr. Lambert Hemsinck, the Dutch Chief of Sadrasspatam, arrived here to Compliment the Agent, and this day was treated at Dinner with Gunns in the Fort, with Mr. Will. Jearsey and his Wife who is own Sister to the said Hemsinck.'

Fort St. George Diary.

'This afternoon the Williamson, Capt. William Bass, Commander, arrived in this Road from England. . . . By this ship we received newes of the Prince of Oranges Marryage with the Duke of Yorkes Eldest Daughter; whereupon twas thought fitt to drinke their healths, with fireing 3 vollys of small shott and 31 great Guns, Capt. Bass having giving accompt how the Dutch Shipps fired Gunns continually when he gave them the newes of it as he pas't by Zeloan, Jaffnapatam and Negapatam. Allsoe a letter of advice of this happy Marryage was sent by the Agent to the Governour of Pollicat.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 23rd June, 1678.)

Master visited Castle Geldria[1] in the following year on his way back from Masulipatam:—

Streynsham Master's Diary.

'The ffort stands cleare of the Towne a convenient distance. Tis built with 4 Bastians Moted, with a Fosbray. There is 8 Cannon upon each Bastian, and some Canon upon the Curtaines. The Curtaines are broad and handsome, great Margosia trees growing upon them, which makes the ffort very pleasant. The Governours lodgings stand upon the Eastward Curtaine next the Sea side, being a handsome, spatious, strong building, well furnished; besides which there are many other good buildings for Lodgings, Warehouses, Storehouses, a Chappell and Guard roomes within the ffort; and yet the ffort[2] seemes to be but little larger then ffort St. George.

'In the ffornoone the Agent walked round the ffort upon the Curtaine, and viewed all the accomodations thereof. At noone we were treated with a very Splendid Dinner, the Table being spread with about 100 Dishes of Meate well dressed and well sett out, and as many of all sorts of dryed sweetmeates made after the Europe manner, Wine of all sorts in great plenty: five healths were dranke about at Table, and all the Canon in the ffort and some at the Redoubt,[3] in all 51, fired every time: two healths were dranke after Dinner,

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[1] A 'Plan of Polliacatta' of 1778-1783, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS., No. 19,821), shows a square, or nearly square, fort, of about 500 feet side, with four bastions.

[2] Of Castle Geldria no trace now remains. It was taken by the British in 1781, and permanently occupied from 1795, except during the period 1818-1825.

[3] The redoubt was at the seaside.

with Canon fired. At about five afternoone the Agent took his leave. The Governour excused himselfe from accompanying the Agent out of Towne or downe Staires by reason of weakness,[1] but his Lady, with severall other gentlewomen, Signor Hartsing and others of the Councell, and severall others, accompanyed us to Chena Pollicat where Heer Caulier hath built a Garden house. There we were treated at a very handsome supper and other divertisements of merryment untill midnight. Then we tooke leave, the Dutch Ladys and gentlemen returning to Pollicat, and we proceeded upon our journey home. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., *Master's Diary*, 1st May, 1679.)

The following retinue embarked with Master at Balasore on the *Golden Fleece* at the end of 1679, to return to Madras after a visit of inspection to the Bay:—

Embarkation Order to Capt. John North.

(*P.C.*, vol. iii., 23rd Dec., 1679.)

'Streynsham Master, Esq^{r}., Agent and Governour.
Mr. Richard Mohun.
Mr. Richard Elliot, Chaplaine.
John Nicks, Secretary.
Richard Browne, John Goddard, Henry Oxinden } Writers.
William Richardson, Ensigne, and Tenn Soldyers.
Henry Malory, Chyrurgeon.
Thomas Lane, Agents Servant.
Peter Ashton, Butler.
Three English Men, Runaways

Servants.

12 Dubasses.[2]	3 Rundeleers.[5]
9 Pallankeen Boyes.	4 Duty men.[6]
12 Peons.	1 Barbar.
2 fflagg Men.	2 Arra Men.[7]
2 Kittesale[3] Men.	1 Sucky.[8]
2 Cookes.	4 Pattamars.
1 Chupdar.[4]	6 Slave Boyes.'

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1 Caulier died at Pulicat on the 25th October following. (*P.C.*, vol. iii., 30th Oct., 1679).

2 *Dubass, Dubash,* originally an interpreter (man of two languages); afterwards a broker, agent, head servant.

3 *Kittesale, Kittysol,* an umbrella of state ; from Port. *quita sol,* sun protector.

4 *Chupdar, chobdar,* bearer of the silver staff.

5 *Rundeleers, roundel-boys,* umbrella-bearers.

6 *Duty men,* lamp-cleaners ; from Hind. *diutī,* a lamp or lamp-stand.

7 *Arra men:* Sir Richard Temple takes the meaning to be pike-men ; from *ārā,* the sharp point of a ploughshare.

8 *Sucky:* Sir Richard Temple considers that this word is the Ar.-Pers. *saḳī* or *sāḳī,* a water-carrier.

In August, 1678, all tavern-keepers were directed to appear at the Court of Judicature to take out licences. The licence authorized the publican to sell by retail 'any kind of Wine, Beere, Mum, or other Europe Liquors; Punch, Arrack, or other Indian Liquors; and to keepe a common Victualling house, or house of entertainment.' The licences were farmed to John Barker for one year at 205 pagodas.

Fort St. George Diary.

'The Keepers of Taverns, Punch houses and Arrack houses appeared at Court againe this day, and then there was read to them a paper of proposalls and Articles concerning the Renting and farming of Licences for selling of all sorts of Liquors by Retaile; which the greatest part well aproved, and some of the poorer sort liked it not so well:—

Articles to be observed.

'Imprimis. That you hang out a Sign that your house may be knowne to be a publike house of Entertainment. . . .

'6. That you keepe in your house 2 Cotts for Strangers, with cleane Linnen and good accommodation, wholsome Dyett and Liquor; and you shall not refuse to entertaine such as shall desire the same.

'7. That you shall not sell any kind of Wine at above ¾ of a pagoda the pottle Bottle, English beere not exceeding 6 fanams the pottle Bottle, Mum not exceeding 8 fanams the quart Bottle, punch not exceeding 5 fanams a Bowle of a quart of Goa or Paryar Arrack, Goa Arrack not exceeding 2½ fanams the quart, Bengale Arrack not exceeding 4 fanams the quart. . . .

'These orders thus far to be translated into Portuguez, and to be hung up at the ffort Gate in English, and at the Choultry in Portuguez for all persons concerned to take notice thereof.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 28 Aug., 1678.)

The chief festivals observed at Fort St. George are noted in the following extract:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. ii., 29th May and 5th Nov., 1678.)

'According to the custome of this place to fire three vollys of small shott and then great gunns upon the 5th of November, Christmas day, Easter day, St. Georges day, and this day of our Kings Birth and Returne; Accordingly there had been Guns fired now by the Governours appointment, but not so many as usuall. Alsoe Wine and Arrack was given to the Garrison as accustomary.

'*5th November* 1678. This was kept as a holy day in the Chappell. At Dinner there was 3 Vollys of small shott and 25 great Gunns fired at drinking the King's health, and at night 2 Bonfires greater than had been known in this place.'

The unexpected arrival of three friendless maiden ladies from England resulted in unbudgeted outlay:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Honble Company having been pleased to send out three single women who came upon Ship Society, vizt., Mary Gainsford, Ann Davys, Rebecca

Randell, whose passage was paid for by the Honble Company, as Capt. Thomson affirmes; and they having neither relations nor recomendations to any person in this place, but say they knew noe otherwayes but that they were sent out by the Hon'ble Company, and therefore have made their requests for subsistance upon their Accompt. They being in a low condition, and not able to maintaine themselves, it was therefore resolv'd to allow them 40 fanams per Mensem for their maintenance upon the Hon'ble Companys accompt soe long as they remaine unmarryed.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 25th July, 1678.)

By the end of the year one only of the three appears to have continued single.

The non-official British residents were not numerous. The following is a list for January, 1681:—

A List of Freemen living at Fort St. George Madrasspatnam.

(*P.C.*, vol. iv., Jan., 168⁰⁄₁.)

'William Jearsey, Marryed to a Dutch woman.
Nathaniell Cholmley.[1]
Thomas Lucas,[2] Marryed to an English woman.
John Stephenson,[3] Marryed to an English woman.
Peter Large,[4] Marryed to an English woman.
Thomas Heath.
John Callender, Marryed to a Mustez.
Charles Metcalfe, Marryed to a Mustez.
Edward Greenhill.[5]
Charles Ryley, Marryed to a Mustez.

English Weomen unmarryed.

Mary Gainsford.
Mary Milton.
Triphena Ord.'[6]

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[1] *Nathaniel Cholmley* traded as a diamond merchant at Golconda in Winter's time. He became the Company's agent for the purchase of gems, but was dismissed in 1679.

[2] *Thomas Lucas* came to Madras as a soldier in 1669, and was appointed Writer by Langhorn. He married the widow of Charles Proby. He was a freeman from 1677 to 1681, when he went home. In 1683 he came out to the Council and served four years, when he again became a freeman. He finally left India in 1688.

[3] *John Stephenson* became a freeman in 1678 on discharge from the garrison.

[4] *Peter Large*, after trading at Masulipatam for a quarter of a century, became an inhabitant of Madras, where he owned a house in Middle Street, White Town. He died in 1694, after thirty-nine years' residence in India. His tombstone is in the pavement outside St. Mary's Church.

[5] *Edward Greenhill* commanded the ship *Appearance* in 1680.

[6] All three ladies soon changed their condition. *Mary Gainsford* became the wife in 1681 of Robert Bowyer of the civil service, and *Mary Milton* in 1683 of Capt. Henry Burton, master mariner; while *Tryphena Ord*, sister of Ralph Ord, the schoolmaster, was united in 1681 to James Wheeler of the civil service.

In the next seven years there was a substantial increase. The list of February, 1688, gives the names of 39 freemen, 5 Jews, 22 seafaring men who were not constant residents, and 15 unmarried women including widows. In the preceding twelve months there were 11 christenings, 14 marriages, and 101 burials.

The practice of duelling was prevalent, and measures were taken in 1689 to repress it[1]:—'There being some of our Officers and others lately engaged in quarrelling and duelling, which being in it self criminall, and of very ill consequence and bad example to our Garrison Soldiers, 'Tis ordered that the President, Councill, with the Officers and Commanders, do meet at the fort hall tomorrow morning to examine and Judge them.' The offenders, being penitent, were released from arrest a week later, and, after paying a fine, were restored to their commissions and employments.

The hours of duty at the Custom-house,[2] and probably in the other offices also, were from 8 to 11 in the morning, and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. The principal meal was taken at the general table before midday, and was followed by a siesta.

Civil Servants.

Master's public service regulations,[3] which have already been mentioned, provided not only for the conduct of the Company's officers, but for the despatch of business. The Council were directed to meet at 8 a.m. every Monday and Thursday, and oftener if necessary. The Second of Council took the office of Book-keeper, and the Third that of Warehouse-keeper. The Fourth of Council was Choultry Justice and Customer. The Paymaster and Mintmaster were associated with him in the former capacity as Justices of the Choultry. They sat twice a week at the Choultry to hear causes. As Customer, the Fourth of Council collected the Sea and Land customs, and all other rents and revenues except those of the mint. The Land customs included toll on grain, which was taken in kind at the Paddy Banksall, the Company's share of the Weighing duty, and

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 4th Dec., 1689.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 28th Feb., 168$\frac{8}{9}$.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 31st Jan., 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

the fees for registering the sale of houses and slaves. The Paymaster or Purser-General had charge of all stores, controlled expenditure on buildings and repairs, and managed the estates of deceased persons. Pending orders from England regarding the appointment of a Mintmaster, Mr. Joseph Hynmers, Second of Council, who had performed the duties for the last seven years, was desired to carry them on.[1]

The salaries of the Second, Third, and Fourth of Council had been fixed[2] by the Company in their letter of 7th December, 1669, at £100, £70, and £50 respectively. Those of the factors and writers were only £20 and £10; but the Company recognized the right of their servants to supplement their emoluments by private trade.[3] Civilians, moreover, enjoyed certain privileges, such as a free table and sundry allowances. The senior members, for example, were permitted to keep their horses at the Company's expense:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being two old and worne out Horses in the Stable, which may very well be spared, vizt., One lately sent from Golconda by the King, and One white that is past his labour and so unserviceable, they are now both disposed of to Grua at pagodas Thirty.

'And now those 2 are gone, there is but 7 Horses in the Stable of the Company; so, there being want of Horses for the Companys Servants (it being allwayes accustomary to allow Horses for every one of the Councell, the Chaplaine, the Secretary and the Trumpeter, and to have 2 or 3 spare Horses), and one presenting of 40 pagodas price, it is ordered to be bought and taken into the Stable for that use.

'Whereas it hath been a custome to allow the chief Officers and ffactors the keeping of Horses (bought with their own money) at the Companys charge, for which there is allowed a Horsekeeper, Grass cutter and Paddy,[4] in all fanams fifty per mensem for each Horse, it is thought fitt, for the creditt and security of the Place, to continue the same custome, provided that all Horses belonging to such persons be of 30 pagodas vallue and upward, and to be kept within the walls of the Christian Towne.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 7th Feb., 167$\frac{7}{8}$.)

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[1] In *P.C.*, vol. ii., of 17th Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$, it is recorded that Mr. Job Charnock at Hugli having declined the position of Fifth of Council at Fort St. George, Mr. Richard Mohun was appointed thereto and nominated Mintmaster. The place of Sixth of Council was left vacant. By *P. from Eng.* of 24th Dec., 1675, Charnock was granted a gratuity of £20 per annum 'for his incouragement during his stay in our service at Pattana.'

[2] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 28th March, 1678.

[3] Trade on the Coast was unrestricted, and it might extend to Europe, provided the Company's monopolies were respected.

[4] *Paddy*: 'gram' is probably meant.

The Company exacted substantial security for the good behaviour of their servants. It appears[1] that Writers were required, on attaining the age of 21 years, to give bonds to the amount of £1,000, to be increased to £2,000 on their reaching the rank of Factor. The following extract relates to the promotion to Factor of Elihu Yale, afterwards Governor of Madras:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Elihu Yale signed new Bonds for the degree of ffactor in 200*l.*[2] dated the 23th June 1677, and proposed for his security to the Honble Company as followeth: his Father, Mr. David Yale, Marchant, at his house place Grono[3] near Wrexham in Denbeighshire, his Brother, Mr. David Yale, Mr. John Hill, Marchant, at his House on Tower Hill, and Captain Hopefor Bendall in Wapping, London.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 6th April, 1678.)

At the end of 1678 the office of Steward was assumed by a junior civil servant, and the appointment was so held for many years[4]:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas it is found to be inconvenient in many respects for the Steward to lodge out of the Fort, that hath the charge of the Expence of the Honble Companys Generall Table, the Plate, and the Household Stuff; and John Barker, who hath served many yeares therein, having a Wife and Children, finding it troublesome, and being alsoe willing to lay it down;[5] it was thought fitt to apoint one of the ffactors for that imployment, to wit, John Willcox was ordered to undertake the same when this Month is out. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 25th Nov., 1678.)

In 1679 Master undertook two tours of inspection. The first, extending from the 11th March to the 2nd May, was made to Masulipatam and subordinate stations. It embraced an expedition to the Golconda diamond mines, near Ellore, an interesting account of which is given in the Governor's diary.[6] On the return journey he visited Armagon and Pulicat. The following was the manner of his entry into Madras:—

Master's Diary.

'In the Morning, about 6 a clock, we arived at Trevitore, and stayed there untill 4 afternoone, all the Councell and many others of the Companys Servants and of the Inhabitants of the Towne comeing thither to meet the Agent. One

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1 *P.C.*, vol. ii., 27th June, 1678. 2 Apparently an error for £2,000.

3 Plas Grono.

4 In later times Robert Clive occupied a similar post at Fort St. David.

5 In the following month Barker became Clerk of the Market.

6 *P.C.*, vol. iii., *Master's Diary.*

of the Companys of the Garrison that was free Guard mett him at Pursotums Garden,[1] and thence marcht before him into Towne, the people in great numbers flocking out to meet him. The Guns at the ffort began to fire when he was by the Pagodae in the Gentue Towne, and fired untill he entred the ffort 27 Guns: then the Soldyers in armes fired 3 vollys, which ended the Ceremony. The Agent and all his Company returning in good health (praised be God) from the Journey which, tho troublesome to the undertakers, hath been of great advantage to the Hon'ble Company. JOHN NICKS, Secret^y.' (*P.C.*, vol. iii., *Master's Diary*, 2nd May, 1679.)

The second tour, beginning on the 1st August, 1679, and ending on the 26th January, 1680, was made to Masulipatam and the Bay. During both tours Mr. Joseph Hynmers was left in charge at Madras, and on the second occasion was granted the title of Deputy-Governor.

Hynmers died in May, 1680, after ten years' service in Madras. A lofty obelisk on the site of the old Burial-ground marks his resting-place. His widow, Catherine, was married to Elihu Yale after an interval of six months. Their son, David Yale, died in 1687, and a tablet to his memory faces that of Hynmers under the obelisk.

Fort. St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. iv., 28th and 29th May, 1680.)

'28th, Mr. Joseph Hynmers having been sick and kept his Chamber ever since the beginning of February, dyed this day. He left a Wife and three Children[2] here, and one Child sent home by the last ships.

'29th, The Corps of Mr. Joseph Hynmers were inter'd this afternoon, attended to the grave by the Governour and Councell, the ffactory, many of the Inhabitants, both Companys of the Garrison. Three Volys fired at the grave, and 40 Canon in the ffort.'

On the 25th August 'dyed Mr. Bezaleel Sherman, the Chyrurgeon.' He was succeeded by Dr. John Heathfield, who had been on board the *President* when she was taken by the Dutch in 1673, and who was afterwards Surgeon at Madapollam. Heathfield married Margery, widow of Robert Fleetwood, Chief of that Factory, whom 'he had received in her shift,' so as to avoid incurring liability for her late husband's hopeless indebtedness.[3]

[1] This garden appears to have been in Muthialpetta. It may have taken its name from that Purushotam who was Interpreter at the Choultry about 1654.

[2] Joseph Hynmers or Hinmerse, a son of the Member of Council, was a civil servant from 1692 till 1698, when he applied to retire and become a free merchant.

[3] *Fac. Rec. Masuli.*, 16th May, 1678, quoted by the Rev. F. Penny in *The Church in Madras.*

François Martin's Visit to Madras.

François Martin, Governor of Pondicherry, having been directed by the French East India Company to proceed to Surat, elected to make the journey by land in the blazing month of May, and to travel by way of Golconda. Accompanied by the Sieur Germain, four other Frenchmen, and twenty native soldiers, he started on the 16th May, 1681, and four days later halted at Velacherry. In the following account, taken from his manuscript *Mémoire*,[1] the dates have been converted from New to Old style to accord with the Madras usage of the time:—

'Je fis partir le sieur Germain le 20e au matin pour aller à Madras donner avis aux Reverends pères Ephrem et Zenon, Capucins, de mon voiage, et pour faire excuse à Monsieur le gouverneur de ce que je n'allois pas le voir en passant ; que je craignois de l'importuner, sachant qu'il estoit indisposé. La petite caravane fut en route deux heures après. Comme l'on avoit avis en divers endroits de mon passage, je sceu qu'il y avoit quantité de gens quy s'estoient assemblez à Saint Thomé pour me parler. Je crust que je devois éviter ces sortes de visites. . . . Je passay presque au pied du grand mont, sy celèbre par les preuves certaines que l'on a que Saint Thomas y a esté autrefois. Je continuay la route sur la mesme ligne. Je laissay Madras à la droite. Nous poussames jusques à Trivetour, une aldée[2] quy en est esloignée d'une grande lieue au nord. Nous y arrivames sur les huit heures du soir. Il n'estoit rien de la cavallerie que l'on disoit quy bloquoit cette place [Madras]. Il est vray que l'on n'y laissoit point entrer de toilles, mais l'on laissoit passer librement toutes les denrées quy venoient de la terre.

'Le sieur Germain me vint rejoindre à Trivetour le matin du 21e. Il me dit qu'il avoit veu les Reverends pères capucins, Ephrem et Zenon, quy luy avoient dit que monsieur le gouverneur m'avoit toujours attendu ; que depuis trois jours la garnison avoit esté plusieurs fois sous les armes, sur l'avis que l'on avoit donné que je venois le long du bord de la mer ; que je ne pouvois pas me dispenser de venir à Madras ; et que le Reverend père Zenon arriveroit dans une heure, quy me diroit plus particulièrement son sentiment là-dessus. Le Reverend père vint ensuite. Il me dit qu'il avoit parlé au gouverneur avant que de partir, qu'il se plaignoit de ce que j'estois passé sans le voir, et que sy il avoit esté en santé qu'il m'auroit prevenu. Je me resolus par là à faire cette visite. Je partis de nostre campement sur les quatre heures du soir. Au tiers du chemin de Madras je re[n]contray le sieur Wilhem,[3] l'un des conseillers, et le sieur Chomley,[4] célèbre joaillier. Les palanquins s'arretèrent. Après les premiers civilitez, où nous vidames quelques bouteilles de vin, nous avançames ensuite jusques à un jardin de la Compagnie, quy est

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[1] Communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

[2] *Aldée*, a village ; from Ar. *al-dai'a*.

[3] Probably Mr. Timothy Wilkes.

[4] Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley, free merchant.

à une portée de canon de Madras,[1] où je trouvay la collation preste. Le Reverend père Ephrem m'y attendoit. Après y avoir resté une demy heure, nous reprimes notre chemin. Nous entrames dans la ville et ensuite dans la forteresse, où la garnison estoit sous les armes. Dès mon entrée dans la forteresse, le canon de la place et des dehors tira. Je montay à l'apartement du gouverneur, que je trouvay en robbe de chambre. Il me fit toutes les civilitez qu'il pust. Je remarquay dans la conversation que nous eumes ensemble, qu'il manquoit de mémoire : il m'en avoit aussy averty devant, à fin que cela ne me surprit pas. C'estoit un homme ferme, quy n'avoit pas suivy toujours les sentiments du Conseil, et quy s'estoit attiré par-là des ennemis, mais quy a extremement bien servy la Compagnie d'Angleterre. Les deux hommes qu'il avoit fait areter pour les affaires de la Compagnie,[2] et dont il avoit fait vendre les effets, avoient aussy animé des gens de la terre contre luy. L'on dit qu'il prit sa maladie dans une promenade qu'il fit au dehors de Madras, où aiant soif l'on luy présenta un cocos pour en boire l'eau. Il y en a quy ont crust que l'on y avoit meslé quelque chose dedans. Cette espèce de maladie, quy luy laissoit de temps en temps de bons intervalles, a continué ; et des personnes quy l'ont veu depuis en Angleterre, m'ont assuré qu'il en estoit toujours incommodé. Quoy que les officiers de la Compagnie et les habitans se soient plaints de son gouvernement, les personnes quy ont remply sa place depuis n'ont pas laissé de l'imiter presque en tout, et les Directeurs de Londres s'en sont bien trouvez. Nous restames une heure en conversation, pendant laquelle il fit tirer encore deux vollies de 25 coups chacune. Je vis bien que ce bruit l'incommodoit. Je le priay de faire cesser. Il ne pust s'empecher de me dire qu'il croioit que l'on l'avoit empoisonné. Je ne pus me dispenser de rester à souper quy dura jusqu'à minuit. Le gouverneur resta dans son apartement. Je pris congé de luy ensuite. Il me donna toutes les marques d'une parfaite amitiée. Je trouvay encore la garnison sous les armes. En sortant, le canon fit grand bruit. Je ne contay pas les coups, mais il est certain que la décharge dura près d'un quart d'heure. Je passay ensuite à l'hospice des Reverends pères capucins, et me jettant après dans mon palanquin, je fus accompagné jusques au jardin par les personnes qui m'estoient venus recevoir, où je trouvay encore une collation de confitures ; après quoy nous séparames, et je retournay a nostre campement.

'Je receus le 22[e] plusieurs visites des habitants de Madras et de quelques françois quy estoient au service de la Compagnie d'Angleterre, pendant que le sieur Germain estoit a menager des bestes de charge et des porteurs jusques a Golconde.

'Monsieur le gouverneur de Madras m'envoia faire civilité par un des gens le 23[e]. Il me présenta de sa part 24 bouteilles de vin, et quy me fit dire, sy il estoit en santé, qu'il viendroit avec moy jusques auprès de Paliacate. J'oubliois de dire qu'il me demanda sy je visiterois le gouverneur[3] de cette place en passant. Il estoit fort mal satisfait de ce qu'il n'avoit pas repondu aux civilitez

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[1] *The Company's Old Garden* in Muthialpetta was 1,600 yards north of the Inner Fort, a distance within cannon range. *Cf.* Martin's account of the siege of San Thomé, where he states that shot were fired into that town from Triplicane, a distance of one mile.

[2] Apparently the brothers Venkaṭādri are meant.

[3] Jacob Jorrissen Pit, who had lately taken charge.

qu'il luy avoit faites à son arrivée. Je luy dis que non, et que je passerois sans m'areter. . . .

'J'envoiay le 23^{e}, avant que de partir, luy faire civilité et le remercier des honneurs qu'il m'avoit fait.'

Writing of the same year, 1681, Martin thus indicates the salient characteristics of Master and his successor :—

'Le sieur Maester, quy quittoit la place, estoit un homme de teste et de main quy tachoit de se maintenir avec vigueur. Le sieur Gyfford, quy y entroit, estoit un homme doux et de paix. Ces charactères, de l'un et de l'autre, sont bons lorsqu'ils sont employez à propos dans les occasions.'

CHAPTER XXXV

1681—1687

GOVERNOR GYFFORD—THOMAS PITT, INTERLOPER—NEW SETTLEMENTS—THE GARRISON—FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS

GOVERNOR GYFFORD.

WILLIAM GYFFORD, who succeeded Master, was an old servant of the Company and no stranger to Madras. Entertained as a Factor in 1657, he voyaged for two years in the South Seas, and then became a Councillor in Chamber's Government at Fort St. George. He retained his position during Winter's administration, and went home at the beginning of 1665. Six years later he was reappointed to the service, and held the post of Chief of the Tonquin Factory from 1672 to 1677,[1] when he again returned to England. In 1680 he was nominated Master's successor.

The Company's commission of the 29th December, 1680, granted under the authority of Charles II.'s charter of 1661, appointed 'William Gyfford to be Agent of and for all our Affaires on the Coast of Choromandell and Bay of Bengalla in the East Indies, and also to be our Governor and Commander in Chiefe of our fort of St. George and Town of Maderasapatam in the East Indies, and of all and singular the Forts, Territories and Jurisdictions thereof, and of all our forces that now are or hereafter shall be Imployed for the Service of us the said Governor and Company in their said Fort and Town and the Jurisdiction thereof.'

In the following year William Hedges, one of the Committees of the Company, was sent out as 'Agent and Governor of all factories in the Bay of Bengall, independent upon our Agency of Fort St. George.'[2] Hedges, however, vacated his post by dis-

[1] *Diary of William Hedges*, Yule.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, 18th Nov., 1681.

missal in 1684, and Gyfford was appointed 'President and Governor of all our affaires on the Coast of Choromandel and in the Bay of Bengall.'[1] Hedges touched at Madras early in 1685, when he stayed with Mr. Jearsey.[2]

Gyfford came out with special instructions to suppress interloping, improve the revenues of Madras, and establish a factory or factories to the southward. His period of office was one of activity in these directions, and in the development of the defences of the Black Town.

His Council consisted at the outset of John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes, John Bigrig, Elihu Yale, and John Nicks. Bridger was dismissed by the Company's orders of November, 1681, for having dealings with interlopers, and John Littleton, 'son of the Honble Sir Thomas Littleton, deceased, who was alwaies a Constant friend to the Company,' became junior member. John Bigrig came out with Gyfford from England. He fell a victim in 1684 to an attack of dysentery. His last illness is thus laconically described in the Fort St. George Diary:—

'30 June.—Mr. John Bigrig ill of a fflux.

'3 July.—Mr. John Bigrig very ill of a fflux.

'4 July.—Mr. John Bigrig Extraõ ill of a Flux.

'This afternoon about four a Clock Mr. John Bigrig departed this life to the great trouble of all that knew him.'

Gyfford was urged by the Company to keep a tight hand on the subordinate factories. In the following breezy communication, it is not difficult to trace the hand of Josia Child, Governor of the Company:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Long experience with variety of persons and humors hath convinced us of the following truths—

'1st. That long, tedious and cross examinacons in India, with bundles of attestations, accusacons, Defences, apologies, Certificates and other Such like Trumperey (of which We have had loades in our time) do Signify just nothing, but Chime as many Changes as the best Ringers in London can make with Seaven Bells, and that the worst of men will contrive their Busines so as to furnish themselves wlth the largest ffardle of such Sophisticated Ware.

'2dly. That without Such a Bussle A wise Agent and Councill will easily, after a few Admonitions, discerne which ffactory doth well and which not, and may

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, 21st Dec., 1683.

[2] *P.C.*, 2nd Feb., 168⅘.

shrewdly guess whether it be depraved by the Malignant Influence of the Chief, or whether the Chief be good and those under him idle or obstinate, which seldom happens. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 20th Sept., 1682.)

On the 8th August, 1684, Gyfford proceeded to the Bay on a tour of inspection, leaving Yale in charge at the Fort. The Governor was absent until the 26th of the following January:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The Honble William Gyfford, President, intending aboard in the Evening, he, in order thereto, deliver'd up the charge of the ffort, &c., to Elihu Yale, appoynted by the Honble Company to be Chiefe of their Affaires on this Coast in his absence; after which went to Chirch, and from thence was conducted by the Principle English, Portuguez, &c., through a Guard of three Companies of Souldiers to the Sea side, where, after kind farewells, took boat and was saluted by the Fort with 31 peices of Ordnance, which upon his embarking upon Ship Resolution was Returned by all the Ships in the Road, who continued their Salutations till late att night. And next morning early, accompanied with the Beaufort and Sloop James, with a fresh gaile, Sailed for Bengall, where the Allmighty send them a Safe arrivall with health, Success, and a happy Returne.' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 8th Aug., 1684.)

The Council, which had in 1686 been increased to nine members besides the President, thus admonished certain juniors of the service at Madras:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Some of the Councill having made complaint to us that they have observed Severall of the Factors and Writers to have great animosities one against the other, and that generally they carry it very proudly and disrespectfully towards them, and they have informed us of Severall disorders that some of them have been guilty of, particularly in Stricking and challenging one another; wee therefore this day Sent for all the Said Factors and Writers, and such as wee found guilty of said misdemeanors wee Set fines upon them for an example to the rest, and instructed all to live in amity and respectfully one with another. . . . And because wee are resolved to keep a good and orderly Government, and that every one shall pay a due respect to their Superiors, and particularly the Factors and Writers to any and even the lowest of the Councill, Wee do agree and order that if any of the Said Councill find themselves disrespected or afronted by either the Factors or Writers, that they may immediately confine them to their Chambers, and order them to have nothing but Rice and water till they have submitted and acknowledged their fault both to us and them. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xii., 16th June, 1687.)

Gyfford's health was not robust. On the 29th May, 1686, 'the President was taken ill with a violent fitt of the Stone and Wind

Collick.' His condition compelled him to reside chiefly at the Garden House instead of in the Fort :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Rt. Honble Company in their Generall having complained of their great charge in keeping two Tables, which was chiefly occasioned by President Gyffords indisposition; the Fort being always unhealthfull to him necessitated his living at the Garden, which he found to agree with him much better. . . . President Gyfford desireing to excuse his comeing to the Fort, and to continue at the Garden during his short stay[1] in India, it is thought fitt and order'd to be allow'd him Pagodas 25 per month for his diett while here, with a Suitable number of Peons and other Servants.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 29th July, 1687.)

Thomas Pitt, Interloper.

The Company's trade had long suffered by the interference of independent merchant captains known as 'interlopers.' Gyfford had instructions to put down their unauthorized traffic. Among the most prominent of the interlopers was Thomas Pitt, destined to become Governor of Madras, and grandfather of the Earl of Chatham. The earliest reference to him that has been noticed in the Fort St. George records occurs in 1679, when he promised to become a law-abiding inhabitant of Madras: 'Thomas Pitt, upon his Petition to be allowed leave to goe to Persia to gather in his Estate there, and promising upon his returne to inhabit in this Towne according to the Honble Companys orders, it was granted him, provided he gave a Bond of 500 pagodas that he would come and live as an inhabitant of this Towne by January next; which he accepted, and gave bond accordingly.'[2] Apparently the promise was not fulfilled, for he was at his old trade in 1680 :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Thomas Pitts being designed Supra Cargo of both [ships],[3] who is Mr. Vincents[4] Cousin and a fellow of a haughty, huffing, daring temper; and therefore, by the first Shipp that goes downe to the Bay, we would have you send downe to Agent Hedges a Corporall and 20 Soldiers to be at his disposall

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[1] Gyfford had given over charge on the 22nd July. He remained in Madras for another year, sailing on the 18th August, 1688.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 3rd Feb., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] The *Crown*, Capt. Dorrell, and another vessel.

[4] Matthew Vincent, formerly Agent at Hugli, who had fallen under the Company's displeasure.

there so long as our Ships stay, or he shall think fitt to keep them there to prevent Interlopers. . . . Not that we should have any fighting betweene English and English, but we think it may not be amiss to have them there to prevent any insolent attempt of Pitts to rescue Vincent, or other indecent behaviour he may prompt his Seamen to Comitt upon the land, because Pitts, being so well acquainted on the River of Ganges, may carry up boath the Ships aforesaid as high as hughly. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 10th March, 168⁰⁄₁.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You will learn from many hands the accidents that have happened unto the Interlopers Cripp and Pitts, both in that Shipp which loaded at Hughly. About 3 months past We heard of her Arrival at Falmouth. Pitts and others of the concerned came up to London and made application to his Majesty and Councel to be admitted, but still kept their Ship out of comand at Falmouth and Torbay. After all their Solicitations and profers were rejected, they sailed to the River of Elve,[1] going up to hambrough. . . . They rid in the River of Elve upon their guard for many weekes, but being not admitted there to enter to Land their goods, they were forced at last to a bold adventure of coming back again to the River of Thames, where, below the Blockhouses, One of the Kings officers met her, and made a seizure both of Shipp and goods for the King. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 18th Nov., 1681.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Immediately on receipt of this, Send Capt. Willshaw[2] to the Bay, being a man of honour and integrity, of whose faithfullness wee have more than ordinary Confidence, and know to be too honest and too wise to be suborned by that huffing Knave Pitts. . . .

'If Alley[3] Should return again for Porto Nova, it will not be but only for a Winter Ship, 4 or 5 months hence; long before which we hope you have Settled a Factory there in honest hands.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 25th March, 1682.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'But in regard the Crymes perpetrated by Vincent, Pitts and Dorrell in the Bay were most enormous, there was perticuler Informacon against them upon which they were taken and kept some days in Custody by the Kings Messengers, and then dismissed, giveing 40,000 pounds each security to answer the Kings suit. The issue whereof we have reason to beleive will make them sick of that kind of Interloping Trade.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 20th July, 1683.)

Thomas Pitt must have found these letters amusing reading when, as Governor of Fort St. George, he gained access to them.

[1] *Elve*, Elbe. [2] *Capt. Willshaw*, commander of the *Resolution*.
[3] *Alley*, William Alley, another interloper.

New Settlements.

It had been for some time the ambition of the Company to establish a factory 'at Porta Nova . . . or else in some other part of the Chengy Country.'[1] That territory was governed by the Marāthas. It may be remembered that in 1648 the armies of Bījāpur and Golconda were harrying the Carnatic, and fighting each other in that distracted land.[2] The King of Bījāpur seized the Gingee country from the representative of the old Vijayanagar dynasty, and held it until ousted by Sivājī in person in 1677. The Marātha returned to his western territory in the following year, leaving Hārjī Rājā proconsul at Gingee. Sivājī died in 1680, and was succeeded by his son Sambhājī. In 1681 Elihu Yale was selected by Gyfford to go down to Gingee, and negotiate with Hārjī Rājā for a settlement in Marātha territory. He was charged with presents designed for Sambhājī :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'In the afternoon about 4 a clock, the Governor, Mr. Bridger, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Nicks, Mr. Elliot, Mr. John Willcox, Doctour Heathfeild, Mr. Ralph Ord, Mr. John Stables, Mr. John Beavis, Mr. Francis Willcox, went as far as Mr. Bridgers garden to accompany Mr. Elihu Yale part of his way, where was a supper provided ; and after supper, about 9 a clock, the Governour, &c. took their leaves of him. He then set forward, attended by Mr. Nath[l]. Gyfford and Mr. Edward Dutton, who went with him as his assistants, and soe proceeded on his journey with the rest of his retinue.' (*P.C.*, vol. vi., 10th Dec., 1681.)

Yale was successful in obtaining a cowle from Hārjī Rājā, governor of Gingee, through his subordinate Gopāl Pant, subahdar of Porto Novo, which permitted the British to settle and trade at 'Porto Novo, Cuddooloor and Conimeroo.' Writing from Trinomalai on his way back, Yale says :—

Elihu Yale to William Gyfford.

'Notwithstanding our great disencouragements, I thanck God I have effected our business well beyound expectation, with this Wellcome and Strange remarke (considering the Circumstances and People I treated with), I preserved the Honble Companys honour and their money too ; which you will easily believe was a difficulty that Sufficiently racked my Witts and Patience. . . .

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 18th Nov., 1681.

[2] Orme puts the period of invasion as 1652-1656 (*Historical Fragments*, p. 62), but *O.C.*, No. 2085, 23rd Sept., 1648, which has been already quoted, shows that the irruption took place earlier.

'Thus much I thought necessary to acquaint your Worship of our Success, which makes me bold to mind you of your promised honour of meeting us at the honble Companys new Garden, where we hope to kiss your hands by five of the clock on Wednesday evening.' (*Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. ii., 9th Jan., 168½.)

Settlements were duly made at Porto Novo and Cuddalore, but their existence was precarious and even intermittent. A factory was also established at Conimere[1] in October, 1682.

The Company highly approved[2] of settlement in the 'Chengy Countryes,' and sanctioned the building of a fort of thirty or forty guns, if permission could be obtained from the native ruler. They also expressed willingness to buy the Fort of Tranquebar if the Danes would consent to sell.

Ralph Ord the schoolmaster, finding that 'teaching the Children is much prejudiciall to his health,' petitioned for employment in the civil service. On the 28th September, 1682, he was appointed a factor[3] on probation, subject to the Company's approval, and was posted to Conimere. Thence he went to Porto Novo, and subsequently to Sumatra on a mission of colonization. On the 3rd January, 1685, he reappeared in Madras Roads with the Rajah of Priāman[4] and two other princes on board :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The Sumatra Princes being seated in the Mussula, the Ship Saluted them with nine Gunns, and some of the Councell, with Mr. Ord and Mr. Cawly,[5] with our Chiefe Merchants, went to the Sea side and Curtiously Received them to the ffort, the whole way being lined with a guard of Souldiers, accompanyed with most of our Chiefe black Merchants, as also the Towne Musick and Dances, the usuall State of this Country, (and taking with them) entering the Hall, they were received with Curteous salutes and embraces from the Chiefe, and thence brought to their seats, where, after usuall Complyments and wellcomes, Mr. Ord delivered the Queen of Acheens letter to the Chiefe, which was received by him with Accustomed Sallams, and a Glass of wine Past round to her health, with 17 pieces Ornance to that and their wellcomes, when, after the Cerrimony of Beetle and Rosewater, they took their leaves, and were attended to their Lodgings by Chynna Vincatadry, &c. Chiefe People of the Towne, when all necessary Servans were, as appoynted, in readyness for them, with which they seemed well pleased and Sattisfied.' (*P.C.*, vol. x., 8th Jan., 168⅘.)

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1 *Conimere*, Kunimedu, a coast village 25 miles north of Cuddalore.

2 *P. from Eng.*, 20th Sept., 1682.

3 John Barker succeeded Ord as Schoolmaster.

4 *Priāman*, on the west coast of Sumatra. A short-lived factory had been established there in 1615.

5 Mr. William Cawley accompanied Ord to Sumatra.

In the course of the four months that the princes spent in Madras, a treaty was made with the Rajah for a settlement at Priāman, of which Ord[1] was appointed Chief. Two vessels were despatched in May bearing the princes, the quondam schoolmaster and his retinue, materials for fortifications, the lately arrived 'Mr. Fowle, our engineer, who we can hardly spare,' and a company of soldiers under Lieutenant Robert Landey. A fortified warehouse was begun at Bencoolen, where Fowle died; but finding the situation inconvenient, Ord and Cawley moved to another spot a few miles distant, and erected a factory which was known first as 'York Fort at Bencoolen,'[2] and afterwards as Fort Marlborough.

The following were the factories now dependent on Madras[3]:—

(1) Masulipatam; Mr. Robert Freeman, Chief, with two others of Council and two writers.

(2) Madapollam; Mr. Samuel Wales, Chief, with three others of Council, and one writer.

(3) Pettapolee; Mr. Richard Brereton, Chief, with one other of Council, and two writers.

(4) Vizagapatam;[4] Mr. Richard Brown, Chief, with two others of Council, and two writers.

(5) Cuddalore; Mr. John Davis, Chief, with two others of Council, and two writers.

(6) Porto Novo; Mr. Ralph Ingram, Chief, with one other of Council, and one writer.

(7) Conimere; Mr. John Willcox, Chief, with two others of Council, and two writers.

(8) Priaman; Mr. Ralph Ord, Chief, with three others of Council, two factors, and four writers.

In November, 1683, a firman dealing with the subject of interloping arrived from Golconda. It was delivered with great ceremony at the Garden House to the Agent and Council, attended by the civil establishment, the Company's merchants, and a military guard of honour. The King of Golconda's health was drunk, and salutes were fired. The assembly then adjourned to

[1] Ord died at Priāman about 1687 (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 22nd Dec., 1687).

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 12th Sept., 1687.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. x., 17th Aug., 1685.

[4] Vizagapatam Factory was established in or about 1682 (*Fac. Rec. Mis.*, 23rd Oct., 1711).

the Fort, where the health of Mādanā and Ākanā, the King's Chief Ministers of State, was pledged to the accompaniment of a *feu de joie*.[1]

Two years later Gopāl Pant of Porto Novo, coming to San Thomé, expressed a wish to visit the Governor. He was received at the Garden House on the 15th September, and on the 17th at the Fort. After 'some time spent in viewing the Citty from the top of the Fort house,' he broached the question of a loan, and was told that the matter would be considered as soon as permission was obtained from Hārji Rājā for the construction of a fort at Cuddalore or Porto Novo.

Owing to trouble with the Mogul, it was decided in August, 1687, to dissolve the factories at Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Pettapolee. Cuddalore and Conimere were maintained, but the establishment at Porto Novo was withdrawn to Cuddalore.

In the year last mentioned we meet with the first reference to the Venetian Niccolão Manucci, who had lately become a resident of Madras. Born in 1639, Manucci left Venice at the age of fourteen, and accompanied Lord Bellomont to Persia and India, reaching Surat in 1656. Manucci went on to Delhi, and enlisted in the Mogul artillery. After an adventurous service in different parts of India, and under various masters, he moved to Lahore in 1670, and set up as a physician. In 1678 he accompanied Shāh 'Ālam to the Deccan, where he was ultimately held a prisoner. He escaped in 1686, and found a refuge at Fort St. George.[2] Familiar with several languages, and acquainted with the leading men among the Moguls, the Marāthas, the French, and the Portuguese, he possessed every quality essential to an envoy, and he was repeatedly selected by Gyfford and later Governors to conduct negotiations with other Powers. At Pondicherry, in 1686, he met the widow of Mr. Thomas Clarke, and married her. Mrs. Clarke was a daughter of Christopher Hartley and Aguida Pereyra. Through his wife, Manucci inherited Clarke's garden house, situated at the south end of the road now called Popham's Broadway. In Thomas Pitt's map it is shown as *Manoucha's Garden*. Manucci continued to practise medicine. According

[1] *P.C.*, vol. viii., 12th Nov., 1683.

[2] The above particulars are derived from Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* (Indian Text Series), ed. by Mr. William Irvine, 1907.

to Lockyer,[1] 'Manooch's Stones[2] at Fort St. George . . . are deservedly cryed up for their Vertues.' Desiring to procure delivery of letters from Bengal to the Emperor, Gyfford determined to 'take the advice of Señor Manuche, an Itallian Doctor, inhabitant of this Town, who was formerly in the Mogulls Service,'[3] and forward them by the doctor's servants. Communications from the Fort to the Nawab were despatched by the same agency.

The Garrison.

On the death of Captain Philip O'Neale, his widow was granted a free passage to Bengal. She appears, however, to have returned to Madras, for the name of Ursula O'Neale occurs for many years in the lists of residents. The command of the garrison devolved on Lieutenant James Bett. The number of companies must have been again increased to four, for though one, with Lieuts. Richardson and Lesley, was ordered to attend Gyfford to the Bay in August, 1684, three remained at the Fort, commanded by Lieuts. Bett, Child, and Landey.[4]

The Chief Gunner, William Dixon,[5] seems to have retired, for we find a man of that name in charge of a trading vessel. In his place the Company sent out an Engineer:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'There is on board the Beaufort one Edward Fowle, whom Wee have entertained for an Engineer and Master Gunner, to serve for seaven years in such place as Wee shall direct at the following Terms, vizt.,

'1. The Company to pay the passage of his Wife and Children, and to advance him £5 at his going out.

'2. His pay to begin at his arrival at such place as shall be directed, and to be allowed 50*s*. per Month for the first two years, and £5 per Month for the last 5 years.

'Him you may keep at the Fort, or send him with those you imploy in this Affair at your discretions.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 19th Oct., 1683.)

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[1] *Trade in India*, Lockyer, 1711.

[2] *Manooch's Stones*, an imitation of the esteemed Goa stones. Powder scraped from a stone was taken in liquid as medicine.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 7th March, 168$\frac{6}{7}$, and vol. xiii., 19th Sept., 1687.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. ix., 28th July, 1684.

[5] From a passage in *Let. Bk.*, vol. viii., 22nd Oct., 1686, it would appear that 'Gunner Dixon' was then in England. He seems to have occupied a house in Madras in 1688.

The date of the Engineer's arrival at Fort St. George is not recorded, but it could not have been much earlier than the middle of 1684. Fowle accompanied Gyfford to the Bay in the course of the same year,[1] and in the following May he went with Ord to Sumatra to advise regarding fortifications at Bencoolen. He did not live to return to India. Hence it is clear that he had little opportunity of contributing to the improvement of the Madras defences, while the conjecture which has been advanced that he superintended the erection of St. Mary's Church is necessarily without foundation. The following extract shows that he was succeeded by Robert Ivory:—'Mr. Edward Fowle, late Gunner of this place, being deceased at Bencoolen on the West Coast of Sumatra, and Mr. Robert Ivory, his Chief Mate, having behaved himself very Soberly and dilligently during his absence; Itt is agreed and order'd that he be provitionall Gunner, his Sallary Pagodas 8 per month, and his dyett att the Generall Table; and that Giles Scudimore be his chief Mate at Pagodas 5 per month.'[2] Fowle's widow, being left in bad circumstances, was awarded a gratuity of 20 pagodas 'in consideration of the great loss she hath had in his death.' She was subsequently married to Ivory, who thus succeeded Fowle in a dual capacity.[3]

Apprehensive of Mogul aggression and the impending downfall of the Golconda dynasty, the Company advised the increase of the garrison of Fort St. George, and urged the formation of a squadron of volunteer cavalry:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You must never give over contriving easy methods for raising Revenue . . . untill you have arrived, by the Dutch wisdom, to such a measure of constant Income as may sufficiently serve your keeping in repair and enlarging your ffortifications, and the Constant maintenance of 500 European Souldiers, most part English, the rest Portuguez which are cheaper by one halfe. Such a formidable posture of defence will make more rich men trust to your government and protection. . . .

'If you could persuade all the rich men in ffort St. George, to the Number of 100 English, Jews, Portuguez and Gentues, to keep each of them a Horse and Arms at their own charge, as Mr. de Pavia[4] here hath promised for himselfe

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. ix., 24th Dec., 1684. [2] *P.C.*, vol. x., 10th Dec., 1685.

[3] Mrs. Fowle's daughters Elizabeth and Mary became the wives of John Pitt and John Beard respectively.

[4] *Mr. de Pavia*, a Hebrew diamond merchant of Madras, was then in England.

that he will, it might be a brave additionall strength upon any suddain occasion. And you may appoint Captain and Officers to exercise the Troop once in 2 or 3 Months as a Militia or City Troop.

'The Riders by right should be English, or at least ⅔ of them.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 13th Feb., 1685.)

Not only was a troop of cavalry immediately formed,[1] but an infantry militia was shortly afterwards embodied :—'Order'd that two Companies of Trainbands do be raised, the one of the Rt. Honble Companys Servants and English freemen, the other of Portigues Inhabitants.'[2]

The Portuguese troops were guilty of attempted mutiny in 1686. In connexion with an expedition arranged by the Company against the Mogul government in Bengal, some of these men were ordered to embark for the Bay.[3] When paraded under arms they refused to go, 'upon pretence that we would send them to the West Coast.'[4] Gyfford erected a gallows[5] forthwith before the Fort Gate in view to hanging the ringleaders on the spot. His display of determination brought the men to a sense of their duty. The Council resolved that, as 'we can expect no very hearty Service from such backward pittyfull fellows,' the Topasses should be disbanded as soon as sufficient English soldiers could be obtained.

An accident to an artilleryman is thus described. Its fatal ending was apparently due to tetanus :—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. viii., 21st July and 5th August, 1683.)

'21 July. One of the Gunners crew named John Francis, being a little forwarder than the rest of his Company, was charging one of the Guns by himself, wherein their happened to be some fire left, which soon took hold of the Cartrouch he was ramming downe, and blew off his right arme. He is in years, and loosing much blood ; itt is feared that he is in great danger of his life.

'5 Aug. This night at nine a Clock dyed John Francis who formerly lost his arme by a great Gunn, having taken cold, which contracted his jaws and Sweld his throat that he could receive no sustenance.'

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1 *P.C.*, vol. x., 13th Aug., 1685. 2 *P.C.*, vol. xii., 24th Feb., 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

3 *P.C.*, vol. xi., 4th Aug., 1686.

4 *The West Coast—i.e.*, the west coast of Sumatra.

5 The regular gibbet was on the Island (*P.C.*, vol. xi., 30th Aug., 1686).

Fortifications and Buildings.

The continued encroachment of the sea aroused apprehension in 1682 for the safety of the fortifications on the eastern front of the White Town. We learn that the sea 'has undermined even to the very walls, and soe deep that it has eaten away below the very foundation of the town; and the great Bulwart[1] next the Sea side, without a speedy and timely prevention, will certainly, in a day or two more, yeild to its violence.'[2] Artificers and coolies were employed day and night on protective work, but without avail, for, a few days later, a portion of the bastion fell:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Part of the Battery next to the seaside built by Sir William Langhorn fell down, the Sea having imbayed itself just upon the middle of the town, notwithstanding the continuall labour and pains of Cooleys and other workmen to keep it out, and tho all endeavours have been used, both by driving down Piles and stakes, and filling them up with straw and brushwood and stones, to fend off and dam up the place for the preservation of the Battery, yet nothing could avail against its violence; but 'tis feared, (it deepening so much), 'twil grow soe impetuous that 'twill almost master all our endeavours and contrivances.' (*P.C.*, vol. vii., 27th July, 1682.)

The Company wrote as follows on the subject:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee take notice of the great inundacon that indangered our Towne and ffort, and we would have you endeavour to prevent such future Accidents by laying such a deep and Strong foundacon of Chinam[3] as you mencon that may be sufficient, in all humane probabillity, to prevent damage by any such accident hereafter. And in all other respects we would have you to Strengthen and ffortifie our ffort and Towne by degrees that it may be tenable against the assault of any Indian Prince, and the Dutch power of India, if we should happen to have any difference with them hereafter. . . . But we must needs desire you so contrive your business (but with all gentleness) that the Inhabitants may pay the full Charge of all repaires and ffortificacons, who do live easier under our Government then under any Government in Asia, or indeed under any Government in the known part of the World. Their saying they pay Custome is a frivolous Objeccon, and relates only to their Security at Sea under our Passes, and under the guns of our ffort in Port; but the Strong fortifying of the Towne, &c., and the raising new works is a Security to their lives, houses, wives and children, and all that belongs to them.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 31st May, 1683.)

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[1] *The great Bulwart* was a bastion, built by Langhorn, between the Sea Gate and St. Thomas Point.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. vii., 11th July, 1682.

[3] *Chinam*, lime. The word as here used means masonry built with lime mortar.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee approve of your addicõnall buildings,[1] and would have you use all meanes to Strengthen the ffort and Town, and likewise to enlarge the place, and, as neare as you can, keep all persons to build regularly, that it may in time be a decent as well as a great and strong Citty. There is in all parts of the World (that wee know) a duty which wee in England call Murage, which is a Contribucõn from the people towards walling and makeing ffortresses to defend the place. Some thing of that kind wee think you might perswade the heads of the people to consent to for their and their posterity's security. But tho wee give you this hint, and would have you, in raiseing of Revenue, (as neare as you can) imitate the Dutch methods, yet wee will not expose you to any thing that may put you into the disaffeccõn of the People. . . .

'You may make a Strong Counterscarpe to the Seaward of the ffort as you propose, and our Ships shall bring you Stones from Johanna[2] for that and other purposes, but not Slac't lyme from hence; but instead thereof that which is better and cheaper to us, Vizt. Coles and Chalke great store, of which Chalke you may burne what you want into Lyme: the rest is as good filling for your Walls as any Stone you can have. . . .

'Wee are sending 6 Smacks or Sloops, fitted to Sayle and Rowe, as Tenders to our Bantam ffleet, Armed each with 12 or 16 Ranlackers of brass, 3 cwt. each, One of which wee shall order for your use at the ffort.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol iv., 20th July, 1683.)

In the following year Gyfford provided for the defence of the gap by the river between the end of the western rampart of Black Town and Caldera Point:—'The Curtain Wall next the Bulworke[3] and St. Thomas his Point being almost finished, which compleats the Sea Wall, Itt is ordered that two small Watch houses, large enough for four Guns, be built at the out parts of the Towne next the River Side and Bridge,[4] which will be greatly for the Safe guard of the Towne and security of the Customes, some of which has we doubt been lost that way.'[5]

At the end of this year a second disaster befell the bastion near the Sea Gate:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Sea having for 3 or 4 days past come up very nigh the Battary built by Sir William Langhorne, daly encroaching, and all endeavours of driving

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[1] A new Warehouse for sorting cloth, and a Powder Mill in lieu of one in Black Town dismantled (*P.C.*, vol. vii., 27th Feb., 168½). The Sorting Godown was finished in May, 1683 (*P.C.*, vol. viii., 7th May, 1683).

[2] *Johanna*, one of the Comoro Islands at the north end of the Mozambique Channel.

[3] *The Bulworke*, Langhorn's bastion on the east front to the south of the Sea Gate.

[4] *The Bridge* which crossed the drainage-channel bounding the west side of Black Town.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. ix., 10th July, 1684.

stakes, &c., having been used to prevent and stop it from Comeing further, yett all proved ineffectuall ; for this day it und[ermin]ed and broak downe part thereof, the face to the Sea ; the Rest standing, but in a daingerous Condition. But hoping the Sea may in a few days Retire, 'tis thought fitt that its Repair be not begun upon till arrivall of the President[1] and Mr. ffowles the Engineer, that the Best way may be contrived for its future Preservation.' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 24th Dec., 1684.)

The total expenditure on the fortifications and buildings from the first settlement until this time was estimated by the Company at £300,000 :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee shall send you some more Souldiers by our first Ships ; and if Lingapa, or any other Governor, think any more of putting you under a Customer, or say you raise a great revenue, you may tell them that first Wee compute that place hath cost the Company 300,000 pounds sterling ; when they will reimburse the Company that Summe, You will move us to accept of it, and give them the ffort and Towne, and to remove yourselves into the Gingee Country.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 2nd July, 1684.)

The home authorities next directed that the defences of Black Town should be made permanent by substituting a rampart revetted with masonry for the old earthen bank. This work, however, was not executed till the beginning of the next century :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee shall consider of the Conveniency or inconveniency of admitting rich Merchants to go to our fort as free Merchants ; but in the mean time wee are resolv'd to have our black town of Madrass walled round and competently fortify'd at the charge of the Inhabitants, whether it please or displease them or any body else ; and therefore wee require you to go about it forthwith, and take Compass enough ; and as you proceed, to levy the full charge thereof of and from the Inhabitants by a pound rate, according to the respective value of their houses, which, after this is done, will be worth 3 times what they are now ; so that wee shall do them good against their wills, which, when they are older and wiser, they will thank us for.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. vii., 16th March, 168$\frac{4}{5}$.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Rt. Honble Company having order'd the walling round the Gentue Town, it is thought convenient and order'd that Mr. John Littleton doe take the care of collecting the money to be raised upon each house towards the building thereof from the last of December 1682, as also for what is yet unpaid

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[1] President Gyfford was absent in the Bay on a tour of inspection.

of the old garden ground,[1] part being yet behind by reason of their great losses, which hath been the occation of their not complying with their obligations as they ought to have done.' (*P.C.*, vol. x., 2nd Nov., 1685.)

Following on this resolution came news that the Mogul's forces were besieging Golconda. Urgent orders were at once issued for the manufacture of bricks and collection of materials :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee hope you have begunne the walling in of the black towne, and taken in a Competent quantity of voyd ground, for we doe yett expect that towne will much Increase in the number of Inhabitants, and that our ground rents may Improve to a very considerable vallue hereafter ; the great liberty we give of all trade in India, the resort of our owne Shipping, the Strength of the place, and the great Justice we would have you Impartially exercise toward all Inhabitants being such foundations as must in time induce a great and famous Superstructure ; and therefore we would have you always be most kind and Indulgent to the Inhabitants that observe our laws, and protect them in the same uninterrupted liberty of their severall religions in which they were borne and bred as you do those of our owne Church and Nation. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. vi., 14th Jan., 168$\frac{5}{6}$.)

Early in 1687 a new battery was commenced in the middle of the western front of the White Town, to hinder any hostile advance across the Island, and to flank the Caldera and Round bastions :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'In regard of our breach in Bengall and the near approach of the Mogull, fearing he may have a designe upon this place, not only to take satisfaction for what we may do in Bengall and Suratt, but to bring the whole Kingdome of Gulcondah in Subjection to himself, Itt is order'd that a Platform[2] to mount Six great Gunns upon the Town Side of the River, opposite to the Fort Gate,[3] bee forthwith raised for the Security of that side of the Town, the clearing of the Caldeira and Round Points, the River, and the Powder house,[4] which is agreeable to the Rt. Honble Companys orders for the Fortifying that side of the Town to the Landward.' (*P.C.*, vol. xi., 10th Jan., 168$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Although the Mogul's army remained stationary in Golconda, it was deemed necessary to prepare for a possible siege of Madras. The following instructions were accordingly given to

[1] *The old Garden ground*, that part of the Company's Inner Garden in Black Town which was sold to the inhabitants by Streynsham Master.

[2] *A Platform*; subsequently known as the *River Battery*.

[3] *The Fort Gate*, the western gate of the Inner Fort.

[4] *The Powder House*; The new powder-mill was built on the Island.

Mr. Thomas Wavell, the Paymaster, and Mr. John Cheney, the Storekeeper :—

Consultation in Fort St. George.

'Taking into our Serious consideration the great danger we may be in, in case the Mogull should take Gulcondah, which in all appearance att present he is likely to do, wee think itt absolutely necessary to make all manner of provision for our defence, in regard of our present actuall Hostillity with him and his Subjects ; and therefore itt is order'd that the persons in their Severall places do provide and take care of the particulars hereunder mentioned—

'Mr. Wavell's charge is, Vizt.

'To build up the Caldeira Point with Battlements, that the men may Stand by the Guns.

'To make hast to finish the new Platformes formerly order'd to be built at the Seaside[1] and River side, and for the present to gett all materialls ready.

'To take care that all the Sally ports att the River side between the round Point and Caldeira Point bee Secured with double Doors, Iron Barrs, Bolts and Locks ; that all the inletts to the Town between said Points be made up with Brick, and all the void places built up, that all Buildings, Rubbish and what may be prejudiciall that lies round the Walls of the Christian Town and in the River be cleared away. . . .

'To order Iron Stone,[2] or Red Wood,[3] to be laid upon the Top of the Fort Walls to fling down upon the Ladders if they should attempt to scale, and some fforks to lye ready to thrust off the Ladders.

'Mr. Cheney's Charge is, Vizt.

'To remove the Powder from the Powder house to the Godowns under the Curtain next St. Thoma (or some other convenient place), and brick them up for the more Safety ; and some Powder to be put in the Round Point, in a place that's built for that purpose. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xii., 22nd Feb., 168$\frac{6}{7}$.)

The following additional instructions were issued a few days later :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Wavell's charge is, Vizt. :—

'To build a Small Point[4] to command the Bridge and that part of the

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1 The new battery at the seaside was probably Langhorn's bastion reconstructed. It may, however, have been the low semicircular platform of five guns, outside the Sea Gate, which is shown in Thomas Pitt's 'Prospect of Fort St. George.'

2 *Iron Stone*, laterite, a clay stone impregnated with iron oxide, which is found near Madras.

3 *Red Wood*, a durable timber, formerly used for pallisades. It was also employed as a dye. 'The Dutch call this redd wood by the name of Calliature wood. . . . They are usually in pieces of about 3 yards long, but you may have it sawed into peices of about 2 foot . . . it being to be ground to powder here and used in dying.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 8th Feb., 168$\frac{1}{2}$.) It appears to be identical with the Bastard Cedar, *Soymida febrifuga.*

4 *A Small Point:* This work was not permanently constructed until 1690. It was known as *Bridge River Point* or *Queen's Point.* It was a round bastion on the river bank, at the junction of the 'Cannall of the Padda' with the river. It defended the

Town, and the two sides of the Caldeira Point, large enough to plant Six Guns, or Eight if there should be occation.

'To build a larg Tank in some convenient place within the walled Town for a Store of fresh water, which will be much wanted in case of a Seige, all the Wells in the Christian Town being brackish.

'Mr. Cheneys charge is, Vizt. :—

'To put so many great Gunns upon the Point att the Garden[1] as convenient for ten or fifteen men, and lay in Such provisions and Ammunition in the lower room as shall bee hereafter upon occation thought necessary.

'To put Six or Eight great Guns into the new Point[2] that is to be built for the Security of the Bridge, &c., with Ammunition for them.

'To fill the new Tank that is order'd to be built with the best fresh water. . . .

'To put two or three great Guns in the Powder house.'[3] (*P.C.*, vol. xii., 28th Feb., 168$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Mr. Cheney handed in, on the 24th of the same month, a list of warlike stores available, amongst which we find :—

'Stone Shott, 7,886. Iron Shott, 26,800.
Morter peeces 7, of which but one can be used, the others having no Shells.
Iron Ordnance 150.
Blunderbusses 220.
Musketts, fire locks 30, besides what came from Tonqueen, which are not cleaned.
Do. , Matchlocks old and new 890.
Halberts 34, Swords 70, Poll Axes 3, Pikes 29.
Suites of Armour for Horse 23.
Suites of Armour for Foot 28.'

Orders were issued for the provision of additional weapons, among which were :—

'Poll Axes, 97 more.
Pikes, 500, to be made with Bamboes.'

In the following April an inspection was made of the defences :—
'Considering the danger approaching of the Mogulls coming down upon us, Itt is thought convenient to appoint Tuesday next for the Captaines of Ships, and other experienced men, to go along with us about the Walls and Points to observe their defence, and to

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bridge to the north, and *Caldera Point* to the east. It probably replaced the earthen *Corner Bulwarke* mentioned in *P.C.*, vol. v., 18th April, 1681.

[1] *The Point at the Garden* was probably the small work built on the south side of the Company's New Garden, which is marked 'A Fort' in Thomas Pitt's map.

[2] *The new Point;* Queen's Point.

[3] *The Powder house;* the Powder Mill, built on the Island, 400 yards west of the White Town.

try our Morter peeces, and see what is wanting necessary to be done for the safeguard of this Garrison.'[1]

In 1683 mention is made of a 'Dear Yard,' and two years later of a 'Hogyard.' The former, which was the Company's property, was sold by auction: the latter[2] was made over to Dr. Heathfield, but subsequently resumed as a suitable site for Paddy Godowns. The Company's 'Paddy ground' between the two pettahs was leased to 'Chynavincatadry and Allingall,' the Chief Merchants, for thirty-one years at Pags. 40 per annum, on condition that they maintained 'the highway and Ditches adjoyneing thereto.'

At this period the Government acquired a garden house at St. Thomas's Mount, which they long maintained for recreative purposes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'And the said Chyna Vincatadry having a House and Garden at St. Thomas Mount, made by and bought of the Honble Sir William Langhorne, which he now offers to the Honble Company for the use of their Servants, 'tis therefore hereby agreed that the said House be accepted of the said Chynavincatadry, and that Possession be taken thereof for the Honble English East India Company and their Successours, it being a very Commodious pleasant place for sickly People to recover their healths at, and is often made use of for that Purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. x., 15th Jan., 168$\frac{4}{5}$.)

In 1684 temporary barracks were provided in the White Town for the Garrison. They were made permanent three years later, and were designed for the use of the 'free guard.' The barracks were erected on the west side of the town, opposite the gate of the Inner Fort, and followed the Tuscan style of architecture. The structure was afterwards known as *New House.*

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There having been severall complaints from the Inhabitants of the towne of many notorious Actions (and villanous Crimes) committed, as is Supposed, by our new Souldiers; . . . itt is therefore thought fitt (and agreed) to be absolutely necessary, and the Purser accordingly ordered, to build convenient sheads for their Lodgings within the walled towne, to which, with an officer, they are nightly to repair by 9 of the Clock, presently after the beating the Tattoo, upon penallty of such seveer punishments as we shall hereafter appoynt.' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 14th Aug., 1684.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 7th April, 1687.

[2] In May, 1691, the Company's Stable was ordered to be built 'in the hoggyard.' If this yard was identical with Heathfield's, it was probably situated in the northwest angle of the White Town.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Itt being much to bee feared that the King of Gulcondah cannot hold out long, and that when the Mogull comes to have the possession of this Country, wee have great reason to beleive that hee will endeavour to revenge himself upon us, as he threatens, there being Warr declared in Bengall by us, and (as wee hear) on their Side also. Therefore itt is thought very necessary and convenient to build a Lodg house over against our Fort gate (where formerly were the Stable and other old buildings which the great Storm[1] blew down) for the Souldiers free from duty to lodg in, that they may bee all within our walls to be ready upon occation; and att each end a Prison for Souldiers that offend; and that Said building bee Tarras't att top, by reason if Tiled, being so near the Fort,[2] under the Guns, itt would be continually wanting repairs.' (*P.C.*, vol. xii., 16th June, 1687.)

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[1] *The great Storm* of November, 1684.

[2] The distance from the Fort Gate to the gate of the Barracks was about 35 yards.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1681—1687

FAMINE, EARTHQUAKE, AND STORM—MADRAS RESIDENTS—INCIDENTS IN GYFFORD'S ADMINISTRATION

FAMINE, EARTHQUAKE, AND STORM.

ALLUSION has already been made to the devastating famine which scourged the Madras districts in 1646 and 1647, and to the scarcity which prevailed in 1659. The next period of acute distress of which record has been traced occurred in 1686 and 1687. The following extracts describe the measures of relief which were then taken:—

Fort St. George Consultations.

(*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. iv., 19th Aug. and 27th Dec., 1686.)

'In regard so many poor people do daily die in the streets for want of food, Itt is agreed that Pagodas 100 be given on the Right Honble Companys Account to buy Rice for them, and that a collection be made among all the English for the same purpose, Severall having already offered very liberally towards itt. And we do appoint the burying Garden to be the place where they are daily to receive their Almes, and Narrand, the Chief Dubass, to get the Ric[e] boiled, and see it distributed to the most necessitous people which, though they are very numerous, yet there may be sufficient to keep them alive till it shall please God to send more plenty, there being no less then two thousand poor creatures ready to perish for want, whose sad spectacle with the lamentable cries sadly fill and afflict our Town. . . .

'27th December, 1686. The Famine greatly increasing, and many poor people dying daily, and great numbers ready to starve, Itt is order'd that Pagodas 50 be given for to buy Rice, a generall collection being made throughout the Town, what formerly collected being all expended.'

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Our Long and sore Famine (by the Almighties mercy) seems declineing by his Late blessing of Seasonable good raines, which give us hopes of a Fruitfull Harvest, and is a great comfort to the Poore Inhabitants, tho' Graine Con-

tinues scarce and deare, and the Countrey so depopulated by miserable necessity that there are scarcely sufficient Left to manure and till the Ground, or to Labour the usuall Manufactories of the Countrey. . . . And as 'tis usuall in most parts that Famine concludes with sickness, and generally Leaves some reigning distemper behind, so it happens in these parts, but Chiefely to the Northward, where numbers that outlived the scarcity are devoured by contagions, which is supposed to proceed from the Multitudes of Dead Corps that infect the aire; they being so inhumane a people as to Lett them rott where they fall without any Care to bury them; and Metchlepatam and Madapollam, that were the most considerable Ports for concourse and Trade, are now almost desolate. . . . By an Accompt kept since the Famine, there has not died Less in this Towne thereby then 35,000,[1] and by the nearest calculation 6,000 Families of the Inhabitants removed to other parts, and reduced many of those that stayed to great necessity and poverty. The graine the whole time has been more plentifull and cheape here then at any place to the Northward of this Coast; nor are wee Exempted from the too common Fatallity of Sickness, haveing buried within three months 43 English, . . . and many more doubtfully ill of this Malignant distemper, a Feavour and Ague; some haveing sup't merrily and well, and Dead before breakfast. . . .' (*O.C.*, No. 5621, 29th Sept., 1687.)

At the beginning of 1679 Madras experienced an earthquake of unusual duration :—'Between 9 and 10 a Clock this night there happened an Earth Quake which continued about halfe a quarter of an hour, being the greatest that hath hapned in this place these 25 yeares, but praised be God, it did noe harme.'[2]

An account has been already given of the cyclonic storms of March, 1640; February, 1662; November, 1668; and April, 1674. We now meet with references to three hurricanes at comparatively short intervals. The first, which did not affect Madras, broke at Masulipatam on the 13th October, 1679. 'In Metchlepatam and the adjacent Villages at Least 20,000[3] men, women and Children drowned, and Lay unburied in the Streets.' The next cyclone, which occurred on the 3rd November, 1684, struck Madras. It is described thus :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The Maquas or Boatmen, the Ordinary Astralogers for weather, did, from their observations last month, prognosticate great Raines and Stormes would happen this, in these parts, which proved too true; for on the 3d Instant, about Eight at night, arose a very violent Tempest from the N.W., which Continued Rounding to the Southward for about 7 hours, with the greatest Rage that Could be in the force of wind, as appeared by its Ruinous effects in

[1] In 1681 the population of Madras was estimated at 200,000, and about 1685 at 300,000.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. iii., 28th Jan., 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] According to Fryer, 16,000.

so short a tyme, Killing Severall, and blasing[1] down many howses, walls, and Trees, and levelling most of the adjacent Gardins with the Common Sand. Nor was there any buildings in Town able to Support it Selfe against it, but being Sensible of its power and danger, trembled or fell with weakness ; and none, not so much as our ffort and walls, escaped without great loss and Prejudice, severall parts being broak down, and scarce a frame window or doar left us, all shattered and disperced about the town ; and the out town most in a ruinous devestation left open to the Severity of the weather and drowning Raines. Also severall Parras,[2] and other larg boats in our River, broak and blown beyond Recovery, and 14 of our Masula boats dashed to peices and their fragments lost ; but by good Providence had no Ship in the Road, which undoubtedly would have had the Same. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 3rd Nov., 1684.)

The next storm began on the 4th October, 1687, and lasted four days :—

Fort St. George to Surat.

'Tis a most unhappy occasion that makes this addition, all things being ready for dispatch of the Loyall Adventure and severall other shipps in our Roade. On the 4th Instant there began an unusuall unexpected storm, which, continuing to the 7th with extreame violence, that morning forced two Countrey shipps ashoare ; and the Generall's[3] shipp Caesar, the Loyall Captaine, and a Moore's shipp, to avoid the like misfortune, slipt their cables and went off to Sea. But the Loyall Adventure and Burneo Merchant, relying too much upon their Cables, resolved to ride it out ; but they failing, left them to the Mercyless winds which, being then at East, suddainely drove them ashoare about 11 a Clock att night near the Fort, where in a few houres after they bilged into shatters, but all the Loyall Adventure's men saved but five. . . . Severall Gentlemen upon the place have been also great loosers in the Castaway shipps, and the poore Towne in Generall by neare 30 Countrey Boats of Paddy, all which are Lost and driven to other parts, being surprized by this uncommon Storm which was never knowne in the Memory of man to happen in this season. . . .'[4] (*O.C.*, No. 5629, 13th Oct., 1687.)

Guards of soldiers and peons perambulated the beach to save property from the ship. A complaint was made by a French priest of the loss of valuables with which he had been entrusted by 'the Honble Constant ffalkon, chief Minister of State for his Majesty of Siam.' Among them was a golden casket, containing letters for the King of England and a list of the presents forwarded,

[1] *Blasing*, blasting ; from O.E. *blaesan*, to blow.

[2] *Parra*, a large boat ; probably from Malay *prāhu* (*Diary and Consultation Book*, Pringle).

[3] *Generall ;* Sir John Child, 'Generall of all the English Forces at Sea and Land in the East Indies,' President at Surat.

[4] The north-east monsoon rarely bursts before the 15th October. Another early break occurred, however, in 1746, when the fleet of de la Bourdonnais, bearing the spoils of Madras, suffered severely.

and a silver box with letters for the 'Duke of Venice.' The presents included Japanese screens, pieces of china, and some very special tea, viz., '1 Pott of excellent Tea Caitae, whereof the whole Empire of China affoards but one Pecull a Year, to be used as follows; the first water being thrown away, the Second is usually drunk, but the third is the best.'[1] Nathaniel Higginson of the civil service, walking along the beach under the Fort walls, discovered the list of the presents, but not the precious casket which had enclosed it:—

Statement by Nathaniel Higginson.

(*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 8th Oct., 1687.)

'That going down to the Sea Side this morning early, and finding the Ship Loyall Adventure cast ashoar near the South end of the Mucquaw Town,[2] and the broaken peices of the Ship, Chests, Boxes and goods lying all along the Shoar from that place to the Sea Gate, and a very great number of black people and Portuguez Scattered up and down, whom I suspected came to Steal, I gott as many Peons and Cooleys as I could, and Sett them to work to gather together what lay upon the Shoar into Severall heaps for their better security. And passing by a Mussula which lay a little leaning upon the Shoar near the place where the Ship was cast away, I cast my eye accidentally into the Mussula, and there Saw nothing but a paper lying unfolded, and the endorsement uppermost; and transiently reading these words—His Majesty of Great Brittain—I was curious to See the paper, and so drew it out of the Mussula with a Stick; and finding the endorsement to be as I remember—A List of Presents for his Majesty of great Brittain—did endeavour to read the paper. But the Wind blew so hard I could not hold itt open long enough to read the whole contents, and so folded it up as I went along; by which time I met with Mr. Lucas and the Said French Padre standing together, and the said French Padre, seeing the Indorsement as I held the paper in my hand, snatch'd it out of my hand and Said 'twas his . . . NATH. HIGGINSON.

'*Jurat coram me. Elihu Yale.*'

It will be convenient to mention here another storm which broke over Madras eight years later:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The wind last night blew fresh; in the morning, with the Ebbe, increased; at 8 a Clock with rain, the wind North, a little westerly, till about 11 a clocke, and then turned by the West to the South, at which point it blew hardest, till about two a clocke it dullured, but continued to blow fresh and rain a little that evening and the greatest part of the night. Two things observable, that

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 8th Oct., 1687.

[2] *The Mucquaw Town*, the boatmen's village south of, and close to, the White Town.

when the wind blew hardest the sea was at the lowest Ebbe, and in the whole storme the wind did not blow between the South East and North East. . . .

'The Horse Stable, Powder house, Choultry and beating Godown untiled, and the two latter so damaged in the walls that there is a necessity of rebuilding of them. The Copper base of the Flagg staffe blown off.

'The Trees in the Fort and within the walls blown up by the roots, or broken in the body, or the branches are broken off. Halfe the Centrey box of Charles Point[1] blown away, and the Topps of those by the Fort and Choultrey gate blown off. Five Mussulas blown away, and the others broken by the violence of the winds.

'From the Barr[2] to St. Thomas Point the sea mett the river, except in the highest part where the Mucquaw houses stand, whereof a quarter part washed away by the sea, or blown downe by the wind.

'From St. Thomas point to Yorke point[3] the sea generally washed the wall, the sea gate being defended by the new platforme. . . .

'From York Point to mud point[4] the sea hath washed down a considerable number of houses inhabited by Cattamaran men and poor people, and the sea run a considerable way into the streets through two gutters made by the Current of rainwater.

'The Houses within the walls suffered little which are Tarras't, but the tiled Houses were all in part uncovered. In the Black Town and Petta's all received damage, and about $\frac{1}{10}$ part rendered uninhabitable without repaire, and $\frac{1}{10}$ part of the trees in the gardens beaten down to the ground, but many more shattered. There was no shipp in the road but the Maddapollam, belonging to the Armenians, which was Empty and driven out to sea.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. viii., 22nd Nov., 1695.)

MADRAS RESIDENTS.

The following were the principal European civilian residents of Madras towards the end of Gyfford's term of office. The dates attached are those of arrival in India.

'*A List of Persons in the Service of the Right Honble English East India Company in Fort St. George, Madraspatam. . . .*

(*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. iv., Feb., 168⅚.)

'William Gyfford, Esq. President and Governor (his Lady in England). . . . Sallary 200, Gratuity 100 per Annum. July 3, 1681. 1, Councill. 300*l.*

'Elihu Yale, Bookkeeper (married), came out a writer, June 23, 1672. 2, Councill. 100*l.*

'Thomas Lucas,[5] Warehousekeeper, came out 4th of Councill, June 2, 1683. 3, Councill. 70*l.*

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[1] *Charles Point*, the Round Point.

[2] *The Barr*, the mouth of the river to the southward of the White Town.

[3] *Yorke point*, Fishing Point.

[4] *From York Point to mud point*, the east front of Black Town.

[5] *Thomas Lucas* was the ex-soldier who was admitted to the civil service by Langhorn. He married the widow of Charles Proby.

'John Nicks,[1] Sea Customer (married), came out Apprentice, Sep. 8, 1688. 4, Councill. 50*l.*
'Robert Freeman, att present Chief of Metchlepatam. 5, Councill. 40*l.*
'John Littleton, att present Chief of Pettepollee, July 17, 1682. 6, Councill. 40*l.*
'John Gray,[2] Land Customer, came out, of Council, June 2, 1684. 7, Councill. 40*l.*
'Thomas Wavell, Paymaster generall (married), came out, of Councill, July 28, 1686. 8, Councill. 40*l.*
'Nath. Higginson[3] (supplys the place of Mint master), came out a Factor, March 19, 168¾. 9, Councill. 40*l.*
'John Cheney,[4] Storekeeper generall, came out, of Councill; his time and Sallary per Indenture begins 7 Dec. 1684. 10, Councill. 40*l.*
'William Hodges, lately arrived from Tonqueen, May 6, 1676. Merchant. 40*l.*
'John Stables, Secretary (his wife in England); came out a Factor, July 4, 1681. Merchant. 40*l.*
'Henry Alford (married),[5] assistant to the Warehousekeeper; came out a Factor, July 4, 1681. Merchant. 30*l.*
'Henry Mose (married), lately return'd from Emoy, July 17, 1682. Factor. 20*l.*
'William Cawley, assistant to the Paymaster, June 16, 1684. Factor. 25*l.*
'John Hill (married), unsettled, Nov. 19, 1684. Factor. 15*l.*
'John Heathfield[6] (married), assistant to the Customer, entertain'd in India 25 May, 1685. Factor. 15*l.*
'William Fraser, assistant to the Warehousekeeper, May 31, 1685. Factor. 15*l.*
'Daniell Du Bois, lately return'd from Emoy, Aug. 11, 1685. Factor. 15*l.*
'John Beavis, under the President, July 3, 1681. Writer. 10*l.*
'Francis Willcox, lately return'd from Emoy, July 3, 1681. Writer. 10*l.*
'Zouch Troughton, Steward, July 17, 1682. Writer. 10*l.*
'William Proby,[7] at present with Mr. Littleton, June 2, 1683. Writer. 5*l.*
'Gabriell Roberts,[8] under the Warehousekeeper, June 2, 1683. Writer. 5*l.*
'John Butterfield, under the Accomptant, June 16, 1684. Writer. 5*l.*
'Thomas Constable, June 16, 1684. Writer. 5*l.*
'Richard Farmer, lately arrived from Bengall, Sep. 20, 1684. Writer. 5*l.*
'Edward Barron, under the Secretary, June 2, 1685. Writer. 5*l.*
'Stephen Mabb, under the Secretary, June 3, 1685. Writer. 5*l.*
'Thomas Jordan, under the Secretary, Aug. 11, 1685. Writer. 5*l.*

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[1] *John Nicks* married Catherine Barker in 1680.

[2] *John Gray*, Judge of the Admiralty Court. He married Jane Biggs in 1688.

[3] *Nathaniel Higginson* married Elizabeth Richardson in 1692.

[4] *John Cheney* married Rebecca Bugden in 1688.

[5] *Henry Alford* married (1) Elizabeth Mellish in 1681, (2) Elizabeth Lott in 1683, (3) Elizabeth Brereton in 1688.

[6] *John Heathfield* had served the Company as Surgeon upwards of sixteen years, when, inspired by the brilliant example of Ord, he petitioned to enter the civil service (*P.C.*, vol. x., 25th May, 1685). It was not long before he reverted to his original profession.

[7] *William Proby* was son of Charles Proby, who supported Sir Edward Winter. William Proby married Frances Gray in 1693.

[8] *Gabriell Roberts*, nephew of Sir Samuel Dashwood, Sheriff of London, and a member of Committee of the Company (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 30th Sept., 1684). He married in 1687 Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Proby.

'Gone to Goa on the Madras Frigate.

'Thomas Yale,[1] Merchant, 30*l.*
'Frederick Bagwell, Factor, 15*l.*

'Gone to Acheen on the Loyall Adventure.

'John Pitt,[2] Jan. 30, 168⅘. Factor. 15*l.*
'Samuell Owen, July 30, 1682. Writer. 10*l.*

'Not Return'd from Emoy.

'Samuell Barron, of Factors degree, 4 July, 1681. Merchant. 30*l.*

'Going to Persia on the Dragon.

'Ambrose Moody. Factor. 20*l.*
'Robert Leveson, Jan. 30, 168⅘. Writer. 5*l.*

'Richard Elliott, Chaplain, June 28, 1679. 100*l.*
'James Johnson, Assay Master, his Sallary begins Jan. 20, 168⅝. 40*l.*
'Samuell Willmot,[3] Chirurgion. 31*l.* 10*s.*
'John Plummer, Chirurgion. 31*l.* 10*s.*

'A List of Freemen living at Fort St. George, Madraspatnam.

'John Bridger,[4] married to an Englishwoman.
'William Jearsey, married to a Dutchwoman.
'John Styleman, married to an Englishwoman.
'Peter Large, married to an Englishwoman.
'John Affloeck,[5] married to a Castees.[6]
'John Callender, married to a Castees.
'Charles Metcalfe, married to a Castees.
'Edward English, married to an Englishwoman.
'Robert Masfen, married to an Englishwoman.
'Endimion Griffith, married to a Castees.
'John Stephenson, married to an Englishwoman.
'Samuell Glover,[7] married to an Englishwoman.
'John Inch, married to an Englishwoman.
'John Coventry,[8] married to a Castees.

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[1] *Thomas Yale*, brother of Elihu Yale. He joined the Service in 1683.

[2] *John Pitt*, cousin of Thomas Pitt, interloper. His service dates from 1685. He married (1) Elizabeth Northey, *née* Fowle, in 1684, and (2) Sarah Wavell in 1692.

[3] *Samuell Willmot*, formerly 'Chyrurgeons Mate' of the *Resolution*, was engaged as Heathfield's assistant 1st January, 1683.

[4] *John Bridger*, sometime a member of the Council, had been dismissed in 1681 for dealing with interlopers. He died in March, 1695.

[5] *John Affloeck* married Nettie Shaape in 1683.

[6] *Castees*, a woman born in India of Portuguese parents; from Port. *castiço*.

[7] *Samuel Glover* married (1) Tabitha Goldsmith in 1684, and (2) Elizabeth Bett in 1692.

[8] *John Coventry*, Clerk of the Court of Judicature. He married Luiza Shaape in 1684.

'Thomas Parker, married to an Englishwoman.
'John Barker,[1] married to a Portugues.
'John Thomas.
'Thomas Bowyear.
'Henry White.
'Robert Mellish.
'Thomas Bowrey.[2]
'Joseph Hiller.
'Nathaniell Stone.
'William Wittmond.

Bartholomew Rodrigues.
Domingo do Porto.
James Paiva, married.
Alvares de Fonseca.
Isaac do Porto.
Francis Marques.

'*Englishwomen unmarried.*

'Ursula O Neal,[3] widdow.
'Elizabeth Proby.
'Barbery Hiller.

'Christenings this year 11. Marriages this year 8. Burialls this year 57.'

INCIDENTS IN GYFFORD'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Agent and Council were occasionally recipients of strange requests:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'His Majesty hath required of us to send to India to provide for him one male and two female Blacks, but they must be Dwarfs, and of the least size that you can procure; the Male to be about 17 years of Age, and the ffemale about 14. We would have you, next to their littleness, to choose Such as may have the best features, and to send them home upon any of our Ships, giving the Commander a great charge to take care of their accommodac̄on, and in particular of the ffemale. . . . For their provision and cloths you must take care to lay it in, and lett them be Set out with all Such Ear and Nose rings, and Shackles for ornament about their legs (of false Stones and brass, but not with Gold) as is usuall to wear in the Country; but let them not be wore by them upon the voyage, but sent to us apart. JNO. BANKS, Governour, JER. SAMBROOKE, Deputy, JOSIA CHILD. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 31st May, 1683.)

A little band of Portuguese Jews, attracted by the wealth of the diamond mines of Golconda, is now heard of in Madras. In 1683 reference is made to 'Señors Bartholme Rodrigues, Domingo de Porto and Alvaro de Fonseca, Interloping Jews at Covelon.' James de Paiva, another diamond trader, appears to have personally pleaded the cause of his co-religionists with the

[1] *John Barker*, at different times Steward, Schoolmaster, Clerk of the Market, and Public House Licensee.
[2] *Thomas Bowrey*, a merchant captain; author of *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (ed. by Sir Richard Temple, Hak. Soc., 1905).
[3] *Ursula O'Neale*, widow of the late commander of the garrison.

Company, and obtained permission for them to live at Madras. In 1684 the Company observed: 'We writt you last year to permitt the Jewes to reside at the ffort . . .; but nothing of any value shall go consigned by our ships to any of them or any other free merchant, but to our Agent or some of our Councill, which We hope may prevent their Spoyling our diamond trade; Our resolutions being to continue our endeavours to make your place the mart for that comodity.'[1]

In the list of free merchants of January, 1687, we find the names of the four Jews above mentioned, and of two others, Isaac do Porto and Francis Marques. The little colony acquired a separate burial-ground, which is still to be seen, though much reduced from its original size, at the south end of Mint Street in Peddanaikpetta. Only four tombs now remain, one of them being the monument of 'Jaques de Paiva,'[2] who died on the 17th September, 1687. Five years later passed away Bartholomew Rodrigues, a respected citizen. The Fort St. George Diary, under date the 10th July, 1692, records that 'Mr. Bartholomew Rodrigues Departed this life about three of the Clock in the morning, and was Interred about five in the after noone in his Garden near his house, accompany'd at his funerall by the Governour, etc., with most of the Gentry of Madrass, and a Company of Soldiers who fired three volleys.'[3]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Alvaro da Fonseca having formerly represented to us that the Body of Mr. Bartholomew rodriguez, Hebrew Merchant deceas'd, is buried in a Tomb lyeing within the Garden of the Said Bartholomew Rodriguez, about which Tombe there is a Brickwall raised, 82 foot in Length and 37½ foot in Breadth, being bounded on the north side with a Lane or Passage; Which Said Garden is held of the Rt. Honble Company by Lease determining in January 1711; and requested that the piece of Ground inclosed in the said Brickwall may be sold for ever, to the intent that the said Tomb might be preserved . . .; It is therefore resolved and ordered that the said piece of ground be sett apart . . . to the use of the said Tomb for so long time as the Heirs or assigns of the said Bartholomew Rodriguez shall keep the same repaired and preserved from

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 2nd July, 1684.

[2] His widow, Hieronima de Paiva, caused some scandal by taking up her residence with Governor Yale. 'She lies buried at the Cape of Good Hope beside her child Charles Yale, styled son of the former Governor of Madras' (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton).

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xviii., 10th July, 1692.

totall dilapidation. . . . Provided that from and after the totall dilapidation of the said Tomb and Brickwall, the said piece of Ground shall revert to the use of the Rt. Honble Company. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 2nd May, 1698.)

'Rodrigues Tomb' in Muthialpetta bulks large in Thomas Pitt's map, but no trace of it now remains. Its site appears to have been west of the present Kachaleswarar Temple, near Tucker's Church.

The accession of King James II. on the 6th February, 1685, became known in Madras six months later. The proceedings at the proclamation are thus described :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This morning our Dread Soveraigne King James the Second was Proclaimed with the following Solemnity.

'The whole Councill, with the Commanders of Ships and the rest of the Rt. Hon'ble Companys servants and English Gentlemen, Inhabitants of the Citty, came to attend the President att the Garden House in a handsome Equipage on Horse back. After that came Peddy Nague with his Peons, and the Chief Merchants, with a great number of the Inhabitants of the Gentue Town, all in Armes, bringing with them also Elliphants, Kettle Drums, and all the Country Musick. And from thence wee sett forward with this numerous company of people through the Gentue Town,[1] the Houses and Streets being adorned all the way. Peddy Nagues Peons, the Chief Merchants and Gentue Inhabitants went first, Elliphants carrying our Flags, the Kettle Drums and Musick playing before them. After that went 12 English Trumpets, with Silk Banners, and 6 Hoeboyes, all in Red Coates, playing by turnes all the way; and Mr. Coventry (Clerk of our Court)[2] on horseback, bare headed, and with his sword drawne, carryed the Proclamation in his hand open ; then the President,[3] &c., and the rest of the English Gentlemen went in due order. The Troop was commanded and lead by the President, Mr. Thomas Lucas,[4] Cornett, and the Rear was brought up by Mr. Elihu Yale.[5]

'And when we came to enter the Garrison att the Choultry Gate (one of the chief entrances into the Citty[6]), there was in readiness three compleat Companys of Souldiers, and all the principall Portuguez to receive the President and Councill, &c., who march't before them to the Fort Gate, Sea Gate, and back to the Choultry Gate (three of the principall places of the Citty), att all which places the Proclamation was read by Mr. Coventry, all persons being uncovered, and their swords drawn ; and the Proclamation ended with great

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[1] Entering probably by the Bridge Gate.

[2] John Coventry succeeded Clement King as Clerk of the Court in January, 1683.

[3] *The President*, William Gyfford.

[4] *Mr. Thomas Lucas*, Third of Council.

[5] *Mr. Elihu Yale*, Second of Council.

[6] *The Citty:* The White Town is here implied, but the term was often assigned to the Black Town. *Cf.* the Charter of 1687, constituting a Corporation, where reference is made to 'Our Town of Fort St. George and Citty of Madrassapatam.'

shouts and joyfull Acclamations, crying, God bless King James the Second. Also at every place of reading there was a volley of small shot, the Trumpetts sounding and Hoeboyes playing.

'Which done, the President, &c., returned in the same order to the Garden house, the great Guns both of the Fort and Towne fireing all the way; and, after that, all the Europ and Country ships did the like. And soon after the President, &c., were returned, the Persian and Syam Embassadors, with great State and a numerous retinue, came to congratulate our Solemnity, and to bring their good wishes for his Majesties prosperous Reigne; who, after some small stay, being handsomely saluted and treated according to their quallity with a Banquet, Musick and Dancing, they took leave and departed to their houses with great satisfaction. And then, a General invitation being made, we drank his Majesties health and long and happy Reigne; and att night there was bonfires and Fire-works, wherewith this Solemnity ended. WILLIAM GYFFORD, ELIHU YALE, THOMAS LUCAS, JOHN NICKS, JOHN LITTLETON, JOHN GRAY. God Save the King.' (*P.C.*, vol. x., 13th Aug., 1685.)

In 1687 it was recognized in Consultation that the expenditure of gunpowder on salutes was far too liberal:—'In regard of the great expence of Gunpowder by the Rt. Honble Companys own Ships in Saluting the ffort, and the ffort answering the like, being all at their Honours expence on both Sides, Itt is order'd that none of their Ships do fire above five Guns.'[1]

The following extract shows that the privilege of '*riding the* wooden horse' was not restricted to the garrison:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Rodrigues and Mr. Glover came to us with their Severall complaints against Mr. George Page, Purser of the Chandos (for which the President has committed him to the Guard the last night). Mr. Rodrigues acquainted us that the Said Page assaulted him in his Pallenkeen within a Bowes Shot of the Garden house, as he was going to see the President there, and afterwards drew his Sword and gave him very abusive language. And Mr. Glover acquainted us that he, the said Page, did also draw his Sword att him in Mr. Beavis his Chamber (being part of the Presidents Lodgings within the Fort), and threaten'd him. All which being sufficiently proved before us, Itt is agreed and order'd . . . that the Said Page for his abovesaid crimes do ride the wooden Horse for an hower (but without any weight att his heels, itt being only to shame him for his impudent folly), or pay Five and Twenty Pagodas to the poor, which is to be att his own choice. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xi., 4th Aug., 1686.)

Mr. Page elected to suffer in his person rather than his pocket.

On the 22nd July, 1687, the ship *Williamson*, Capt. Richard Warner, arrived from England with Sir John Biggs, the newly-appointed Judge-Advocate of Madras. The Company's

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 7th July, 1687.

packet was opened in Council on the following Monday, and found to contain a commission for Elihu Yale as Governor:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Councill being mett, the box of Letters was opened and perused, and Mr. Yale being much concerned for, and very unwilling to displace President Gyfford, supposing the orders proceeded from the Rt. Hon'ble Companys beleife of his absence, desired the Councill to take it into their consideration, and, if possible, excuse his taking place till President Gyffords departure, which he intended by the next Ship; but the Councill having again perused the Generall Letter and Commission, and finding President Gyffords Commission absolutely revoaked, and no proviso in any Letter concerning him, gave their opinions that Mr. Yale could not be excused from the present execution of the Rt. Hon'ble Companys Commission, which was also President Gyffords opinion, who willingly and readily consented thereto; and after some discourse of our present affair, gave the Chair to Mr. Yale, as also the charge of the Fort. Which being received with many curteous assurances of continued respects, and the usuall salutes of Guns, Mr. Yale and the Councill waited upon President Gyfford out of the Fort, when they took a kind leave. Then President Yale and Councill returned to reperuse the Rt. Honble Companys Letters, and to consider of and order what required therein.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 25th July, 1687.)

Gyfford remained in Madras for another year. He ultimately sailed for England in the *Bengal Merchant* on the 18th August, 1688.

CHAPTER XXXVII

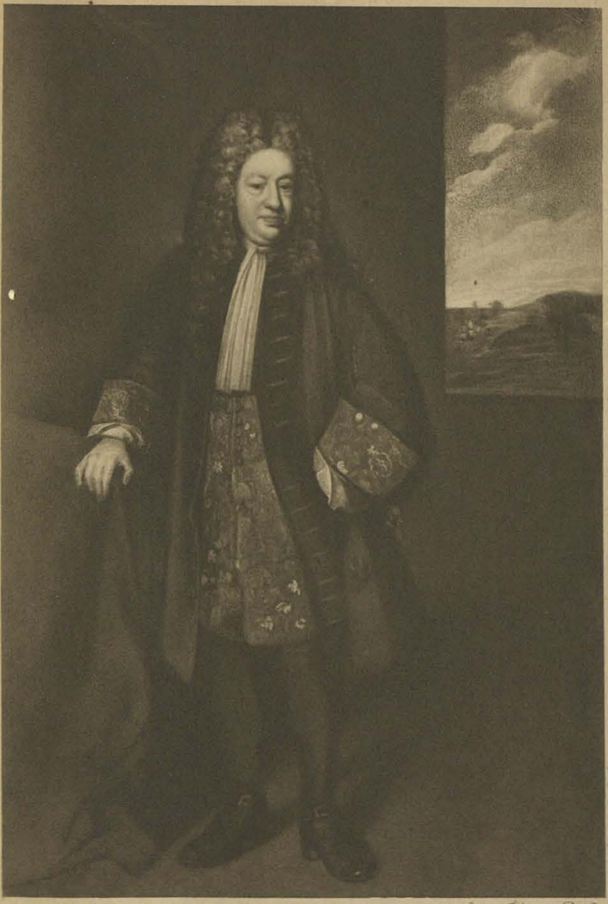
1687—1692

ELIHU YALE—COURT OF ADMIRALTY—MAYOR AND CORPORATION

Elihu Yale.

The officer who succeeded Gyfford had worked his way from Writer to Governor in the short space of fifteen years. His family belonged to Wrexham in Denbighshire, but his father, David Yale, emigrated to America, and settled at New Haven, Connecticut. Elihu, the second son, was born near Boston on the 5th April, 1648. The family returned to England four years later, and at the age of twenty-four Elihu Yale embarked for India. His brother Thomas also served the East India Company, and was for some years on the Madras establishment.

Elihu Yale, whose name is frequently mentioned during Gyfford's administration, became Governor on the 25th July, 1687, and held office for five years. The chief events of his rule were the creation of a Mayor and Corporation for Madras; the erection of a new Supreme Court; the evacuation of the northern Coast factories in consequence of war with the Mogul; the arrival of Job Charnock and his company from the Bay, and his subsequent return to found Calcutta; the extinction of the dynasty of Golconda; the purchase of territory at Cuddalore, and the acquisition of Fort St. David; a naval action with the French in Madras roads; and the resettlement of the Portuguese at San Thomé. These matters are dealt with in the following pages. Yale's last two years were embittered by acrimonious differences with his Council and with the Mayor's Court. Sir John Goldsborough was ultimately sent out to adjust them, and Yale was superseded.



Emery Walker Ph.Sc.

Elihu Yale
after Enoch Zeeman

For nearly seven years longer Yale remained at Madras. He returned to London in 1699, and resided at Plas Grono, near Wrexham, a mansion which had been bought by his father. It was pulled down in 1876. Yale had amassed considerable wealth in India, and he spent it liberally in England. At the request of Cotton Mather in 1718, he assisted the then struggling collegiate school of Connecticut with a gift of books and pictures which realized £560. In recognition of his munificence, the College, and subsequently the University which grew out of it, was called by his name.[1]

Yale died in London on the 8th July, 1721, and was buried at Wrexham. He married Catherine, widow of Joseph Hynmers, formerly second of Council at Fort St. George, and left three daughters. His only legitimate son, David, died at Madras in 1688 at the age of four, and lies buried under the Hynmers Obelisk on the old Burial-ground.

A portrait of the ex-Governor by Enoch Zeeman, painted in 1717,[2] was presented to the New Haven College by Dudley North, Yale's last lineal descendant.

Court of Admiralty.

To enable the Councils at the chief Indian settlements to deal with interlopers, the Company had obtained from King Charles II. a new charter authorizing the erection of Courts of Admiralty. To Fort St. George they wrote:—'Herewith Wee send you an authentiq[ue] Copy of our new Charter granted by his Majesty for suppressing Interlopers (under the great seal), of which more by our next ships. In the mean time We appoint our Agent and Governor at the Fort to be our judge Advocate at that place, and put all the Powers therein in Execučon.'[3]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Honble Company having advised us in their Generall, dated the 14 August 1683, that a Judge Advocate should soon be sent hither for the hearing and determining of all Suites and causes under this Government, with

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] The photogravure in the text is from a photograph of this painting, obtained by Mr. Emery Walker through Mr. Warren F. Kellogg.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 14th Aug., 1683.

the Assistance of two Merchants, and also sent us a Coppy of his Majesties new Charter ordering the said proceedings, which occationed the Silencing our former Court of Judicature, and has given great dissatisfaction, to the creating many disturbances and complaints for Justice, to the disquiet and discredit of our Government: And tho the Honble Company have in that Generall appointed their President to supply the place of Judge Advocate till he shall arrive, yet, having no directions for those proceedings, and being unacquainted with the methods thereof, It is thought and agreed to be of absolute necessity for the Peace, Justice, Security and Honour of this Government that the old Court of Judicature be again erected, and that causes be heard and decided there by Jurors, as formerly, by the Authority of the first charter,[1] till the Judge Advocate shall arrive, or we prohibited further therein.' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 7th July, 1684.)

The original Court of Judicature, as established by Streynsham Master in 1678, was accordingly revived; and a trial for murder took place before it in 1686:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'According to appointment, this day John Terry, for murthering Peter Taylor,[2] was brought upon his Tryall, the Court being held at the Town Hall,[3] the Jury and Witnesses Summoned and Sworne in forme; and the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty according to the Indictment, but Guilty of Man Slaughter. Whereupon the Prisoner being asked if he had anything to say why Sentence should not be pronounced against him, he craved the benefitt of his Clergy, which was granted. And the Chaplain declaring, Legit ut Clericus, he was burnt in the hand and discharged, paying his fees of imprisonment.' (*P.C.*, vol. xi., 7th April, 1686.)

On the 10th July, 1686, the Court of Admiralty was established, with Mr. John Gray as 'Judge of the Admiralty,' and Messrs. John Littleton and Nathaniel Higginson as his Assistants. All three were civil servants and members of the Council. In the following February Mr. John Hill, a factor, was appointed 'Atturney Generall for the Admiralty Court.' The Justices of the Peace were not interfered with. At a consultation held in 1686 it was 'Order'd that Mr. Wavell, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Cheney[4] be also Justices of the Town (besides their particular imployments) for the more Speedy Administration of Justice, as well att the Choultry as att other times and places, for the better Satisfaction of the people whose necessities makes them Letigious.'[5]

[1] *The first charter*, King Charles II.'s charter of 1661.

[2] Taylor was a private of the Garrison and Terry a sergeant.

[3] *The Town Hall* was the adapted chamber at the Choultry Gate.

[4] Wavell, Higginson, and Cheney were the three juniors of a Council of ten members.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xi., 11th Oct., 1686.

At length a Judge-Advocate was appointed from England in the person of Sir John Biggs, lately Recorder of Portsmouth. He reached Madras on the 22nd July, 1687, with his family, and was accorded a public reception. He was sworn in at the Town Hall on the 28th, when Mr. Edward Tredcroft was appointed Registrar. Sir John sat third in Council, received a salary of £100 per annum, and had 'his personall diett att the Generall Table.' His first duty was to preside at the Quarter Sessions. Law business then became slack, and Sir John was desired, as a Councillor, to make himself generally useful:—

Fort St. George Consultations.

(*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 24th Sept., &c., 1687.)

'The Quarter Sessions of this Citty being ended, and four Criminalls being Legally tryed by a Jury, were convicted of fellonious Roberys, and Sentanc'd to death according to Law. But the Court considering that Justice enclin'd to mercy, and that these were the first crimes they were here charged with, and probably instigated thereto by youth, the Temptation of a notorious Rogue their Ringleader, or from necessity by the long Soar famine; upon which considerations 'tis agreed that the principall and bold offender, Managattee Tombeane, do Suffer death on Thursday next according to Sentence, and by his Sad example to deterr others from the like crimes; and that the other Criminalls, Pindarum, Verago and Tannapa, be burn't on the Shoulder and banish't this place to Sumatra, where they are to remain Slaves to the Rt. Honble Company during life, and never to return hither upon pain of death. ELIHU YALE, JOHN GRAY, JOHN BIGGS, JOHN LITTLETON, ROBERT FFREEMAN, THOMAS WAVELL, NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, WILLIAM FRASER.'

'29th September 1687. Order'd that Mr. Nathaniell Higginson and Mr. William Fraser do, with a Guard of 18 Halbertiers and Peons, accompany and See the Execution of Managattee Tambeane, according to Sentance of death past upon him on Satterday last the 24th Instant; and that after he is hang'd and dead, that his head be Sever'd from his body, and fixt upon Some remarkable place, to deterr others from Such notorious Robberys.'

'27th October, 1687. Sir John Biggs not having much Law business at present, Itt is order'd that he take the charge of receiving the City revenues, and that the Land Customer, the Register, and a Writer be appointed to his assistance therein.'

On the 17th November, 1687, the Government proclaimed martial law under the authority of the second charter of Charles II., and early in the following year a trial took place:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Order'd that a Court Marshall be Summon'd and held in the afternoon att the ffort Hall for the tryall of the Severall fugitives and Pirats, &c.

'This afternoon a Court Marshall was held in the Fort Hall, when the

Attorney Generall[1] gave in an information against Six of the Royall James men for running away from their Ship, and committing severall Piracies upon this Coast; which appearing by good evidences besides their own confession, the Court Judged them all guilty. But considering their number, and that justice inclines to mercy, the Sentence was given accordingly, to make their ends more exemplary to others, Vizt., That Alexander Hunter should be hang'd att the yard arm aboard the Royall James, James Smith upon the common Gibbet, and Ralph Streaker to be Shott to death att the Fort Gate. The other three, vizt John Naseby, Nicholas Dorrill, and George Road, to bee burnt in the fforehead with Letter P, and banished. And whereas Robert Sunderland, a Gunners Mate, received from some of them part of their Stoln Treasure, and concealed the same, itt was order'd that he should run the Gantlope,[2] and bee dismist his employment.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 30th Jan., 168⅞.)

The Governor appears to have presided at Courts Martial for the trial of pirates; but at a Court held in April, 1689, it was ordered that 'Sir John Biggs doe sett President, the Governour being very buisy.' On this occasion two pirates were condemned to death, and six to be branded with a P at 'the Execution Post under the Fort point.'[3] The capital sentence was remitted in one case, and in the other the prisoner was sent off to the *Defence* for execution. Capt. Heath, however, refused to carry it out, saying that 'as he had none of the live men, he would have none of the dead.' For such contempt of authority Heath was fined 200 pagodas.

Supervision of this trial was the last official act of Sir John Biggs, for he expired a few days afterwards:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Almighty was yesterday pleased to take Sir John Biggs to his rest from this restless world by the malignity of a few days feavor. He left his Estate by will to his two sonns, and his body to be enterred with his good Lady[4] and Daughter. His decease makes a vacation in the Court of Admiralty till your Honours shall supply it with another able Judge, here being no person authorized or Capacitated for that Charge. In the meantime the Mayors Court will try, and decide all differences within the Limitts of their Charter. The Allmighty fitt us for our ends, it being presaged and likely to be a sickly year.' (*O.C.*, No. 5666, 22nd April, 1689.)

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[1] Mr. Henry Mose, late Secretary to the Council, had succeeded Mr. John Hill as Attorney-General.

[2] *Run the Gantlope*, run the gantlet. A military punishment, in which the offender ran down a lane formed of two ranks, receiving a lash from each man. The word is said to be derived from Ghent, where the punishment was introduced, and Dut. *loofen*, to run.

[3] *The Fort point*, probably the south-east bastion of the Inner Fort.

[4] Lady Biggs died of smallpox a year earlier.

Sir John Biggs was not only Judge of the Court of Admiralty[1] but also Recorder of the Mayor's Court, which had been constituted in 1688. After his death, the Mayor's Court was directed to elect a Recorder until a lawyer could be sent out from England.

The powers of the Mayor's Court being limited, and the President and Council being without authority to hear appeals, the Government resolved, in 1690, to erect a Court of Judicature consisting of a Judge-Advocate and four Judges. The Governor acted as Judge-Advocate pending an appointment from England; Mr. Thomas Gray and Mr. William Hatsell were two of the judges, and it was resolved that 'Senor Gregorio Paroan, a knowing Judicious Armenian Merchant, be also a Justice of this Court to enquire into causes that happen from his own Nation and all other forreigners, he being well Verst in their languages and Customes; and that Allingall Pilla, the Honble Company's Cheif Merchant, a wise and able Jentue, to be another Justice of this Court to appear for the Natives, as well Jentues, Moores and Mallabars.'[2] Mr. Daniel Du Bois was appointed 'Attorney Generall for the Superiour Coart of Judicature.'[3] Constituted in this manner, the Court subsisted until 1692, when the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate.[4] The Judges of the Court of Judicature must not be confused with the Justices of the Choultry Court who sat as magistrates. The senior magistrate was called the 'Chief Justice.' The Judge-Advocate was known as the 'Judge.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being great complaint of the dearness and Smallness of bread in the Bazar, and that it bears no due proportion with the price of Wheat, the Chief Justice is therefore order'd to make a monthly assize of bread, allowing the Bakers a reasonable Profitt for their trouble. And that Tilman Holt be made Clarke of the Markett, and that he daily examines the weight of bread according to the Size appointed, and what he shall find lighter, to Seiz and give to the poor. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 21st Nov., 1687.)

As soon as the Mayor's Court was established, Aldermen sat as magistrates at the Choultry. They continued to do so until, through the suspension of the Court of Admiralty, their duties at

[1] In the Charter of 1687, which established a Corporation, Sir John Biggs is styled 'Judge of Our Supreme Court of Judicature.'

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 16th June, 1690.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½.

the Mayor's Court became so arduous that special Choultry Justices were once more nominated:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Court of Aldermen[1] (since the Vacation of the Court of Admiralty) being prest with more buisness than usuall, whereby the buisness of the Chowltrey has been long neglected to the dissatisfaction of the Inhabitants; for whose content, and greater ease to the Court of Aldermen, Mr. John Cheney, Mr. Cawley and Mr. Gray are appointed Justices of the Chowltry, to sett there duely twice a week to hear and decide all small differences, and prepare and recommend Buisiness of greater moment to the Court of Aldermen, which being a place of much trouble, Mr. John Cheney is therefore excused and discharged from being of the Coart of Aldermen, he paying the Stated fine of the Charter, it being his earnest desire and request.' (*P.C.*, vol. xv., 14th Nov., 1689.)

The vacancy caused by the death of Sir John Biggs was filled in 1692 by Mr. John Dolben from England. His tenure of office was brief, for in 1694 he was charged with taking a bribe, and at the same time the President produced an order from the Company, dated 10th April, 1693, revoking his commission and appointing Mr. William Fraser Judge-Advocate.[2] Dolben subsided into private life as a free merchant.

The Company subsequently directed[3] that the Members of Council should serve in succession as Judge-Advocate, and Mr. John Styleman accordingly replaced Fraser in October, 1696.

The following are examples of modes of punishment in vogue:—

A native convicted of murder was sentenced by Mr. Dolben in 1693. It was ordered 'that he be executed . . . at the Common place of Execution, and his body hang in chains on a Gibbett near the high road Leading to Polimilee, and that the two Junior Choultry Justices doe see the Same perform'd.'[4]

The Justices of the Choultry found a native merchant guilty of 'driveing a trade of Stealing children' with the aid of two notorious rogues. The merchant was given the alternative of paying Pags. 200, or standing in the pillory and paying Pags. 80. His two subordinates became slaves to the Company.[5]

Goods from the seaside having been stolen, it was resolved that any Peon or Talliar found asleep or absent from his place at

[1] *The Court of Aldermen*: the Mayor's Court, the inauguration of which is described below.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 6th, 14th, and 21st Sept., 1694. Fraser was a member of Council.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxiv., 17th Oct., 1696.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 26th June, 1693.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 13th Aug., 1694.

night shall, by order of the Sea Customer, 'be whipped from Point to Point, and shall receive Five Lashes at each of the five appointed Posts, and be discarded.'[1]

A Brahman convicted of robbery was sentenced to be hanged. The inhabitants represented that it was contrary to the custom of the country to put Brahmans to death. The man was accordingly reprieved, 'but the Justices of the Choultry were ordered to punish him in the most disgraceful way practised among the Jentues, and then to turn him out of Madras.'[2]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Judge reports that, at a Generall Sessions Held on the 10th and 11th Instants, Richard Caswell, an Englishman, and Adrian van Reed, a Dutchman, were found guilty of felony for being concerned in the running away with the Rt. Honble Companys Ketch Josia out of this Road, and Brigantine Gingerlee from Anjengo. But claiming the benefitt of their Clergy, did both read, and were burn't in the hand and returned to the Custody of the Marshall. Allsoe on[e] Vella, a Jentue, was likewise found guilty of felony for breaking open a Godown in the Christian Towne, and thence stealing severall things, and having formerly lost both his ears, was condemned to be hanged.

'Ordered that the Said Sentence be put in execution on Saturday the 19th Instant, and that Mr. Empson and Mr. Tredcroft do see the same performed. And that the said Casswell and van Reed be sent for England by the first Ship or Ships that shall go from this place. And in the mean time to remaine in the custody of the Marshall.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxv., 14th June, 1697.)

Mayor and Corporation.

The Mayor and Corporation were established by the Charter of 1687. The charters which have been previously referred to were granted by the Sovereign to the East India Company, but the Charter of 1687 was issued by the Company under the authority of its own charters of 1661 and 1683 from Charles II., and of 1686 from James II., and with the sanction of the King in Council. The following were its principal provisions[3]:—

Charter granted by the Governor and Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Madras, 30th December, 1687.

'We, The said *Governor and Company*, having found by Experience and the Practice of other European Nations in India that the makeing and establishing

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 27th Sept., 1694. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 15th Nov., 1694.

[3] *Charters granted to the East India Company*, 1600-1761 (London, 1774), and reprint of the same by John Shaw (Madras, 1887).

of Corporations in Citties and Towns that are grown exceeding populous tends more to the well-governing of such populous Places, and to the Increase of Trade, than the constant Use of the Law Martial in trivial Concerns, We have therefore, . . . for the speedier Determination of small Controversies of little Moment, frequently happening among the unarmed Inhabitants, thought it convenient to make, ordain, and constitute Our Town of *Fort St. George,* commonly called the Christian Town and Citty of *Madrassapatam* upon the Coast of *Choromandel* in *East Indies,* and all the Territorys thereto belonging, not exceeding the Distance of Ten Miles from *Fort St. George,* to be a Corporation under Us by the Name and Title of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Town of *Fort St. George* and Citty of *Madrassapatam ;* And therefore We, The said *Governor and Company,* do by these Presents ordain, constitute and appoint that the Inhabitants of *Fort St. George* and *Madrassapatam* aforesaid, or so many of them as shall be hereby nominated, . . . shall be One Body Corporate and Politick in Deed and in Name, by the Name of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Town of *Fort St. George* and Citty of *Madrassapatam* really and fully for ever. . . .'

The Corporation, which was to come into existence from the 29th September, 1688, consisted of the Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and sixty or more Burgesses. The Mayor was to hold office for one year, the Aldermen during their lives, or residence in Madras.

'And for the better Execution of Our Intent and Meaning in this Behalf, We do nominate, constitute and make *Nathaniel Higginson,* Second of Our Council of *Fort St. George,* the First and Modern [1] Mayor of the said Corporation. . . . Also we do assign, nominate and constitute *John Littleton, Thomas Wavell* and *William Fraser,* three of Our Council of *Fort St. George, Daniel Chardin,*[2] French Merchant, *Lucas Lewis de Oliveria* and *Alvaro Capella de Valle,* Portugal Merchants, *Bartholomew Rodrigues, Jaques de Paiva* and *Domingos de Porte,* Hebrew Merchants, *China Vencatadre, Mooda Verona* and *Allingal Pella,* Gentu Merchants, to be the Twelve First and Modern Aldermen. . . .'

Then follow the names of twenty-nine free merchants nominated Burgesses. A new Mayor was to be elected annually on the 29th September from the Aldermen. Any vacancy among the Aldermen was to be filled by election from the Burgesses, subject to the condition that three Aldermen were always to be covenanted servants. The Burgesses, who were not to exceed one hundred and twenty in number, were to be elected by the Mayor and Aldermen.

The Mayor and Aldermen were to be a 'Court of Record within Our Town of *Fort St. George* and City of *Madrassapatam* and the Precincts thereof aforesaid, and the Mayor of the said Corporation

[1] *Modern,* present, now existing.
[2] *Daniel Chardin,* a free merchant, brother of the traveller Sir John Chardin.

for the Time being shall be always One of the Justices of the Peace within the Precincts of the said Corporation and without the Walls of Our said Fort.' The three senior Aldermen moreover were to be Justices of the Peace.

The Mayor and Aldermen might levy a tax 'for the building of a Town Hall or Guild Hall . . . ; of a publick Goal for the detaining in Prison such Criminals or Debtors as shall be committed to the Custody of some Goaler to be appointed for that Purpose . . . ; of a convenient School House or House for the teaching of the Gentues or Native Children to speak, read and write the English Tongue, and to understand Arethmetick and Merchants' Accompts; and for such further Ornaments and Edifices as shall . . . be thought convenient.'

The Mayor's Court was empowered to try all causes civil or criminal. Right of appeal lay in civil cases when the value of the award exceeded three pagodas, and in criminal cases if the offender was sentenced to lose life or limb.

Two silver-gilt maces were to be carried before the Mayor by two English-born sergeants. Robes of scarlet serge were ordained for the Mayor and Aldermen, and white silk gowns for the Burgesses. The Mayor and Aldermen might 'enjoy the Honour and Priviledge of wearing Rundelloes and Kettysols born over them, and . . . may ride on Horseback in the same Order as is used by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, having their Horses decently furnished with Saddles, Bridles and other Trimmings after one Form and Manner.'

The Mayor and Aldermen might nominate 'one discreet Person skilfull in the Laws,' being an English-born covenanted servant, to be Recorder of the Corporation, but the first Recorder was to be '*Sir John Biggs*, Knight, Judge of Our Supreme Court of Judicature.' They could also appoint 'One able and discreet Person to be their Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace, who is always to be an Englishman born, but well skilled in the Languages of *East India*.'

The Mayor's Court was authorized to deal with offences by fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment.

The Company foreshadowed the nature of this charter in their despatch of the 28th September, 1687, and in the following month wrote that they had ordered the manufacture of insignia :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Our Governor[1] and Deputy Governor[2] have had the honour of discoursing very fully with his Majesty concerning our designed Incorporation of our City of Madrass and Town of Fort St. George, which his Majesty exceedingly well approved of as being a further approach towards the full exercise of that Soveraign Power, or Jura Regalia, which his Majesty trusts us with in India . . .; but the said Charter, being long, is not yet read in the Cabinet Councill. . . . But his Majesty will have it passed, and we shall undoubtedly send it you by Captain Heath; for which purpose we have bespoak two Maces to be carryed before our Mayor, and a larger Mace and Sword to be carryed before our Generall,[3] with a Silver Oar to be carryed before our Judge Advocate,[4] which will all be ready to be sent you with our Charter. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 12th Oct., 1687.)

The Company paid for the great mace, the sword, and the silver oar, but expected the Corporation to meet the cost of the maces for the Mayor. They desired Mr. Rodrigues, who was then in London, to pay for the latter, and hoped that Fort St. George would reimburse him. The insignia reached Madras on the 4th August, 1688, by the *Defence*, Capt. Heath[5]:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Mr. Rodriguez has obliged us by his forwardness to disburse the money for your Corporation Maces. Pray desire our Mayor and Aldermen to contrive a way to reimburse him as soon as may be, and let his friends with you have the respect of Benefactors for the publick good of the place.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 25th Jan., $168\frac{7}{8}$.)

On the 29th September, 1688, the date appointed for the inauguration of the Charter, the Council met, and settled the form of procedure. The persons concerned, and the chief inhabitants, were then summoned to the Fort Hall[6]:—

Inauguration of the Charter.

'According to this day's appointment, The President, Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Cheif of the Inhabitants mett at the Fort Hall, before whom the Rt. Hon'ble Companys Charter for this Corporation was publickly read by the Secretary, after which the President administered Oaths to the

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1 *Governor*, Josia Child. 2 *Deputy Governor*, Benjamin Bathurst.

3 *Our Generall*, Sir John Child, President at Surat.

4 *Our Judge Advocate*, Sir John Biggs.

5 Captain Heath attended Council on the 6th August and subsequent days. He was under orders to proceed to 'Chettigam' (Chittagong), and form a fortified settlement.

6 *The Fort Hall*, the general Dining Room.

Mayor and Recorder for their due performance of their Places; and then the Mayor and Recorder did the like to the Aldermen and Burgesses in their severall manner and formes. Awhile after, went to a Handsome dinner, and about three in the Evening the Whole Corporation march't in their Severall Robes with the Maces before the Mayor, to the Town Hall.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 29th Sept., 1688.)

Mr. Higginson had asked permission to decline office in view of his heavy work as Member of Council, Bookkeeper and Mint-master, but his application was declared inadmissible. It was resolved,[2] however, that the Mayor's Court should be held only once a fortnight, and that two of the Aldermen who were Justices of the Peace should sit twice a week at the Choultry to deal with 'small offences and Complaints to the amount of 2 Pagodas fine or award.' After serving six months as Mayor, Mr. Higginson resigned the service and the Mayoralty. He was succeeded by Mr. Littleton.

In the following August the Corporation represented that no revenues or funds had been allotted them for the works they were expected to carry out, such as the 'building a Town Hall, Schools, common Shoars,[3] etc., for the ornament and healthfullness of the place,' as well as the 'regulateing and paveing the Streets and lanes in town.' The Council resolved[4] that the existing petty taxes of 'Paddy Toll, Measureing and weighers duty, and Brokerige'[5] should in future be assigned to and collected by the Mayor and Aldermen.

Some eighteen months later, finding that the revenues had been applied to other objects, the President sent the following note to the Mayor's Court:—

President Yale to the Mayor and Aldermen.

'The Rt. Honble Company, Lords Proprietors of this Place, expecting by their constituting a Corporation, an advantage and benefitt both to themselves and the place, as also the erecting a Town Hall, School house, Hospitall, walling the Citty, &c., none whereof are yet done, or anything towards it, or designd that I know of; I therefore, in the Rt. Hon'ble Companys name and for their Account, require you to restore their revenues of measuring and weighing, &c. dutys to them as formerly, as also what you have receiv'd on those Accounts; since, if they are not benefitted, there is no reason they should be loosers by the Corporation.' (*P.C.*, vol. xvii., 27th March, 1691.)

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[1] *The Town Hall*, by the Choultry Gate.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 29th Oct., 1688.

[3] *Shoars*, sewers.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 12th Aug., 1689.

[5] A contribution paid by the Town Brokers.

The Mayor, Mr. Thomas Wavell, remarked in reply that, while the revenues had been assigned by the Council, it was the President alone who proposed to withdraw them.

Yale had quarrelled with his colleagues, and as the Mayor and some of the Aldermen were members of the Council, it is not surprising that the differences between the President and the Mayor's Court soon became acute. Under the charter there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty.[1] When Sir John Biggs died in 1689 the Court of Admiralty was declared extinct, and the Mayor's Court held the opinion that its own decisions were now final. Yale thought differently, and on two occasions he forcibly released native debtors from prison. On the 7th September, 1691, the Mayor[2] and Aldermen expostulated in vigorous terms:—

'*The Mayor and Aldermen to the President and Governour.*

'. . . To our Amazement we are again alarmd by the same Practices, our Jaylor complaining Your Honour threatned him with Corporall punishment for refuseing to sett att liberty Collowa Chettee, who was legally committed for his insufferable contempt of our Authority, and Scared him into complyance by your Scandalous paper of the 2d Instant. . . . Tis the constitution of all good Government for the Millatary to Support the Civill, and both to unite; but since Your Honour is resolved to Sett one in Opposition against the other, We are obliged to declare you, the Honble Elihu Yale, Esqr., President and Governour of this place, answerable for all damages that have or may hereafter accrew to any Person by your unwarrantable forceing men from the hands of Justice. WILLIAM FRASER, THO. GRAY, D. CHARDIN, BARTH. RODRIGUES, HENRY ALFORD, JOHN AFFLACK, CHARLES METCALF, SYMON HOLCOMB.' (*P.C.*, vol. xvii., 7th Sept., 1691.)

'*The Presidents Answer to the Worshipfull Mayor, &c., Paper.*

'. . . I am sorry to see soe many sober men Seduc't from their respects and reason by some factious (I wish I may not say Mutinous) people among you against me and the Government to Signe so erronious and Scurrilous a paper as I this day received from you by the register;[3] but I am willing to beleive those persons imposed upon by ficticious Storyes, or have err'd into it by their misunderstandings, the buisness of your Coart being managed by a few bold undertakers that either impose upon or mislead the rest. . . .

'I shall now answer your libellous paper, for I can tearm it no other, it containing so much reflections and little of truth. . . .

'And whereas you unjustly charge me with intrenching upon your priveledges by releaceing Wassalinga, a poor miserable wretch that, by the cruelty

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xvii., 7th Sept., 1691. The Supreme Court was generally styled the 'Court of Admiralty.'

[2] *The Mayor*, Mr. William Fraser.

[3] *The register*, the Registrar.

of Mr. Bridger, hath been close confin'd for debt near 12 months till he almost perisht with hunger and Sickness, without either care or releif from his merciless Creditor; which the Martiall often passionately acquainting me with, I confess I orderd his remove to his house for his recovery, but with this caution, that he was not to leave the Town, but to be always ready upon demand. . . .[1]

'Your next complaint is from the same justice and reason as the former, which, that the Rt. Hon'ble Company may Judge of, I shall faithfully report, Viz. On Wednesday last hundreds of the Cast and relations of Collawa Chettee, an eminent Merchant of the Hon'ble Company, [represented that he] had been long confind and, as your Jaylor told me, without either crime, action, or warrant, and that he had eat nothing for two dayes, by which he was much indisposed and Sick; and all this Severity for no other reason that I hear then his refuseing to signe an Arbitration Paper on an old intricate difference he was Voluntarily employ'd in, declareing he could not Signe his opinion of it, not being Satisfied therein or rightly understanding it, the Accounts being not intelligible of about 40 years Standing: when, upon the pittifull importunities of his freinds, and in commiseration of the prisoner, takeing the Security of two able Merchants in a 1000 Pagodas for his returne within two hours, I wrote an Order to the Jaylor to permitt his goeing to eat after the ceremonys of his Cast, and not let him Starve in prison. Which accordingly was granted him, and he complyed with (and this your Judicious civillitys miscall a Scandall). But notwithstanding, the next day your Officer came to him in prison, laying rude hands and threats upon him, saying he came by the Mayor Mr. Frasers order to tell him he must either Signe the Arbitration paper he sent him or that he should continue and Starve in prison; which terrible menaces affrightned the Sick man into a Complyance to Save his life and get his freedome. However, the Noise of the Severity Spred so much among the Inhabitants that thousands of them came to me with complaints of it, bringing a Petition to me and Councill, which I now send you translated, by which you may Judge of the Satisfaction and encouragement your proceedings give the Inhabitants, in So much that, if these oppressions are not Redrest, we are likely to loose a great part of the towns people. . . . And so I leave the Honble Companys Motto for your consideration and practice, Vz., Non minus est Virtus quam quærere parta Tueri. . . .[2] Your very Loveing freind, ELIHU YALE.' (*P.C.*, vol. xvii., 7th Sept., 1691.)

Writing in January, 1692, the Company allude[3] with disapproval to the fact that there were in 1690 as many as eight English Aldermen. They desire that 'most of the Aldermen may consist of the heads of the severall foreigne Casts, vizt., One Armenian, One or two Hebrews, one or two Portugueze, and one or two Gentues, and one Moore, if you have a sufficient number of that Cast which have their proper Head or Chief.'

[1] Yale here mentions a Company's order that debtors who can show they are worth less than 12 pags. shall be released.

[2] Yale then cautions the Court against attempting to appoint Justices of the Choultry, which is the function of Government. He ends by requiring the restoration of the taxes which had been assigned to the Court as revenue.

[3] *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1673—1717

THE CURRENCY—RENTS AND REVENUES—MOGUL AND MARATHA

THE CURRENCY.

THE details of the currency on the Coast involve some difficulty, owing partly to the great number of standard coins and their varying value at different times, and partly to the divergent values assigned to the smaller coins of the same denomination in different localities. Particulars derived from Tavernier and Bowrey have already been given, and some further information is now added.

Fryer, writing of Fort St. George and Masulipatam in 1673, says the Pagoda was worth 8*s.* and the Fanam 3*d.* It follows that 32 fanams should go to the pagoda.[1] He states that 6 cash were equivalent to one fanam, so that this type of cash would be worth $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* The pagoda and fanam were both of gold, but not of equal fineness. The '*Pagod* touch[2] is $8\frac{5}{8}$ *Matts*[3] fine,' *i.e.*, $8\frac{5}{8}$ parts gold out of 10 parts. The fanam was only $4\frac{1}{4}$ matts fine. The cash was of copper. We further learn from Fryer that the weight of a pagoda was $53\frac{1}{3}$ grains, that this weight was one-eighth of that of the silver Dollar or Piece of Eight,[4] and that the ratio of values of equal weights of gold and silver was 16 to 1.

In 1675 the Company recommended Langhorn to obtain the permission of the King of Golconda 'to coyne Silver Rupees and

[1] The nominal exchange, however, was 36 fanams to the pagoda.

[2] *Touch*, fineness. The term had its origin in the use of a *touchstone* for determining degrees of fineness.

[3] *Matt*, touch, fineness; from Tam. *marru* (pronounced *mattu*). Pure gold was of 10 matt, corresponding to 24 carat.

[4] The Piece of Eight was a Spanish coin, so called because it was the equivalent of eight reals. It was also known as a 'Real of Eight' (reals), or 'Piece of $\frac{8}{8}$.'

copper pice at the Fort.'[1] They fixed the exchange between England and India at 9*s.* 8*d.* for the pagoda[2] and 2*s.* 3*d.* for the rupee, in place of 8*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* The change had the effect of reducing salaries, which were estimated in sterling and paid in pagodas.

The number of fanams to the pagoda was not constant, while the cash was of very variable value :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Sharofs of the Towne, according to their usuall Craft, having raised fanams so that there is but 34½ sold for a pagoda, which is a great prejudice to the poore and loss to the Honble Company, all their Garrison and labourers being paid in Fanams; the Agent gave order to coyne 500 pagodas into fanams for the Honble Companys Accompt. Whereupon, soe soone as the said 500 pagodas was ready in the Mint to be stampt, the Sharofs, that held the fanams up before, brought them forth; soe that one day they were sold at 34½ fanams and the next day at 35½ fanams for a pagoda.' (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 17th June, 1678.)

As regards the copper coinage, we find in a consultation of the same year[3] that 'The Copper Cash, 2640 weighd one Veece[4] (whereas it should be 2400 Cash to a veece) or 3⅛ pounds Haverdupoiz. The Cash came out about 78 to a fanam, and they now goe in the Bazar at 74 Cash to a fanam.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'And it being found by experience that the coyning of single Cash of 2400 to a veece are not soe currant in the Country nor more accomodable to the poore . . . as if they should be coyned at 800 and 1600 to a veece, which is ½ and ¼ pagoda weight a peece, agreeable to the Pollicatt Cash, 'tis therefore resolved that they shall from hence forward be coyned at that weight, vizt. 800 double and 1600 Single Cash to a veece, which at 60 pagodas per Candy gives them at 43 or 86 Cash to the fanam. . . .'[5] (*P.C.*, vol. ii., 21st Nov., 1678.)

By 1685 a silver currency, as in Bengal, was evidently coming into use. The Company wrote that Priāman was not to have a

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. i., 24th Dec., 1675.

[2] In 1697 salaries were paid at 9*s.* per pagoda (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697).

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ii., 9th Sept., 1678.

[4] *Veece*, viss; from Tam. *vīsai*, a measure of weight. The viss was the weight of 400 pagodas, or a little over 3 lb.

[5] From the accounts furnished in 1683 by Yale, Nicks, and the Paymaster, it appears that 36 fanams were always counted to the pagoda. The number of cash to the fanam varied within wide limits. Yale took 100 or 31; Nicks 100, 75, 73, or 63; the Paymaster invariably 6 (*Diary and Consultation Book*, Pringle).

separate mint, but should be supplied with coins from Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee . . . have resolved that our Chief and Councill there shall proclaim all the Species of Coynes following Currants in receipts and payments at Priaman, Vizt., Pagodas att 10^s, a Spanish Dollar at 6^s, a Dutch Dollar 5^s, att which rate itt goes att Acheen and all the South Seas over; the Rupee at 3^s, A fanam att 4^d, Pice at $\frac{1}{2}$ of a penny, and Pettys att the rate they formerly went in Bantam vizt [ ][1] to a piece of $\frac{8}{8}$ Ryalls. And accordingly we would have you forthwith to get Stamps and immediately go in hand with coyning Rupees, the Motto whereof may be the English Rupee on one Side, and the Companys Armes on the other, and use your own fancies in the impressions of the Small money. Make your Rupees as near as you can constantly of the fineness and weight of the Bengall Rupee, and your Dutch Dollars as near as you can of the Alloy and weight of the Dutch Dollars usually coyn'd by the Dutch East India Company, currant in Batavia and all the South Seas; but lett the inscription on itt on the one Side be the English East India Dollar, and on the reverse this Company Arms. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 26th Aug., 1685.)

The Fort St. George mint was free to all persons, but the merchants complained of undue delay in the coining of their gold:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee think itt absolutely necessary, as well for the Rt. Hon'ble Companys advantage as the dispatch of the Coyning of Gold brought to this Mint, that whatever persons are contented to Stand to the Assay of the Braminee of the Mint shall have their Gold Coyned by them; and that Mr. James Johnson[2] do, with the Braminy, Assay and Coyne the Rt. Hon'ble Companys Gold, but he (Mr. Johnson) not to meddle with any other besides, because wee have found so great inconveniency . . . for want of dispatch, occation'd by his Ignorance, willfullness or Idleness.' (*P.C.*, vol. xii., 14th April, 1687.)

In 1682 the Company recommended[3] the Government of Fort St. George to obtain a loan by constituting itself a Bank for the receipt of fixed deposits. Gyfford accordingly resolved on 'the raising of a banke of money to the vallue of One hundred Thousand pounds att six per Cent.,' and issued the following notification, which was translated into 'Portuguez, Gentue, Mallabar and Moores, and proclaimed Solemnly by beat of Drum, and afterwards sett upon the Gates':—

[1] Blank in original.

[2] Johnson had been sent out from home as Assay Master. He was under the direction of the Mintmaster, Mr. Nathaniel Higginson.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 28th Aug., 1682.

Notification.

'By the Hon'ble East India Companys order, we, the Agent and Councill of Fort St. George, do hereby publickly Declare unto all persons whatsoever that we will att any time take up and receive what sums of money soever shall be brought to us, att six per Cent per annum Interest, for Six or Twelve moneths time, or any other longer tearm of years, but not less than six moneths, nor to exceed the time we shall agree for: and we shall, for the better security of such persons that shall so lett out their money, give our receipt for the same under the Hon'ble Companys Seal.' (*P.C.*, vol. viii., 21st June, 1683.)

As Fort St. George had failed to obtain a *farmān* from Golconda to coin rupees, the Company secured a patent from King James II. under the charter of 1686.[1] In the following year they definitely ordered[2] the issue of silver from the Fort Mint, directing that the rupees should have the same form, fineness and device as those current in the Mogul country. The Madras Council resolved on striking silver fanam pieces, but thought it best to defer the coining of rupees:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President deliver'd a method for the silver Coyns, which was perused and approved, and Mr. Higginson,[3] according to the Rt. Hon'ble Companys order, appointed to get the Stamps cutt, &c. necessaryes requisite to that buisiness, and to get some money coyn'd as soon as possibly; for which purpose the Warehousekeeper is order'd to deliver him a Chest of Dollars.[4]

'*Silver Coynes for Madras.*

'The Standard to be Dollar finess, to be calculated near 16 dol. per 10 pag., which, at the Invoice price of Standard Silver, will be profitt to the Rt. Hon'ble Company besides charges of coyning, and employ much of their silver, which often wants a markett and lyes long by as a dead Loss. Besides twill be a great conveniency to the Inhabitants and housekeepers of the Towne, fanams[5] being much counterfeited, and by their smallness very subject to be Lost or undervallued. And least our comeing too neer rupees may now offend the Country Government, twill be best at first that our greatest coyne does not exceed the Vallue of four fanams.

'The Weight and Stamp of the coynes, Vizt. The 4 fanam peice to weigh 3 dwt 4 grs; 2 fanam, 1 dwt 14 grs; 1 fanam, 19 grs; ½ fanam, 9½ grs. All the

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1 *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 9th June, 1686. 2 *Ibid.*, vol. viii., 7th Jan., 1687.

3 *Mr. Higginson*, the Mintmaster.

4 *A Chest of Dollars* contained 4,000 'Peices of ⅝' (*vide P.C.*, vol. xv., 21st Jan., 168⅞).

5 *Fanams—i.e.*, gold fanams.

coynes to be first weighed and bulletted, since we cannot have instruments suddainly nor well made here. . . . The Stamp to be the Rt. Hon'ble Companys mark[1] on one side, cutt in a wreath of Lawrell for the circle, and under to be *Madrass* and the date of the year : the reverse to be *The English four fanams, The English two fanams, The English one fanam,* to be wrott cross the peice in Jentue. . . . ELIHU YALE, NATHLL HIGGINSON, J. BIGGS, WILLIAM HEATH,[2] R. FFREEMAN, WILL. FRASER, WM. CAWLEY, THO. GRAY ; WILLIAM PROBY, Secy.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 9th Aug., 1688.)

The Consultation of the 11th July, 1689, refers to 'this Mint of near fourty years' standing,' but there is reason for believing that the Madras Mint was established soon after 1640.

Early in 1692, after the extinction of the Golconda dynasty, and when the British differences with the Mogul had been arranged, authority to mint money in Fort St. George was received from Prince Kām Baksh, son of Aurangzīb.

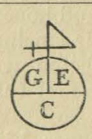
Fort St. George Consultation.

'Emaum Cooley Beague yesterday delivering the President Six Iron Chopps or Stamps for coynage, Vizt., Two for Gold Mohurs,[3] two for Pagodas, and two for Silver Rupees, sent us by Prince Mahmood Cawn Bux and the grand Viseer Assid Cawn, with their Nasshan[4] and Presents, ordering and granting us Liberty to coyne them ; the said Stamps were accordingly delivered to Mr. Nathll Stone,[5] Essaymaster, and the mint braminee and Shroffs, with order to coyne to the vallue of a hundred Pagodas of each coyne ; which when finished, Tis orderd they be solemnly proclaimd throughout the Garrison and Citty, according to the Custome of the Country for new coyne, with the addition of great guns in Honour to the Prince's Nashan and the Viseers Phyrwanna[6] for the authoriseing of them and the Mint, which must be read in Moors and other Languages.' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 27th April, 1692.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President, to introduce the new Pagods, orderd 2000 pagods of Gold to be Coyn'd with that Stamp, least the neglecting it might loose or prejudice our

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[1] *The Rt. Hon'ble Companys mark* 

[2] *William Heath*, commander of the *Defence*, sat in Council on several occasions.

[3] *Mohur*, from Pers. *muhr*, a metal seal, a coin. The gold mohur was in use among the Moguls from a very early period.

[4] *Nasshan*, *nishān*, a grant signed by the Mogul's son.

[5] Mr. Johnson had, in consequence of 'his Idle Sottish life,' been replaced by Mr. Stone.

[6] *Phyrwanna*, *parwāna*, a grant by the Nawab. A grant by the Vizier was generally called a *hasbulhukm*.

priviledges thereof, hopeing allsoe to improve the Mint Revenues by the Moors Gold, they haveing a greater respect for their owne Coyne then Gentue Pagods.' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 25th August, 1692.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 15th Sept., 1692.)

'Orderd that if any Persons are desireous of Coyning in our Mint any of the new Sorts of Coyns lately granted by the Prince, the Mint Master is orderd to receive their Gold into the Mint and Coyn it accordingly, they paying Mintage duty to the Hon'ble Company as followeth, Vizt.

'*Standard Weight and Mintage Dutyes*[1] *of Madras Coynes.*
(10 *matt equall to 24 Carretts.*)

	Matt.		dwt. gr.
Madrass Old Seringray[2]	$8\frac{5}{8}$ fine,	Alloy $1\frac{3}{8}$,	pz[3] 2 - $4\frac{85}{100}$
New Pagoda Oremzeb[4]	$9\frac{7}{8}$ fine,	Alloy $\frac{1}{8}$,	pz 1 - 22
Gold Mohur Oremzeb	$9\frac{7}{8}$ fine,	Alloy $\frac{1}{8}$,	pz 7 - 2
Silver Rupee Oremzeb	$9\frac{3}{4}$ fine,	Alloy $\frac{1}{4}$,	pz 7 - 11
Silver fanams	Standard, or Dollers		
Gold fanams Seringray	$4\frac{5}{16}$ fine,	Alloy $5\frac{11}{16}$,	poiz 3 grains.'

As gold and silver were independent standards of value, the gold mohur would not ordinarily contain an integral number of rupees. The gold mohur of 170 grains had about 168 grains of gold, and the rupee of 179 grains about 174·5 grains of silver. Hence, adopting Fryer's ratio of the values of gold and silver as 16 to 1, the value of the rupee would be that of 10·9 grains of gold, that is the number of rupees to a gold mohur would be 168 ÷ 10·9 or 15·4. The number of pagodas to a gold mohur was 170 ÷ 46 or 3·7 approximately.

In 1693, when the exchange in the bazar was 37 silver fanams and 38 gold fanams to the pagoda, it was resolved to stop the coinage of gold fanams. They were all bought up and melted, and orders were issued that silver fanams only should be current at the fixed rate of 36 to the pagoda.[5]

Eight years later efforts were made to limit the currency to a single variety of pagoda :—

[1] The mint charges are omitted as being of no interest.

[2] *Seringray*, apparently a corruption of the name Srī Ranga Rayalu.

[3] *Pz*, for poiz, weight.

[4] *Oremzeb*, Aurangzīb. The new pagoda possessed the same value as the Vijayanagar coin. Though weighing less, it was of superior fineness.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 21st Sept., 1693.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Whereas at this time heres a great Scarcity of Madrass Pagodas, and our Merchants declareing that no others are of Use to 'em in the Country for the carrying on the Companys Investments . . .; wherefore, to prevent the inconveniencies that must needs attend the Companys Affairs by receiving any others than Madrass, Tevenapatam and Allumgeer Pagodas, wee think fitt and do hereby Order that the Warehousekeeper sells no Goods out of the Companys Godown but such as shall be paid for in Madrass Pagodas. And 'tis further Agreed that the President Examines the Companys Cash, and that what Tevenapatam Pagodas or any others that are equall in Matt and Weight to Madrass Pagodas, that he puts 'em in the Mint to be coin'd into Pagodas of this place.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 10th Dec., 1701.)

Early in the eighteenth century, according to Lockyer,[1] the pagoda contained 36 fanams, and the fanam 80 cash. Doodoes were copper coins of 10 cash. Besides the actual cash, there was an imaginary cash of account, six of which went to a fanam. This is the cash alluded to by Fryer. It was abolished in 1717 on the recommendation of the Accountant, Mr. Thomas Frederick:—

Letter from the Accountant.

'Having found several inconveniencies by the method that is practis'd in the Rt. Honble Companys General Books in Accounting Six great Cash to make eighty small Cash or one fanam, by the formers not coming out in equal parts with the latter, which often occasions a difference in fractions, I humbly offer my opinion to Your honour, &c., that as eighty small Cash makes a Fanam, and all the Accounts deliver'd in by the Gentlemen of Councill in their Severall employs are kept after the same manner, It be order'd that the Generall Books be likewise kept in this method from the first instant (when the new books begin), for I see no reason for making a lesser denomination of Cash in the Generall Books than in the Accounts from which they are form'd. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 13th May, 1717.)

Rents and Revenues.

Among the instructions delivered to Gyfford on his departure from London was the following:—'To Examine the title by which we hold the said Towne [of Madras], and whether all the houses therein ought not to pay some small rent by way of acknowledgment to us as Lords of the place; and so that you, our Agent and Councill, doe, upon Serious Consideration, set such a small quit rent as may not disgust or discontent the Inhabitants thereof.'[2] And a year later the home authorities

[1] *Account of the Trade in India*, Lockyer, 1711.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. ii., 29th Dec., 1680.

enjoined Fort St. George to pass no leases 'for a longer time than 99 yeares; that of 999 lately granted is unreasonable.'[1]

Ground rents were accordingly claimed; but the impost was unpopular, and by a consultation of January, 1682, its application was restricted:—'In regard there is a small quit rent levying upon the houses and ground; and the Agent and Councell not being willing to give occasion of complaint to the town inhabitants, nor lay too many taxes or impositions upon them, 'tis resolved that the monthly tax upon the Buttiques[2] or small shops be, at the end of this month, taken off. 'Twill be some ease, and give greater content because of the former levy of quit rent.'[3] While not pressing the collection of ground rent, the Company insisted on the necessity of augmenting the revenue somehow:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Our meaning as to the Revenue of the Town is that one way or other, by Dutch, Portugueze or Indian Methods, it should be brought to defray at least the whole constant Charge of the Place, which is essential to all Governments in the World. People protected ought and doe, in all parts of the Universe, in some way or other defray the Charge of their Protection and Preservation from wrong and violence: the manner of raising which revenue we Shall leave to your Discretion, as may be most agreeable to the humours of that people.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. iv., 20th Sept., 1682.)

When Gyfford left for the Bay in 1684 on his tour of inspection, Yale assumed temporary charge of Madras, and at once introduced changes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee have also consulted severall ways for the improveing the Revenues of this towne, and contributeing to the charge of walls &c. necessarie buildings for the conveniencie and security of the Inhabitants. Upon which we have agreed to propose the leavying of a Small tax amongst them to be paid monthly; which if they so oppose as formerly that we can't be Successfull therein, then to offerr itt as a voluntary contribution to all the Inhabitants in this Towne, both English, Portugues, Moors and Jentues, which possibly may have a better effect upon their willfull tempers; but first to press and receive the 500 Pagodas per Annum which was 3 years past promised by the Severall casts of the Jentues towards the charges of the Garrison.

'It is also agreed for the Hon'ble Companys Interest, and profitt to the towne, that 4 low Rainges of small Shopps (or Stalls) be built in the Buzar,[4] near the

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 18th Nov., 1681.

[2] *Buttiques, butteeks*, small open-fronted shops; from Port. *butica.*

[3] *P.C.*, vol. vii., 26th Jan., 168½.

[4] *In the Buzar—i.e.*, outside the northern wall of the White Town.

Northernmust Curtaine, to be lett at a monthly rent to the Chittees and Committees,[1] which will be of great conveniency to them, Commodious to the Towne, and Proffittable to the Company; beleiving that [a few] years tyme will fully repay the charge of their building, besides there being materialls unfitt for other buildings, which otherwise would decay and come to noething.' (*P.C.*, vol. ix., 14th Aug., 1684.)

The heads of castes were sent for to discuss the contribution towards 'the great Charge of Souldiers and buildings to defend and Secure them.' After many objections made, they ultimately consented 'to pay Annually as follows, to commence from the Year 1682, Viz., for every Great House Nine fanams, for every Small House Six fanams, and every little Round house[2] Three ffanams.'[3] Some years later the Company expressed the opinion that these rates were inadequate, and advised that the houses should be classified in four grades, paying 4, 8, 12 and 18 fanams per annum.[4]

In 1684 the Sea and Land Customs were separated. The duty on goods imported or exported by sea was 3 per cent.[5] *ad valorem*, besides 'the usuall duty to the Peddanague, &c., which is for all Christians $\frac{3}{32}$, and for all Jentues and Moores $\frac{5}{32}$ per Cent.' The Land or Choultry customs were 3 per cent. on the value of goods brought into or taken out of the town, 'with the other usuall small dutys thereon to the Peddanague, &c., that is half a fanam per Pagoda for Christians and three quarters for others.'[6] Three years later the duties were reduced 'for all Englishe freemen, Inhabitants of the Citty of Madras' to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. inwards or outwards, the original rate of 3 per cent. being retained for Portuguese and natives.[7] The Company, however, disapproved of discrimination, and in 1688 orders were issued that a uniform import rate of 5 per cent. should be paid by all persons alike, goods re-exported being free.[8] The following extracts further elucidate the Company's views on revenue:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

(*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 9th June, 1686, and vol. ix., 27th Aug., 1688.)

'If We propound any duty or tax to be levied which, in your Judgments, is not convenient, We shall leave it to you to lay that aside or mitigate it, provided

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1 *Committees*, people of the Komati caste.

2 *Round house*, a hut with cylindrical wall of mud, and conical roof of palm leaves.

3 *P.C.*, vol. ix., 25th Aug., 1684.

4 *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., $169\frac{1}{2}$.

5 In 1649 the duty was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (*Let. Bk.*, vol. xx., 15th Aug., 1649).

6 *P.C.*, vol. ix., 25th Aug., 1684.

7 *P.C.*, vol. xii., 13th June, 1687.

8 *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 9th July, 1688.

you raise some other equivalent more suitable and convenient in your own opinions: but a revenue we will have there aliquô modô for that infinite charge we have been at to raise that Town (which hereafter we shall call a City) from so despicable a Condicon as it was in when we settled there.'

'27th Aug., 1688. Keep Madrass strong, and put all our former orders about the improvement of our Revenew in that place into full and effectuall execution; for we will never make any difference of persons in payment of Customes or any other Duties; no, not though our Governour or Deputy Governour[1] here, or any of the Committees themselves were concerned. While we sweep our own Doors, we may the better force others to keep theirs clean.'

An item of revenue classed as Town Brokerage needs a word of explanation. Cowles were issued[2] by the Governor to 'Town broakers,' four or five in number, whose function was to effect bargains between buyers and sellers, and 'for the preventing cheats and abuses upon Strangers.' Of the authorized brokerage of one per cent. on the contracts, one half was assigned to Government and the other appropriated by the broker. In 1689 the control of the brokers was transferred to the Corporation,[3] who then received the Government share.

The Quit Rent and Scavenger's duty were collected down to 1694 by the 'Rentall General.' Mr. John Foquet, incumbent of that office, was then instructed to transfer the business of Scavenger for two years to the Corporation, who were badly in want of funds. The Quit Rent at this period amounted to Pags. 1610 per annum.[4]

MOGUL AND MARATHA.

Just as the old Hindu state of Vijayanagar had succumbed to Golconda forty years before, so the effete dynasty of the Kutb Shāhs now vanished in its turn before the victorious Mogul. In October, 1687, news reached Fort St. George that the stronghold of Golconda had yielded after a protracted siege, and that the king was a prisoner. The next few days brought intelligence[5] that the Mogul's forces had appeared at Conjeveram, that his flag was hoisted on the fort of Poonamallee, and that 'Potty Cawn'[6] was

[1] Benjamin Bathurst was Governor of the Company, and Josia Child Deputy-Governor, when these words were penned.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 28th June, 1688.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 4th Feb., 168⅝.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 25th June and 3rd July, 1694, and *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 22nd Dec., 1694.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Oct., 1687.

[6] *Potty Cawn*, Fath Khān.

appointed 'Sobedar of this part of the Country and Governour of Changalaput Fort.'[1]

Owing to the hostile action which had lately been taken by the Company against the Mogul government in Bengal, the Fort St. George Council apprehended sinister results from the change of control near Madras, and they prepared for a siege. Fortunately, however, the local administration passed into the hands of an old friend to the British, and no immediate ill consequences ensued:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 21st and 26th Nov., 1687.)

'News this night from Appauge Pontolo, late Governour of Palliacat Town, that our old good friend Mahomed Ebraim[2] (now called Mahobat Cawn) had the charge and Government of Gulcondah Country, that Mahomed Alla Beaugue[3] was Seir Lascar of these parts, and that Braminees Sangana, Narrapa, and Madana Anta Pontolo[4] were confirm'd in their former Government of Conjeveron, &c., and by a message to the Governour promised all the kindness and assistance they could possibly do. That Potty Cawn was discharged from his Nabobship, and return'd to his Government at Changalaput. That 10,000 horse are drawn down into the Chingie Country, Commanded by Cassim Cawn,[5] to warr against those parts.'

'26th November, 1687. Received a kind Letter from Nabob Mahobat Cawn from Gulcondah, wherein he gives friendly advice and recommends Coje Abanus to bee our Vakeel.

'Received a Letter from Alle Ascur Cawn (formerly called Mahomed Alle Beague), advising that he was made Subidar of all the Carnatta Country, and that he was in greater repute then Naccanum Cawn[6] was formerly, and that we should send a wise Vakeel to Court. . . .'

The following brief extracts from the Fort St. George Diary record the fate of the last of the Ḳutb Shāhs:—'Received a Letter from Monsieur Chardin,[7] dated att Bagnagar[8] $\frac{27\ \text{ffebruary}}{8\ \text{March}}$, $168\frac{7}{8}$, advising . . . that the Mogull has sent the King of Gulcondah to the Fort of Calberga,[9] and that Shaw Allam was to have his liberty

[1] *Changalaput*, Chingleput, a town thirty-five miles south-south-west of Madras.

[2] *Mahomed Ebraim*, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, now called Mahābat Khān, was formerly Nawab of the Carnatic under the King of Golconda.

[3] *Mahomed Alla Beaugue*, Muḥammad 'Alī Beg, also called 'Alī Asghar Khān, lately Governor of Masulipatam.

[4] Sangaṇṇa, Nārappa, and Mādanānta Pantulu.

[5] Ḳāsim Khān.

[6] Neknām Khān, formerly Nawab under the King of Golconda.

[7] Daniel Chardin, free merchant of Madras.

[8] *Bagnagar*, Bhāgnagar, the old name of the city of Hyderabad, five miles from the fortress of Golconda.

[9] *Calberga*, Gulbarga, a fortified town under Bījāpur.

after he had taken the Oath of Allegiance to his father.'[1] In subsequent letters Chardin reported that Shāh 'Ālam had refused his liberty unless the King of Golconda might share it with him, since he had given his word to the King that no harm should befall him through the Mogul. Four months later came the end :—'A letter from Monsieur Guetty[2] adviseing the death of the old King of Golconda, who was killed by the Mogulls people there[3] through suspition that (when they were beseiged by the Savagee,[4] and fearing their conquest over them) they might restore the Kingdome to Him againe. Upon which they beheaded him.'

Consequent on the failure of the Company's expedition against Bengal, Agent Charnock found it necessary to evacuate Hugli and the other northern factories. On the 7th March, 1689, he appeared at Madras with the whole of his civil and military establishment. Vizagapatam, Masulipatam and Madapollam were next seized by the Mogul's forces.[5] Resistance was offered at Vizagapatam, where the Chief, Mr. John Stables, and Messrs. Hall and Croke were put to the sword, and the rest of the staff made prisoners. An attack on Madras was deemed imminent,[6] but the storm blew over. In March, 1690, news was received[7] from the British agents at the Mogul's camp at Bīdar that peace was proclaimed, and that *farmāns* for Bengal and Bombay were drawn up. The *farmān* for Madras was delayed for want of the original grants for the Mogul's perusal. The Council decided to send 'two of our most favourable Phyrmaunds to the Gentlemen at the Camp and to the Generall overland with all expedition.' Mr. Fraser objected to the despatch of originals; but he was apparently overruled, and several were forwarded on the 25th March. One of them, an old gold-plate Vijayanagar grant, was unfortunately lost on the return voyage from Surat.

What cowles were sent is uncertain, but the following were the principal documents which Yale acknowledged to have received from Gyfford when he took charge in 1687 :—

1 *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 15th March, 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

2 Manucci refers to M. Guety as a French merchant of San Thomé.

3 The execution took place at Daulatābād.

4 *The Savagee*, Sambhājī, son and successor of Sivājī.

5 *P.C.*, vol. xv., 7th, 10th, and 15th Oct., 1689.

6 *P.C.*, vol. xv., 27th Sept., 1689.

7 *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 22nd March, 16$\frac{89}{90}$.

'A List of Books and Papers. . . .

(*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 30th July, 1687.)

'Phirmaund and a Cowle granted by Sultan Abull Hossan, King of Gulcondah.

Phirmaund sent with a Horse and Vestment in Sir Wm. Langhorn's time
The King of Gulcondah's Phirmaund.
Cowle granted by the King of Gulcondah.
Cowle ratified as new granted.
One Gold Cowle plated from Yencraputty Raywolly.
One Gold Cowle plated from Damurla Yencraputty Nauidu.
One parcell containing Cowle, Confirmation, Phirmaund and order.
Neckna Cawn's Cowle.
Mussa Cawn's Cowle.
Six Phirmaunds in a parcell.'

* * * * * * *

Mr. Job Charnock remained at Madras upwards of a year, sitting in Council whenever Bengal affairs were under discussion. In July, 1690, resettlement in Bengal was determined on. Charnock and his Council were entertained at dinner on the 15th, and they embarked[1] the same evening on the *Princess* and *Kempthorne*. On reaching the Bay, Charnock formed a settlement at Chuttanuttee, and thereby founded Calcutta. The Company were so pleased with his conduct that they made him independent of Fort St. George during his Agency.[2]

General Zu,lfiḳār Khān, who had been sent down to fight the Marāthas in the Gingee country, applied to Fort St. George in 1690 for warlike stores :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Letter from Joll focteer Cawn, Generall of the Mogulls Army and forces now against Chingie, and Son to the Grand Vizier Assid Cawn, Lord High Chancellor to the Mogull, wherein, among other things, he very importunately desires we would Supply him with 200 maund[3] of Gunpowder and 500 Soldiers, which if we absolutely deny him, it will be so ill resented and such a disobligation that they will conclude we Syde with Rama Raja . . ., whereas our gratifying him herein may oblige his freindship to the procureing a Phyrmaund for this Place, etc. factorys on this Coast. It is therefore agreed and ordered that 200 maund of Gunpowder be sent him ; but the number of Soldiers being

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 15th July, 1690. [2] *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½.

[3] *Maund*, a measure of weight ; from Hind. *mān*. The standard maund is of 82⁴⁄₇ lb., but a maund of 25 lb. is also in use.

more than we have, and can Spare noe English, we must therefore excuse Sending any for the present, hopeing the Gunpowder may Satisfie.' (*P.C.*, vol. xvi., 22 Sept., 1690.)

In return for this and a further supply of ammunition, Zu,lfiḳār Khān sent the President a cowle[1] confirming the existing grants for the 'Fort and Factory of Chinnapatam,' the factories of Masulipatam, Madapollam and Vizagapatam, and the settlements and factories of Tevnapatam (Fort St. David), Islāmābād (Cuddalore), and Maḥmūd Bandar (Porto Novo).

By 1692 Zu,lfiḳār had been joined by his father Asad Khān the Grand Vizier, and by Prince Kām Baksh, son of Aurangzīb. Yale seized the occasion to send Messrs. Richard Trenchfield and John Pitt to the camp before Gingee with a petition from himself and Council, calling to mind the powder incident,[2] and praying for the grant of certain privileges, of which the following were the chief:—'That the Annual rent of Pagodas 1200 for Madrass and Triblicane[3] may be taken off. That Tandore, Pershauvak, Yegmoor,[4] three small towns near Madrass, whose produce is about 300 Pagodas per annum, wee desire may be given us as a gratuity to the Company, rent free. That we may have liberty to coin rupees with the King's stamp at Madrass.'[5] The last request was sanctioned by the Prince, the other two being referred to the Emperor:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 19th April, 1692.)

'Mr. Richard Trenchfield, Mr. John Pitt, with Emaum Cooley Beague, &c., arriveing this Evening from the Princes Camp before Chingee, The President went to meet them at the Rt. Honble Companys new garden, attended with a guard of Foot Company of Soldiers and a small party of horse, . . . with peons, Talliars, &c. accustomary ceremony of musick, &c., for the receiving the Princes Neshawns[6] and Seepawes,[7] and the Viseers Sever[all] Perwannas[8] and

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xvii., 18th Dec., 1690.

[2] Yale took care to deduct the cost of the ammunition from the next remittance for Town Rent.

[3] This shows that the original rent of Pags. 50 for Triplicane was included in the Pags. 1,200 payable for Madras.

[4] Tandore was a village north of Muthialpetta. Pursewaukum and Egmore were west of Peddanaikpetta.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xviii., 9th Feb., 169½.

[6] *Neshawn, nishān*, a grant signed by the Mogul's son.

[7] *Seepawe, seerpaw, sarāpā*, a dress of honour; from Pers. *sar-o-pā*, from head to foot.

[8] *Perwanna, parwāna*, a grant signed by the Nawab.

Tasheriffs; when, after welcomeing Emaum Cooley, &c., with Eleven gunns, and being vested with the Princes Seepaws, upon receipt of the Neshawn with due Sallams, Saluted it with three Volleys of small Shott, [and] twenty one peices of ordnance. Next the grand Viseers Phyrwanna[1] with fifteen peices, Nabob Zulphaker Cawns with thirteen, and Nabob Allemerde Cawn with Eleven gunns. After which the three Piscash't horses were deliverd, that from the Prince coverd with a Velvet State cloth and furniture, the headstall and Crupper imbost with plated gold, as likewise the Viseers horse and Nabob Zullphaker Cawns with Silver furniture, all which, with their trappings, the Governour orderd to the Rt. Honble Companys Stable for their account and Service, he rideing home on his own In the Mogulls habbit, the more to honour and please the Prince and his people that accompanyed the presents and Neshawns, &c., who take particular notice of all actions. . . .'

'*Translate of the Neshan of Prince Sultan Mahamod Caam Bux to the Honble Elihu Yale, President and Governour of Fort St. George, &c.*

'In the name of God, Great and Mercyfull. By the Authority of Mahmood Moheiden Paudshaw Allum Geer the Conqueror, The Neshan of Prince Mahmood Caam Bux.

'To the Excellent in Countenance and Chosen in great favour Elihu Yale, President Governour and Captaine, hope and depend on the Emperours favour and protection, and be it known unto You . . .

'Your Petition for a mint with the fortunate Stamps of the Emperors Wee have granted You.

'The other favours and a Phyrmaund, as you request, we have writ to the Emperour about. . . .'

We must now turn to the Marāthas. Sambhājī, son and successor of Sivājī, had taken up arms against Aurangzīb in the Deccan, and prepared to resist any Mogul incursion into Gingee territory. Jealous of the increasing power of his viceroy, Hārjī Rājā, he sent a force into the Carnatic under a general named Santojī Rau[2] with the double object of fighting the Mogul and seizing Hārjī Rājā. At the end of 1687 the Chief and Council of Cuddalore reported[3] 'that Maha Raja, Vice Roy and Chief Subidar of that Country, was suddenly intended with his Army to ffortify and encamp at Tivenipatam ffort[4] by the seaside and within four miles of Coodaloor.' Hārjī thus secured himself from Santojī. Early in the following year an action was fought at Conjeveram between the Mogul's forces and Santojī, in which the latter was worsted.[5]

[1] *Phyrwanna*, for perwanna. [2] *Historical Fragments*, Orme, p. 155.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 21st Dec., 1687.

[4] *Tivenipatam ffort*, a native work, which was afterwards developed into Fort St. David.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 27th April, 1688.

Almost simultaneously sovereign and satrap met their end. Seized by stratagem and brought before Aurangzīb, Sambhājī was barbarously put to death in August, 1689. Hārjī Rājā expired in the following month. According to the consultation of the 29th September:—'This evening was informed with the sad news of Harja Raja King of the Morattaes death, which was confirmed by the Cheif and Councill of Conimer in a letter from them, but gives us no account who is like to succeed to that Government.'

Sambhājī's son Sāhū was seized by Aurangzīb and put in prison, where he languished many years. During his confinement his uncle, Rāma Rājā, ruled as regent. Rāma Rājā's arrival at Gingee, which place he made the seat of government, was reported to Fort St. George before the end of the year.[1]

Yale opened negotiations[2] with Rāma Rājā in 1690 for the purchase of 'Tegnapatam fort, a strong commodious place which we hear the King is willing to dispose of.' Mr. Thomas Yale, the President's brother, was deputed to arrange the matter. On the 2nd September he announced[3] that Rāma Rājā had signed the firman, and that the fort would be handed over at once. The firman provided for the transfer of 'the Fort of Tevenapatam with all its gunns, buildings, etc.necessaryes . . ., as also all the grounds, woods and rivers round the said Fort within the randome Shott of a great Gunn.' The purchase money was 51,000 chuckrams, or about 30,000 pagodas.

Mr. William Hatsell[4] was despatched immediately as Deputy Governor, with five members of his Council, ships, men and stores, and 'a brass peice of Ordnance, the best we have in the Garrison.' Hatsell arrived in the *Defence*, Captain Heath, on the 22nd September, 1690, and received possession of the fort the next day. Mr. Brewster, an able gunner, fired a series of random shot which 'took in Cuddalore and its circumference, much beyond Tevenapatam and Mangee Copang.' The Dutch, who had a small factory close to the fort, offered no objection. Thus did we obtain 'St. David's Fort at Tegnepatam.' The new name was employed as early as the 17th September, before ever the fort was occupied. Its origin has been the cause of much speculation. It has been

1 *P.C.*, vol. xv., 14th Nov. and 4th Dec., 1689.

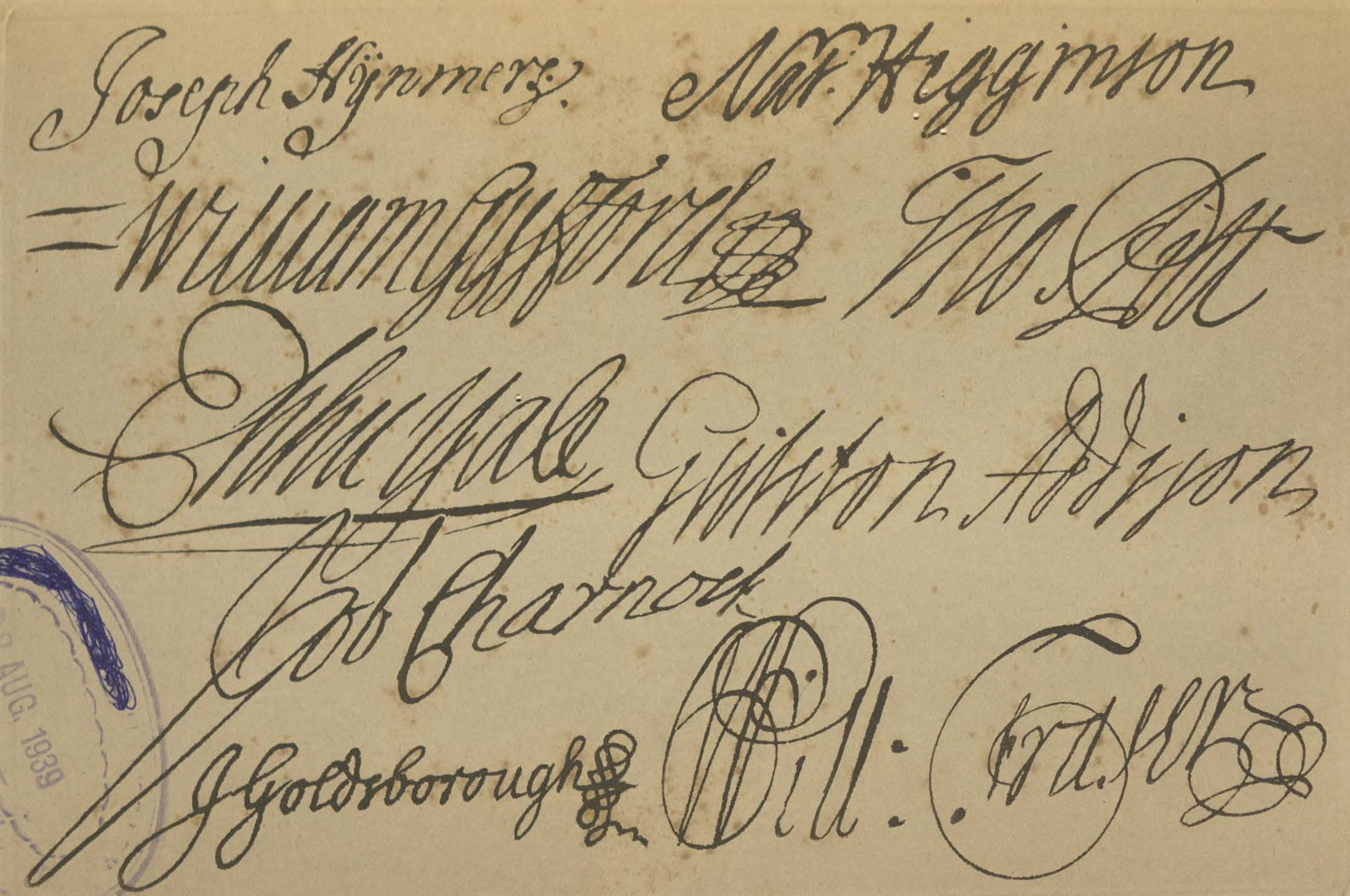
2 *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 5th May, 1690.

3 *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 5th Sept., 1690.

4 *Mr. William Hatsell* was a free merchant in 1688.

suggested that, as Yale's family came from Denbighshire, and as both the father and son of the Governor bore the name of David, Yale may have desired to give the patron saint of the Principality a share of the honour hitherto monopolized on the Coast by St. George of England. While these considerations may have had weight, it is conjectured that the chief reason is to be found in the similarity of the new designation to the old native name of Tevnapatam or Devadapatnam.[1]

[1] *Devadapatanam*, so written in *A Short Account of the Missions of Malabar.* MS. by Father Andrea Lopez, S.J., 1644.


Joseph Hynmers
Nat. Higginson
William Gyfford
Tho. Pitt
Elihu Yale
Gulston Addison
Job Charnock
J. Goldsborough
Will:

CHAPTER XXXIX

1687—1692

THE FATE OF SAN THOMÉ—NAVAL ACTION WITH THE FRENCH—MILITARY MEASURES

THE FATE OF SAN THOMÉ.

IT will be remembered that after the capitulation of the French, San Thomé was restored to the Moslems, and by them leased to Verona. When the Chief Merchant's tenure was forcibly terminated, Streynsham Master negotiated with the King of Golconda for a grant of the town and its subsidiary villages, notwithstanding that the Company were unwilling to incur the attendant risks. Master's efforts having proved unavailing, the Company changed their attitude, and pressed Gyfford to renew the application :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You will do very well to pursue (assoon as you can attain it reasonably) not only a Phirmaund for the coyning of Rupees, but also (since Madrass grows so numerous) some further enlargement of our bounds in land about Our ffort and towne of Madrass, and, if you can, the inheritance of St. Omay and the precincts thereof, at a certain annuall rent, that you may not only prevent the growth of that place, but raise a revenue to the Company out of it that may in time much Surmount the rent you shall pay to the King.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. v., 2nd July, 1684.)

Two years later the Fort St. George Council dealt with the matter as follows :—'According to the Rt. Honble Companys orders, the renting of St. Thoma was taken into consideration ; and by reason it may raise the price if we should appear our Selves, Itt is therefore order'd that Chinna Venkatadry and Allingall Pilla[1] do endeavour to take itt att as low a price as

[1] Chinna Venkaṭādri and Alangāda Pillai were the Company's Chief Merchants.

possible, we engaging to them that the Rt. Honble Company are to Stand to the Proffit or Loss thereon.'[1]

In 1687 the Company again urged the necessity for checking the growth of Moslem San Thomé, and advised the employment of force, if necessary, against the King of Golconda.[2] Before the arrival of their despatch, negotiations had been resumed between Chinna Venkaṭādri, on behalf of President Yale, and the local governor at Conjeveram for a cowle from the Seer Lascar :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Chinna Venkatadry's Braminees, being return'd from Conjeveron, brought the Braminee Governours finall resolution about the renting St. Thoma, which was that he would lett itt to Chinna Venkatadry for three years, that is, the Town, Customes and ajacent Townes and Paddy Grounds belonging thereto att the rent of Pagodas 4000 per Annum. . . . Also to pay One Thousand Pagodas ready mony, upon receipt of the Cowl from the Seer Lascar, as a Pishcash to the Braminee Governour for his kindness therein. . . . 'Tis agreed and order'd that Chinna Venkatadry do rent the Same, according to the foresaid termes, in his own name for the Rt. Honble Companys account. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 4th Aug., 1687.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Chinna Venkatadry having this day brought us a Cowle from Madna Anta Pontolo, Governour of this Country, which being insufficient as to the tearm of time, mentioning only one year, and exceeding our Piscash Pagodas 500; after a long debate, itt is agreed that the Said Cowl be returned to Madna Anta Pontolo, and if itt cannot be procured for five or at least three years att Pagodas 4000 per Annum rent and Pagodas 1000 Piscash, according to our former Consultation of the 4th last month, that itt then be deferred till a better oppertunity, when wee may have a Secure good Cowl for our mony; whereas the troubles and uncertainty of the present Government makes itt doubtfull.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 16th Sept., 1687.)

The real cause of the deadlock was the action of the Portuguese residents of Madras and other places on the Coast, who were desirous of resettling at San Thomé. An ecclesiastical emissary at Golconda obtained a firman for the place. The Portuguese also negotiated directly with the Seer Lascar, and went so far as to hoist their flag at San Thomé. François Martin, Governor of Pondicherry, alludes to the subject in his *Mémoire* as follows[3]:—

'Septembre 1687. Les Portugais, quy avoient obtenu le firman du Roy de Golconde pour le rétablissement de leur nation à St. Thomé, estoient sy

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xi., 19th July, 1686.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, 6th June, 1687, and *Let. Bk.*, vol. viii., 28th Sept., 1687.
[3] Communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

persuadez de sy affermir ainsy qu'ils avoient esté autrefois, qu'ils en ecrivirent à Dom Rodrigo de Castro, gouverneur général de l'estat des Indes. . . . Ils suplierent le gouverneur d'envoier des ordres à leurs compatriotes repandus en divers lieux le long de la coste pour les obliger de les venir joindre afin que, ne formant plus qu'un corps entr'eux, le retablissement se fit mieux dans les formes plus étendu et en estat de se soutenir. Dom Rodrigo, sur cet avis qu'il crust bien fondez, envoia les ordres que l'on luy demandoit. Ils feurent leus et publiez a Portonovo où ils ont une Eglise, et des copies envoiez a Negnepatan, a Tranquebar, et a Madras où il y en avoit nombre de la nation particulière. A Madras le gouverneur, sur cet avis, fit assembler son conseil, où il fut resolu que les portugais quy abandonneroient la ville seulement pendant six jours (à moins que d'aller en voiage), leurs maisons seroient confisquées au profit de la Compagnie, ainsy que les autres effets que l'on trouveroit dans la ville quy leur apartiendroient, et deffence à eux d'y rentrer. Cette délibération fut lue publiquement à l'Eglise des catholiques. Plusieurs portugais, quy avoient dessein de quitter, furent retenus par là. Cependant, comme cette ordonnance estoit trop rude, elle ne fut pas exécutée à la rigueur. Le conseil de Madras se relacha dans la suite ; il y en eu quy se retirerent à Saint Thomé. . . .

'Decembre 1687. Les portugais, quy commencoient à s'establir à St. Thomé en vertu du firman qu'ils avoient du Roy de Golconde, y furent traversez par les officiers que le Mogol y avoit envoié pour le gouvernement. Ils voulurent s'y oposer, mais n'y pouvant réusir, un religieux Augustin, quy avoit obtenu le firman, partit de là, avec un des principaux habitans, pour la cour, afin de tacher de le faire confirmer par le Mogol. Ce n'estoit pas là le seul obstacle quy s'oposoit au rétablissement de St. Thomé. Les portugais estoient divisez entre les principaux du gouvernement. C'est un point où ils sont tombez souvent dans les Indes, et quy a bien contribué aux avantages que les Holandois ont remportez sur eux.'

On the absorption of the kingdom of Golconda into the dominions of the Mogul, Yale expected to attain his object. An agreement was arrived at in 1688, whereby San Thomé, with its dependent villages, was promised to the Company for Pags. 3,800 per annum :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Apogee Pontulo, Governor of Ponemelee and the severall places of this port, having, according to his engagement to the Governour, procured a Cowle from the Seerlascar of this Countrey for our Farming of St. Thoma and the severall adjacent Townes as far as St. Thoma Mount belonging thereunto, at the usuall rates of 3800 Pagodas per annum, the same as the Portegueze doe now pay, with our promised Piscash of 1000 Pagodas to the Seer Lascar for his grant of the same, who upon payment thereof engages, by his said Governour Apogee Pontulo, to remove the Portugueze and settle whom we shall appoint.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 16th July, 1688.)

Direct negotiations then took place between Yale and the Seer Lascar :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Notwithstanding the many difficulties we have had about the renting of St. Thoma, The President have, by private correspondence with the Governours of the Countrey, Mahomed Sadeek, &c., procured their Cowle or lease for the renting the Town and Customes of St. Thoma and the adjacent towns as far as St. Thoma's Mount, notwithstanding the Portegue's huffs and noise of the Mogulls Phyrmaund for their free enjoyment of the town, &c., which has cost them by their Envoy Preist at least 7000 Pagodas to the Mogulls officers; and tis now reported their mighty Phyrmaund proves only a compliment, referring them to former Customes in the King of Golcandahs time, and to agree with the Government about St. Thoma as well as they can; wherein we also, haveing an equall title and priveledge, have Improv'd it beyond them, and rented the said places upon the following tearms, vizt.

'That we have the free and sole Government of the Town, Customes and all other Revenues of St. Thoma, for five years from the first of June last, for which we are to pay the yearly Rent of 3800 Pagodas. . . .[1]

'And in Consideration of our present difference with the Mogull and his aversion to us and our Government, as also haveing order'd that these Parts should be under the same Rules and Government as in the King of Golcanda's time, who had given his Phyrmaund to Verona for the renting of St. Thoma with its adjacencyes, which, by vertue of the said order, [is] still of some Authority; As also that we might not too much exasperate the Portugueze in their loss and disappointment of a place they retain a most Superstitious Veneration for, which possibly might provoke them to mutiny or rebellion, at least some disturbance or mischeif, they being at present two thirds of our Souldiers, and at least 6 for one to the English Inhabitants: all which Considerations induce and prevail with us to take the Cowle in China Venkatadry name for the Rt. Honble Companys account; which is accordingly done, and two Cowls deliverd us, one from Mahomed Sadeek, Seerlascar of all this Country, and the other from Apogee Pontulo, Governour of this Countrey from Sadraspatam to Pollicat, who to-morrow is to deliver up the charge of St. Thoma Government to our Bramenie, tyeing the green leaves[2] and performing all other accustomed Ceremonies.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 23rd Aug., 1688.)

Possession seemed secure, yet at this last moment, with the aid of a final bribe, the Portuguese snatched the prize from the discomfited President. The consultation of the 30th August runs: 'The buisiness of St. Thoma discourst, and resolved that it be prosecuted against the Porteguez, they having sirrupticiously disposses't Chinna Venkatadry from his late farme by giving the Country Governors 350 Pagodas to restore them to the Government. But times are Variable that they cannot stand long; these common Charges does soe impoverish them that they cannot Subsist.'[3]

[1] And, in addition, the initial present of Pags. 1,000 to the Seer Lascar.

[2] Bunches of leaves were tied over the doors of buildings to indicate transfer of ownership.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 30th Aug., 1688.

NAVAL ACTION WITH THE FRENCH.

Intelligence was received from Surat in 1690 that war had been declared between England and France. Laurens Pitt, the Dutch Governor of Pulicat, sailed into Madras Roads with a few vessels, and offered to assist in repelling the French fleet which had reached 'Pullicherry.' On the 15th August the hostile squadron was descried from Fort St. George, and an engagement ensued. The following description is taken from the records, but, for the sake of comparison, an account from a French source is appended :—

'A Relation of this Dayes Action and Engagement of Warr twixt the Enemy, the french fleet, and ours in this road.

'This being St. Lewis's day, the French fleet appeared in Sight about 8 in the morning, consisting of seven Saile, Six men of war and a fire shipp, all makeing as near the shoar as the land Wind would permitt them; and at 11 Came to an Anchor in St. Thoma road, calling there a Councell of war, the Portuguez wellcomeing them with severall gunns and their flagg abroad. . . . And about one of the clock came soe near that we sent a shott from the fort to forbid their approach, which they took so little notice of that they immediately fired on the headmost dutch Ship, all their and ours Rangeing as nigh the shoar as possible. And soon after, their whole fleet being come within Shott of ours, they lett fly with that Sharpness and fury as is usuall to a french onsett, which was considerably returned by ours; as also playd what gunns from the fort we could bring to bear upon them, which, tho at a great distance and randome, did some execution and prevented their comeing nearer or within our fleet.

'And in this heat they enterd their fireship upon the Dutch Admirall, fixing their hooks and graplings upon her leward bow, and so blew up immediately into a flame, but was, by the Courage and dexterity of the dutch, as soon cut off and discharg'd from them, driveing by the rest of the fleet; a great escape and mercy. Which, if it had taken effect, had undoubtedly destroyed all the Shipps in the road, the french fleet being all ready to prosecute the confusion of the rest. . . . However, played their gunns with great quickness, but little execution, and after 3 hours hott dispute they grew weary of the Vissit, returning with greater Speed then they came, not allowing themselves time to weigh their Anchor, but fairly cutt and nimbly march't like frenchmen, bringing their fleet to Anchor about 5 leagues off to the Southward, where they road civilly till about 10 the next day. . . .

'The Dutch and our Loss in this Fight were but Seaven men kill'd and about 10 wounded, and but little Prejudice to our Shipps. Undoubtedly the french fleet have Suffer'd much more, and their Suddain weighing is an Argument of it. Besides, Tis reported that their Admirall was kill'd and Severall others of note, with many Seamen, in all said to be 187 men, with considerable damage to their Shipping and Rigging. Wee also hear there were Severall men sent

ashoar and buryed in St. Thoma Church, when the Town late at night fyred severall gunns, supposed to be in respect to the deceased.' (*P.C.*, vol. xvi., 15th Aug., 1690.)

'*Combat off Madras.*[1]

'And now we perceived the ships, which seem'd to us to be rang'd in a line under the Cannon of Fort St. *George*, which is a strong and noble one. We had Mass said betimes; then took a short breakfast, and after hoisting the white Flag, and adorning the ships and the round tops with Flowerdeluce't shields, we made all the sail we could till we came over against St. *Thomas's* a Town belonging to the *Portugues*, 2 leagues from *Madras*, where formerly stood the noblest Fort of the Country. . . .

'We now perfectly discovered the number of the Enemy's ships and their strength. I counted fourteen, of which only eleven carry'd Guns; that is six *Dutch*, with their Admiral which seem'd to carry 60 guns, with a flag on the main top mast; and five *English*, of which the Admiral,[2] who was 60 guns too, had a flag also on the main top.

'Monsieur *Duquesne*, observing the greatest of them anchord next to us, and that the rest lay between them and the Fort, hung out a flame of Orders, to command the several Captains aboard, to concert the manner of the attack, and to gain the wind. . . .

'Never men more heartily desir'd to come to Action than ours, and we had reason to expect an answerable success; and by the manner of our falling on, our thoughts ran more on a certain Victory than an uncertain fight. The *Lyon* and the *Dragon*, who made all the sail they could, were presently within shot of the Fort, which began to fire upon them; yet, nothwithstanding, they past by with little or no damage, and, according to orders, came and anchor'd over against the ships they intended, and fir'd furiously upon them. It might now be about One in the afternoon, and we followed them so close that the enemy had scarce answer'd them again when we came up with the *Dutch* Admiral and gave her a broadside.

'Tis not common to see six such ships as ours attack eleven large ones, and to bear all their fire and that of a strong fort too, the least of whose guns were twenty four and thirty six pounders; and indeed the fire was so terrible of both sides that nothing was to be seen but fire, smoak and ball.

''Twas then that Monsieur *d'Auberville*,[3] disdaining danger in the midst of that shower of Ball, attempted to fire the *Dutch* Admiral, who, seeing a fire ship coming towards him, in vain endeavour'd to avoid it. Monsieur *d'Auberville* shew'd great courage and conduct in this undertaking; so, having quickly fastned the fireship to the Admiral with chains and graples, and set fire to it, he leapt into the boat, which return'd safe to his ship, in spight of all the fire of the enemy.

'All expected that this undertaking would have had the greatest success, and that the Admiral could not escape being burnt; nay, the *Dutch* themselves were of that opinion, for they presently quitted her and got into 2 boats to make off. But unhappily the graples (being only made of hoopes) breaking,

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1 *A New Voyage to the East Indies in the Years* 1690 *and* 1691, Duquesne. Done into English from the Paris edition (London, 1696).

2 The *Defence*, Capt. Heath.

3 M. d'Auberville was Lieutenant of the flagship *Le Gaillard*.

she fell off, and Drove ashoar, consuming none but her self, which the *Dutch* observing, they with great joy return'd aboard again, from whence they fir'd as before. The fight still continu'd with great obstinacy till 5 in the evening, when the Commandant gave orders to cease firing. . . .

'Considering the difficulty of a second attempt and the uncertainty of succeeding, we resolv'd to pursue our course, tho' with an easy sail that we might give them time to follow us if they thought they could make anything of it; but there appeared not the least disposition in them. On the contrary, they fir'd several guns for joy that they had escapt us so cheap; but we understood afterwards that they buried some Officers who were kill'd in this action.'

The fleet sent out by the King of France to fight the English and Dutch comprised six men-of-war—viz., the *Gaillard*, 44, *Oiseau*, 42, *Florissant*, 44, *Ecueil*, 38, *Lion*, 24, and *Dragon*, 28. It carried 1,340 sailors, besides two companies of foot.

Dampier, who stayed six months in Madras in 1690, does not altogether confirm the French narrative:—

Captain William Dampier's Account.[1]

'A little before this War was proclaimed, there was an Engagement in the Road of *Fort St George* between some *French* Men of War and some *Dutch* and *English* Ships at anchor in the Road; which, because there is such a plausible story made of it in Monsieur *Duquesne's* late Voyage to the *East Indies*, I shall give a short account of, as I had it particularly related to me[2] by the Gunners Mate of Capt. *Heath's* Ship, a very sensible Man, and several others of his Men who were in the Action. The *Dutch* . . . put in at *Fort St. George*, and desiring the Governour's Protection, had leave to anchor in the Road, and to send their Goods and useless People ashore. There were then in the Road a few small *English* Ships; and Captain *Heath*, whose Ship was a very stout Merchant-man and which the *French* Relater calls the *English* Admiral, was just come from *China*, but very deep laden with Goods, and the Deck full of Cannisters of Sugar which he was preparing to send ashore. But before he could do it, the *French* appeared, coming into the Road with their lower Sails and Top-sails, and had with them a Fireship. With this they thought to have burnt the *Dutch* Commodore, and might probably have done it as she lay at anchor, if they had the courage to come boldly on; but they fired their Ship at a distance, and the *Dutch* sent and towed her away, where she spent herself without any execution. Had the *French* Men of War also come boldly up and grappled with their Enemies, they might have done something considerable, for the Fort could not have played on them without damaging our Ships as well as theirs. But instead of this, the *French* dropt anchor out of reach of the shot of the Fort, and there lay exchanging shot with the Enemies Ships with so little advantage to themselves that, after about 4 hours fight, they cut their Cables and went away in haste and disorder, with

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1 *A New Voyage round the World*, Dampier, 1697.

2 Dampier left Madras in July, shortly before the action.

all their Sails loose, even their Top-gallant sails, which is not usual but when Ships are just next to running away.

'Captain *Heath*, notwithstanding his Ship was so heavy and incumbered, behaved himself very bravely in the fight; and upon the going off of the *French*, went aboard the *Dutch* Commadore and told him that if he would pursue them, he would stand out with them to Sea, though he had very little Water on board; but the *Dutch* Commander excused himself, saying he had orders to defend himself from the *French*, but none to chase them, or go out of his way to seek them.

'And this was the exploit which the French have thought fit to brag of.'

Military Measures.

Owing to the approach of Marātha forces, hostilities with the Mogul, and war with France, the period of Yale's administration was one of military activity. Among the Governor's earliest acts was the placing of the native contingent on an improved footing. The following extract furnishes a refutation of the oft-repeated contention that no organized native force existed prior to the time of Stringer Lawrence:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being 280 Peons in pay for the Watch and Guard of the Suburbs, who in the disorder they are scatter'd about bee of little creditt or force to the place, the Governour therefore form'd them into three regular Companies, each two divissions of Musquets and one of Lances, their Commanders and most of the Officers English Natives of the Town. Each Company to march under a Redd Beteelae[1] Ensign, and each morning to mount their Guards in the Citty, and from thence to be devided and ordered to their Severall Posts, where they are to keep their Watch that day and night, and to be releived next day by a fresh company, and they to give their attendance att the Fort. And for the encouragement of the Officers, 'tis order'd that their pay have a Small advance, and that they exercise and drill the Peons twice a week, which will make them formidable and Servicable upon occation.

'The President also propos'd the calling the Portugues Inhabitants to armes, and that the Factors and Writers bee drawn up into an Artillery company once a week, and that the Gentue and Moors Inhabitants do, according to their abillity, rais a Trainband of Peons; but this deferr'd to further consideration.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 29th July, 1687.)

Early in 1688 a Marātha army of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot destroyed Conjeveram and plundered Poonamallee. Orders were immediately issued[2] for the Portuguese and Gentus to take up arms, each family containing two males between fifteen and sixty

[1] *Beteelae*, a kind of muslin; from Port. *beatilha*, a veil.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 13th Jan., 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

years of age to supply one man, and families of six or more to furnish two men.

Yale paid great attention to the development of the militia :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The defence and Security of the Garrison being our daily consideration, the Governour proposed to the Councill that a List be taken of all the Rt. Hon'ble Companys Servants under this Councill, and all English freemen, and that they be form'd into a Company of Train'd Bands; which was agreed to and order'd. And in consideration that the Governour, Mr. Gray and Mr. Littleton have the charge and command of the three Companies,[1] Itt is order'd that Mr. Robert Freeman, being next of Councill, be Captaine of the Train'd Bands, and that a Commission be given him accordingly. And that they be drawn up, Muster'd and Exercised Some time next month.

'There is also a List taken of the Portuguez Inhabitants, but itt is not thought convenient, before wee have absolute occation, to Muster them, least wee may allarm them to leave the Town. ELIHU YALE, JOHN GRAY, JOHN BIGGS, JOHN LITTLETON, ROBERT FFREEMAN, THOMAS WAVELL, NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, WILLIAM FRASER; JOHN STABLES, Secretary.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 21st Nov., 1687.)

The militia was officered as follows: 'A Commission Sign'd and deliver'd Mr. Robert Freeman to be Captaine of the Train'd bands Company; Mr. John Afflaeck, Lievt.; Mr. Henry Alford, Ensign; Mr. John Pitt and Mr. John Coventry, Serjeants; Mr. Troughton and Mr. Inch, Corporalls; and Francis Bett, Clerke; with Rounders, Drumers, &c. necessary Officers. . . .'[2]

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xv., 30th Dec., 1689, and 1st Jan., 16$\frac{89}{90}$.)

'Ordered that the Citty Train bands and Garrison Soldiers be called to Armes on Wednesday next, being new years day, to a Generall Traineing, as well to be instructed in Millatary exercise as to acquaint them with the Points and Bullworks, to be ready upon occasion. Who having exercised in partyes round the Garrison, according to the Governours Instructions, then to goe over to the Island and form a Batallion, where the Tents are to be pitched, and the Councill and all the Companys Servants to appear in their best equipage, to make the greater shew and report in the Countrey. . . .'

'1st January 16$\frac{89}{90}$. According to the Governour and Councills order, the

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1 *The three Companies* of regulars.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 24th Nov., 1687. John Affloeck, John Coventry, and John Inch were freemen; Henry Alford, Zouch Troughton, and Francis Bett were civil servants. In 1689, the last-named cut his throat at Porto Novo, but he was cured by the surgeon of the Dutch factory. Bett asked for free medical attendance as a Company's servant, but the Fort St. George Council ruled that he must himself meet half the cost of repair!

Citty Train bands, containing all the Christian Inhabitants, also the Garrison Soldiers, mett at the Generall place of Randevouz, which were divided into two Partyes, and the methods of the millatary exercise shewn them round the Garrison. Afterwards march't over the river to the Campaigne, where they did form and order them in a Batalion; and then treated them with a handsome dinner.'

Yale had the full support of the Company in these measures. They wrote: 'Though our war be over, you must continue to train and exercise in Arms all our Factors, Writers and English Servants of all Degrees, from the highest to the lowest, according to our former orders, because we must for ever after keep ourselves a Martiall Nation in India.'[1]

As to the regulars, a substantial reinforcement arrived in the *Defence*, Captain Heath. The following extract explains how the recruits were dieted:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Defence and James having brought us a seasonable brave supply of Souldiers to the number of 140 lusty men, having by good providence lost but 12 from both Shipps, whereas the Princess had the misfortune to bury near 50; and it being our great duty to preserve them well, since they are sent with so much charge and difficulty; but all provisions being still very scarce and dear, none of the publick houses will be perswaded to entertain or dyet them. Whereupon the President, sending for Mr. Troughton,[2] late Steward, prevail'd with him to undertake the Dyetting all the English Souldiers for three months at 60 fanams per mensem each; and to provide them with Sufficient good Provisions, as Beef, Mutton, Pork, fish, Pelow[3] and Rice, with a dram and Punch sometimes, 2 meals each day, to eat at the new Lodge.[4] Dinner to be presisely at 11 aclock, and Supper at Six, at which times the bell is to ring, when they are to appear upon the penalty of Fasting, except they are upon duty on the out gaurds: then their servants are to fetch Victualls. Two officers is also appointed to keep good orders among them. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 4th Aug., 1688.)

The recruits being short of clothes, the Warehousekeeper was directed to provide perpetuanoes, gingham and longcloth to make each man 'a Coat, one Capp, two pair of breeches, and three Shirts,' the cost being met by stoppages.

At the beginning of 1689 there were only two companies of

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. ix., 27th Aug., 1688. These words were penned by Benjamin Bathurst and Josia Child, and the Company's attitude was inspired by King James II., who favoured an aggressive policy in India.

[2] Zouch Troughton was a Factor on the establishment.

[3] *Pelow*, from Pers. *pilāo*, fowl or other meat boiled with rice, raisins, nuts, and spices.

[4] *The new Lodge*, the barracks opposite the west front of the Inner Fort.

regulars in garrison, but these were reinforced in March by double the number brought by Charnock from Bengal. Some men were drafted to Conimere and Bencoolen, and the remainder were divided into four companies, commanded by Capt.-Lieut. James Bett, Lieut. Francis Seaton, Lieut. Zouch Troughton,[1] and Lieut. Henry Sinclare. Each company had an ensign, four sergeants, four corporalls, and four rounders. Two companies were on duty daily. Half of one company guarded the Inner Fort, and the other half was stationed at St. Thomas Gate,[2] James Bulwark,[3] Charles Point and the Sea Gate. Of the other company, half was posted at the Choultry Gate, Middle Gate, and York and Gloucester Points,[4] and the remaining half at the Bridge Gate, and other gates and bastions of the Black Town.[5]

A little later Seaton's company was converted into one of 'Granodeers'[6] with extra pay, and the sole duty of guarding the Inner Fort. Bett, however, continued to be the senior in rank. He died in 1692, and was succeeded in the command of the garrison by Seaton: 'Captain James Bett, Commander of the Soldiers, departed this life about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, occasioned as 'tis thought by the bite of a mad Dogg that had bit him about six weeks past.'[7]

We must now turn to the scientific corps. Early in 1688 Yale drew up rules[8] for the artillery, the principal provisions of which were that the Gunner or his Chief Mate should be constantly on duty, day and night, in the Fort Gunroom;[9] that the Gunner's Mates should 'att the Beat of Taptoo att nine of the clock at

[1] Troughton drew factor's salary plus half military pay. He was dismissed from military employ shortly afterwards.

[2] *St. Thomas Gate* is now first mentioned by name. It was in the south curtain, close to St. Thomas Point, and appears to have been built by Master on the advice of the Defence Committee of January, 1679.

[3] *James Bulwark* appears to have been the bastion, originally built by Langhorn, on the east front.

[4] *York and Gloucester Points* were new names for Fishers' and Caldera Points respectively.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 14th March, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 15th May, 1689. Seaton accompanied Charnock from Bengal. Anne Seaton, who died in May, 1691, is described on her tombstone at St. Mary's as 'wife to Francis Seaton, Captain of the granadiers of the garrison.' Seaton married secondly, in 1693, Hannah Mackrith (or Mackreeth), who died in 1710. Her monument also is preserved at St. Mary's.

[7] *P.C.*, vol. xviii., 20th July, 1692.

[8] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. v., 27th Feb., 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

[9] In the Inner Fort.

night repair to their severall Posts and Guards where they are assigned, and there to remain till beat of Drum for discharge of the Watch in the morning'; that all the Mates should meet every morning at the Gunroom for orders, and that on alarm they should be at their posts with matches lighted. Rules were also laid down for saluting ships. Any mistake was to be visited by a fine on the Gunroom of double the cost of the powder expended.

Many were the fatalities among the officers. Mr. Robert Ivory, Chief Gunner of the Fort, died in 1690, and was succeeded by Capt. Putsham,[1] whose name is elsewhere spelt Geesham. The latter died within two months, and Mr. Thomas Meddowes was entertained in his stead. Captain John Spencer[2] was nominated 'Chief Gunner of the out Garrison' in May, 1689. He was blown up in the following month while charging 'Granadoes,' and was succeeded by Captain Barwick, who died in November. Mr. Thomas Makreeth followed, who 'haveing some skill in Fortification and Gunnery is ordered Provisionall Surveyor, and to direct and inspect what Bullwarks and Fortifications are ordered to be erected and repaired.'[3]

Shortly before the close of his term of office, Yale drew up the following orders for the Garrison, 'that we may not be surpriz'd by the French':—

'*Rules and Orders for the Millitary Government, Discipline and Posting the Garrison Officers and Soldiers, Vizt.*

'The first and Second Companyes to mount the Guards on Munday. The Captain, with two third parts of the first Company, to take Charge of the Fort; the other third part with an Ensign to post at St. Thoma gate to Guard that Poynt and Charles Tower. The Sea Gate and River Battery to be Supplyed from the Fort upon occasion.

'The Second Company to be divided. One halfe, with the Captaine, to the Chowtrey Gate, Middle gate, Yorke and Gloster Poynts. The other halfe, with an Ensign, to march with Drum to the Citty or out Guards; their Corps du Guard to be at the Bridgegate, and thence to be quartered to Pollicatt and Chittee Gates[4] under Charge of Serjeant and Corporall.

'The next day this Second Company is to be free of Duty; the ffirst Com-

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[1] The Vestry records of 1690 mention a Lewis Jutsham.

[2] *Captain John Spencer*, a master mariner.

[3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. vi., 14th Nov., 1689.

[4] *Pollicatt and Chittee Gates:* The Chittee Gate was in the eastern half of the north wall of Black Town. The Pollicatt Gate was, probably, Tom Clarke's Gate under another designation. The practice of naming gates after remote towns, towards which they faced, was adopted at Cuddalore at a later date.

pany removeing to the Chowtrey Guard, dividing as before; and the third Company to mount the ffort Guard under the same division as the first was: and the Captaine then in that Charge each night to attend the Governour for orders.

'The third day the first Company is free, and the third Company Supplyes their Post at the Chowdry; and the Second to mount the ffort Guard; and soe round Successively, wherein each Captaine is to Lead, March, and mount the Guards with his own Company; and neither they nor any of the Officers to neglect it or leave their guard without due Lycence, upon penalty of forfeiting a days pay to the Hospitall; nor any Centinell to goe beyond the out Guards without Licence from their Chief officer, upon pain of imprisonment or other Punishment.

'Tis allsoe orderd that each Commander doe exersize and Train his Company once in three weeks successively according to their Stations. . . . ELIHU YALE, Gov^r^.' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 30th June, 1692.)

'*Rules for the Chief Gunners and their Crew.*

'That the Chief Gunners, Their Mates and Assistants doe each morning appear and muster before the Gunroom in the ffort; and that from thence the halfe of them be divided and Posted in the ffort and Severall Poynts, Bulwarks and Bastions in the Garrison and out works, where at the Severall places they are to keep strict Watch by Centinell with naked Swords in their hands, to see that noe one meddles with or injures the Gunns, Stores, &c., but that all things are kept in due order and redyness, and that sufficient Rounds of Cartrages be provided for the great Gunns on each bulwarke, with Stores of sizeable Iron and Stone Shott, Partrig Shott[1] and Small Stones, with Cannon basketts[2] for defence of the Small Arm's, most of the Battlements being soe broke down that twill be otherwyse unsafe Standing by the Great Gunns, or for the Soldiers to exercise the small Shott. . . .

'That the Chief Gunners and their Mates doe wear hangers or Baggonetts, and the Assistants to carry theirs in their hands; and, for distinction, to wear different Caps from the Soldiers.

'That all the Gunners Crew doe repair to the ffort and Battery's as oft as the fflag flyes (except on festivalls) to know the business. Dated at ffort St. George in the City of Madrass this 30th day of June 1692. ELIHU YALE, Governour.' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 30th June, 1692.)

Towards the end of the year the garrison, in accordance with orders from home, was reduced from three to two companies. The marriage of soldiers with natives was encouraged on economical grounds. The Company wrote: 'Induce by all meanes you can invent our Souldiers to marry with the Native women, because it will be impossible to get ordinary young women, as we have before directed, to pay their own passages, although Gentlewomen sufficient do offer themselves.'[3]

[1] *Partrig, Partridge,* grape-shot or miscellaneous missiles fired in mass.

[2] *Cannon basketts,* gabions, cylinders woven of brushwood and filled with earth.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 25th Jan., 1688.

CHAPTER XL

1687—1692

MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY—DOMESTIC DETAILS

MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY.

THE idea of enlarging the White Town by diverting the course of the river and filling up the old bed, appears to have originated with Yale before he became Governor. The proposal was not carried into effect, however, till nearly three-quarters of a century later.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Our President Mr. Yale formerly writt to our Governour Sir Josia Child about turning the course of the River to a greater distance from the town, and thereby enlarging the Christian town to a Square, which upon Perusall of the Mapp of the Ground platt,[1] We think is very feiseable, and would be of great advantage in letting the Ground to be built upon for years. . . . But in such case you must by all means build a Wall on the back side of the Christian town fronting the River; for as it now is, the River being so shallow, and noe wall or Brestwork against it, your Christian town is very weak against any understanding Enemy; and notwithstanding your forts in the Angles, vizt. Charles Tower and Caldaro point, your Christian town may be easily enter'd on that Side by filling up the River with ffaggots, which 2 or 300 bold men would doe in six hours time, you having no brest work to defend the River with small shott.

'And if you should raise a fund to remove the Course of the River and build a wall or breast work against it as aforesaid, We apprehend the Curtain between Charles Tower and Caldero point would be weak, unless against the Gate which you make towards the River you erect some horn work [2] on the other side of the River to defend the Gate and your Curtain. JOS^{A}. CHILD. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 22nd March, 1687.)

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[1] *The Mapp of the Ground platt*: Unfortunately not preserved.

[2] *Horn work*, a large outwork, with indented front and two paralle flanks.

Early in 1688 the Council adopted a proposal of Yale's to apply authoritative designations to the different works of fortification, as well as to the streets in the White and Black Towns:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour representing to the Councill that the Fort and Garrison and the Severall Points, Bulwarks and Batteries, being either under very odd or various uncertain names, and some without any, which may occation neglects or mistakes upon a Suddain assault or Suprise; And now being liable to the danger of the Mogulls and Sevagees forces, 'tis order'd that they bee regulated and named more honourably and distinctly. . . . And first for the Cittadell or Fort which went under the various tearms of Flagstaff Point, Horse Point, Cookroom &c., and never any Settled certain names Register'd for them, 'tis now appointed that they goe under the following names for the future, and the Souldiers and Inhabitants be quarter'd to them accordingly, Vizt.

'The four Fort Points called *The English Point, Scotch Point, French Point, Irish Point.*

'And the Garrison works, Vizt. *Charles Point, James Bulwark, St. Thomas Point, Dover Battery, Sea Gate, Plimouth Battery, York Point, Middle Gate, Chowtry Gate, Gloster Point, River Gate, River Battery.*

'And that the Severall Streets have their severall names and Precincts as well for order and regularity as to ascertain the Sales of houses and grounds therein, as also upon occation for collection of Taxes and Cesments, Vizt., *St. Thomas Street,*[1] *James Street, Charles Street, Chowtry Street, Middle Street, Gloster Street, York Street, York Lane.*

'Also the Severall Lanes and Allys by them accordingly.

'And that the Out Town Gates, Points and Streets be likewise named and regulated, which the Justices are to advise with the Chief Gentue Inhabitants about itt, and accordingly agree thereon, and Inscriptions made to each place till itt grow accustomary. ELIHU YALE, JOHN GRAY, J. BIGGS, JOHN LITTLETON, R. FFREEMAN, THO. WAVELL, NAT. HIGGINSON, WILL. FRASER. JOHN STABLES, Secry.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 27th February, $168\frac{7}{8}$.)

The positions of the different works of fortification can be identified, in most cases with certainty. In regard to some of the streets, however, we are confronted with difficulty. First, as to the bastions of the Citadel:—The *English Point* carried the flagstaff, and there is good reason for identifying it with the south-east bastion. There is also evidence to show that the *Scotch Point* was the north-east bastion. Hence, if the works are named in order, the *French Point* was the north-west bastion, and the *Irish Point* the south-west. Next, as to the Outer Fort, or White

[1] Had the apostrophe been generally recognized in the manuscript of the period, *St. Thomas Street* would, doubtless, have been written St. Thoma's Street. In the next century it was often called St. Thomé Street, but its present designation is St. Thomas's Street.

Town: the works at the four angles were—south-east, *St. Thomas Point;* south-west, *Charles Point;* north-west, *Gloucester Point*, a new name for Caldera Point; north-east, *York Point*, a new name for Fishers' Point, otherwise St. Peter's Bulwark. *Dover Battery* and *Plymouth Battery* were situated on the east face by the Sea Gate, the former lying to the south, the latter to the north of the gate. *Middle Gate* and *Choultry Gate* were in the north front, the former lying eastward of the latter. The *River Battery* was a gun-platform on the west front, a little to the south of the *River Gate. James Bulwark* should, if reliance be placed on the order in which the works are enumerated, lie on the south front, between St. Thomas Point and Charles Point. In the list of military posts of the 18th April, 1681, the order given is, 'St. Thomas Bulwarke, Charles Bulwarke, James Bulwarke, Choultry Gate, Middle Gate, St. Peter's Bulwarke,' implying that James Bulwark lay on the west front. The Consultation of the 26th November, 1695, proves, however, that this bastion was situated on the sea-front. There is good reason for identifying it with the bastion built by Langhorn, which is known to have been near the Sea Gate, as well as with the 'Half Moon' depicted on Thomas Pitt's map between the Sea Gate and St. Thomas Point.

In connexion with the streets, it should be noticed that the Garrison, or Christian Town, was divided by the Citadel into north and south portions. In each the principal streets lay north and south. In the northern half were four such streets, besides a narrow lane next the eastern wall; and in the southern half three principal streets, and a lane under the east wall. In the northern half, the positions of *Choultry Street* and *Middle Street*[1] are undoubted, leading as they did to the gates bearing corresponding names; and in the southern half the situations of *Charles Street* on the west side, and *St. Thomas Street* opposite the gate of that name, are likewise fixed. Guided by the order in which the names are recorded, as well as by other considerations, we should put *James Street* intermediate to Charles Street and St. Thomas Street, and *Church Street* across it on the south side of St. Mary's. We should also put *Gloucester Street* next east of Middle Street,[2] *York Street*

[1] Otherwise called *Choultry Gate Street* and *Middle Gate Street.*

[2] Its remoteness from Gloucester Point seems an objection to this allocation, but the street next east of Middle Street was called 'Glocester Lane' in 1762 (*Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 21, of 18th Jan., 1762).

across it next the north wall, and assign *York Lane* to the narrow way along the east wall.[1]

In the Consultation of the 2nd August, 1688, the streets in the Christian Town are named in the following order: 'Middle Street, Chowltry Street, Chowltry Alley, Gloucester Street, York Street, York Lane, Charles Street, James Street, James Alley, St. Thomas Street, St. Thomas Lane, Church Street.' Of these twelve streets, the first six evidently belong to the northern half of the town, and the last six to the southern. *Chowltry Alley* is assumed to have been a cross street in the north-west angle, lying west of Choultry Street; *James Alley*, a cross street next the south wall; *St. Thomas Lane* next the east wall, and the remaining streets as already identified.

A difficulty, however, is presented by Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710, which shows *James Street* in the position assigned to Gloucester Street, and *Church Street* in that allotted to James Street. This difficulty seems insurmountable, except on the supposition that the names were, at some period, interchanged. There is no doubt that, in the course of the eighteenth century, James Street was situated in the southern half of the town, next east of Charles Street,[2] and that Church Street or Church Lane was the name given to the cross street on the south side of St. Mary's.

In July, 1688, the Council resolved that the collection of Quit Rent ordered by the Company should be no longer delayed. Mr. Thomas Wavell was appointed 'Register and Renter Generall of the City Revenues,' which comprised 'House Ground Rents, Gaurden Rents, Paddy ffeild Rents, Licences for retailing Wine, Godown Rents, Boteca Rents, Street Rents and Rack[3] licences.' As Wavell was much occupied with his duties as Sea Customer, Messrs. John Pitt and Zouch Troughton[4] were detailed to collect the revenue on his behalf. Early in August the President handed in a '*Rent Rowle of Dwelling Houses, Goedowns, &c., within*

[1] This lane bore the name 'York Alley' in 1759 (*M.C.*, vol. x., 17th May, 1759).

[2] During the nineteenth century the block of buildings between Charles Street and James Street was removed. The resulting wide thoroughfare is now called 'Charles and James Street.'

[3] *Rack*, arrack, the fermented liquor obtained from palms; from Ar. *'arak*, sweet.

[4] Zouch Troughton was appointed 'Rentall General' in June, 1692, 'to receive the Quit Rents, Beteek Rents, Lycences and Ground Rents, etc.' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., 30th June, 1692).

the Garrison or Christian Town.' This lengthy roll names the streets, and the owners and tenants of the houses in each. Having been reproduced in full by Wheeler,[1] it is not here transcribed. A few particulars, however, are drawn from it:—

The best streets were *Middle Street*, *St. Thomas Street*, *James Street*, *Choultry Street*, *York Street*, and *Charles Street*. In *Middle Street* was Yale's house, possibly the one built by Sir Edward Winter. Other proprietors were Captain James Bett, the commanding officer, the venerable Padre Ephraim, Messrs. Affloeck and Peter Large, free merchants, 'Widow Heathfield,' and Mrs. Ursula O'Neale. William Dixon, late Engineer and Gunner, was a tenant. In *St. Thomas Street* the twenty-one houses and godowns were owned mainly by Portuguese. Mr. Cheney and Mr. Robert Ivory, the Engineer, had their residences in it.

In *James Street* were the temporary Hospital belonging to 'Pois,'[2] the godowns of the Company's Merchants, and a house, the property of Maria Madera. Ex-President Gyfford and Mr. John Pitt were residents. In *Choultry Street*, Messrs. John Nicks and John Coventry owned houses, and Sir John Biggs occupied one of them.

York Street contained property owned by Mons. Chardin and Tilman Holt, the Provost Marshal. In *Charles Street* was the substantial edifice[3] belonging to Mr. William Jearsey. The rest of the street was owned by Mr. Bridger, sometime Member of Council.

William Dixon possessed a house in *York Lane*, and Mr. Glover, a free merchant, was its tenant. Gabriel Roberts, afterwards Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, lived in *Choultry Alley*, while 'Madam Paiva' had property in '*Glochester Street*.' *Church Street*, *James Alley*, and *St. Thomas Lane*, were owned by Portuguese.

In all there were 128 private dwellings in the White Town, half of which were the property of Portuguese.

Allusion is made in the records to a private garden-house owned by Yale. Local tradition assigns its site to the west bank of the Triplicane River, in what is now the Napier Park. The popular belief is considered to be ill-founded, because no buildings are

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Wheeler, i. 254.
[2] Probably John Pois, who died before 1689, or his widow.
[3] Originally built by Greenhill.

shown in that locality either in Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710, or in George Morton Pitt's of 1733. Moreover, the fashionable suburb of the time was Peddanaikpetta.

Apart from Fryer's conventional plan of Fort St. George and the White Town, the earliest map of Madras which has been traced is one of 1688, published in Langlès' *Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Hindoustan* (Paris, 1821). The author gives plans also of Pondicherry, Trichinopoly, and Madura, all assigned to the same year, but he omits to mention the source whence they are derived. The plan of Madras is far from correct, and it bears a curious resemblance to Paradis' plan of about 1749, which is also wanting in accuracy.

In July, 1688, a visit of ceremony was paid by the Dutch Commissary General from Pulicat. He was received by Sir John Biggs and a deputation at 'the Gaurden,'[1] and was conducted into 'the Citty and Fort.' Mr. Higginson met the party at the Fort Gate, and led them 'up stairs to the President who received them at the Staire head.' After an interval they 'went up to a handsome dinner in the Consultation roome.' In the afternoon 'the President, the more to oblige and divert them, carry'd them by boat to the Rt. Honble Companys new Garden,' where they were entertained at supper.[2] We may infer from this record that the Fort House was of three floors, and that the Consultation Room was at the top.

Hitherto the only bridge possessed by Madras was that which crossed the drainage channel west of Black Town. Built prior to 1677,[3] it afforded communication between the Fort and Garden House, which was otherwise effected by water. Access to the Island could be obtained only by boat or by fording the river. In 1690 Yale proposed to connect the Island with the White Town by a foot-bridge[4]:—'Pegue Timbers[5] being now very plentifull and cheap, it is judg'd a good oppertunity to make a foot-draw-bridge over the river nearest the fort, for the conveniency of bringing in provisions in time of Seige or raines. Also for goeing over to the Powder house, and many other benefits to the Company

[1] *The Gaurden*, probably the Company's Old Garden in Muthialpetta.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 28th July, 1688.

[3] It is referred to as 'the new bridge' in *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*. vol. i., 13th Aug., 1677.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 7th April, 1690.

[5] *Pegue Timbers*, teak.

and towne, which will in a few years recompence the charge, which by calculation will not exceed 200 Pagodas.' No such bridge is shown, however, on Thomas Pitt's map, and the project, in fact, was not executed until 1714.

Just before the attack made by the French fleet in 1690, the Members of Council were detailed to command the various works of fortification as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xvi., 9th Aug., 1690.)

'*Disposure and Appointment of the Garrison Forces to their Severall Posts in the Fort and Garrison in case of Assault, viz.!*

'The Governour to command the Fort with 100 Soldiers, besides Officers and Gunners, to assist and Supply where there shall be most occasion.

'Mr. Thomas Wavell, Captain of the Sea Gate, Dover and Plimouth Batteryes, with 60 Soldiers and officers and Gunners.

'Mr. John Cheney, Captain of St. Thoma's Gate, Point, Curtaine and Sally Port, with 40 Soldiers, &c.

'Mr. William Fraser, Captain of York Point, Middle Gate, curtaine and Sally Port, with 50 Soldiers, &c.

'Capt. Tho. Gray, Commander of the Trainbands and James Bullwork, with Gunners and Officers and 20 Soldiers.

'Mr. Wm. Hatsell, Capt. of the Chowltrey Gate and Gloster Point, with 40 Soldiers, Gunners, &c.

'Mr. Thomas Yale, commander of Charles Tower and Sallport, with 20 Soldiers, Gunners and Officers.

'Mr. Hen^y^. Alford, Commander of Queens Tower[1] with 12 Soldiers, 20 peons, Gunners and officers.

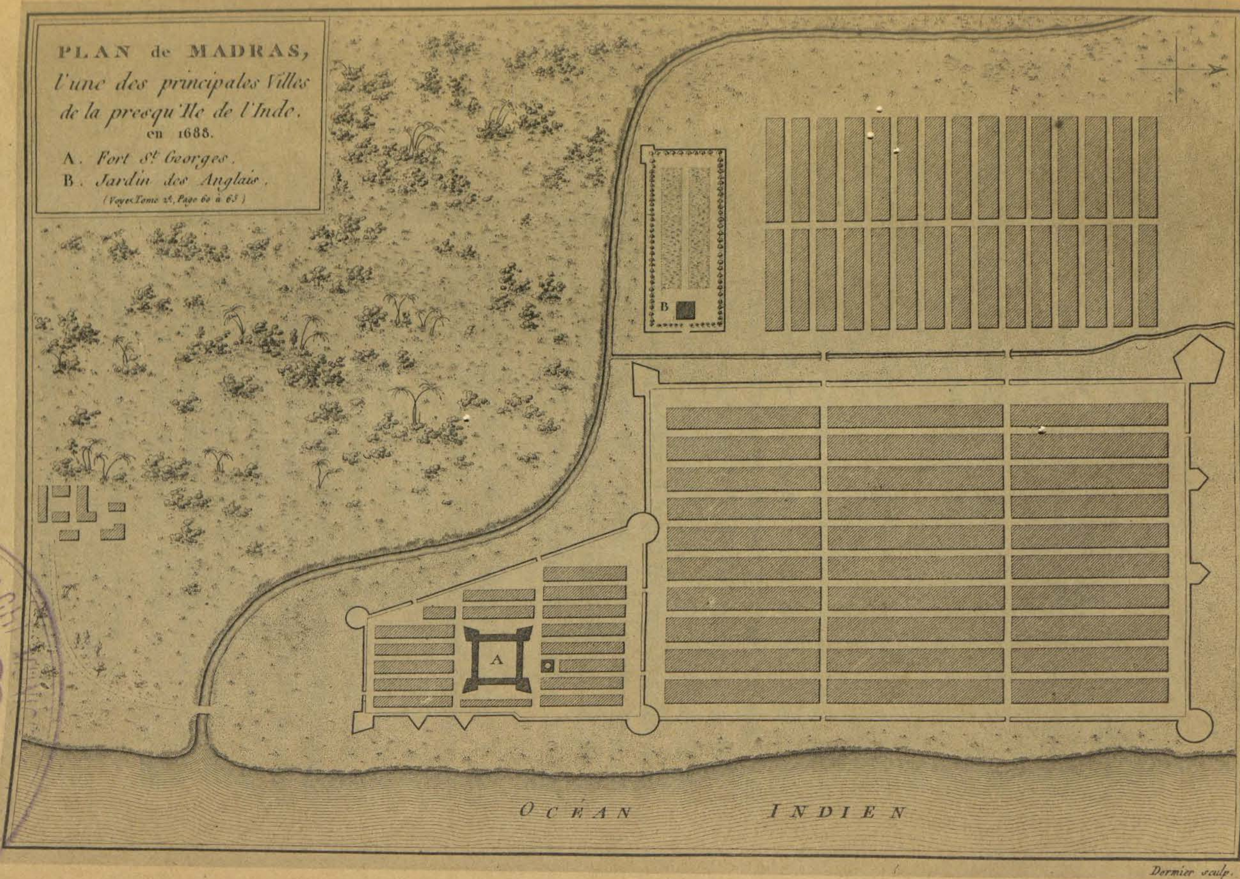
'Mr. John Heynes and Mr. John Pitt to Command the out points and town, with 50 Soldiers, 150 Peons, Gunners and Officers. . . .'

A consultation[2] of August, 1689, tells us that the gibbet stood 'before the stable dore,' probably in the north-west angle of the White Town, and the execution post where criminals were shot was 'before the Fort Gate.' Reference is made elsewhere to a gibbet on the Island, and another on the high road to Poonamallee.

We now pass to the Black Town. Towards the end of 1688 Yale issued orders for strengthening the western side of the city :—

[1] *Queens Tower*, Queen's Point, a work on the river bank, west of Gloucester Point, and at the south extremity of Black Town rampart.

[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. vi., 28th Aug., 1689.



Madras in 1688.

(from L. Langlès).

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Government being still unsettled, and the Countrey surrounded with warr and troubles, which wee have reason to believe this place will share in . . . ; 'tis held most convenient that a small point of six guns be built at the Bridge River point to clear that side of the Towne and River. Also a Bridge gate with four Guns, and if possible to provide materialls that a wall be built on that side of the Town,[1] and a small Point of Five Gunns at the North west part. For which the Mayor and Aldermen were advised to move the Corporation to a contribution to that necessary charge for the safety of them and the place. . . .' (*Fac. Rec., F. St. G.*, vol. v., 19th Nov., 1688.)

The 'Bridge gate' here alluded to was probably a reconstruction of the 'West Gate' and the old gate-house mentioned by Fryer. The 'Bridge River Point,' situated at the junction of the drainage channel with the Elambore River, was ordered in 1684 to be built as a 'Watch House' with four guns.[2] Three years later it seems to have been constructed as an earthen bastion for six or eight guns.[3] It was now developed into a permanent work, to be known as Queen's Point. The Council wrote as follows to the Company in 1690:[4] 'The greatest charge of our new Fortifications has been the raiseing of a round Bulwark at the Bridge Rivers point, which carries eight pieces of ordnance, and is of great defence for clearing[5] the river Bridge and that part of the towne, as also the Powder house and the other two branches of the river with the bastions thereon: which we have named Queens Point in honour to her Majestie.'

On the report of hostile advance by the Mogul's forces Yale proposed,[6] with the support of Messrs. Littleton and Cheney, to remake the Black Town rampart in earth revetted with turf. The other members of Council dissented. Mr. Wavell considered that fortifications in the native city might become works of offence against the White Town. Messrs. Fraser and Cawley disapproved of the use of earth, and Mr. Gray consented conditionally on the Governor's undertaking the reimbursement of the cost if the Company should prove dissatisfied. The work, nevertheless, was put in hand, and in July, 1690, Yale ordered the Paymaster to hasten its completion. Wavell, Cheney, Fraser and Gray all

[1] A masonry wall to replace the old earthen rampart on the west side.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. ix., 10th July, 1684. [3] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 28th Feb., 168$\frac{6}{7}$.
[4] *O.C.*, No. 5698, 1st Feb., 16$\frac{89}{90}$.
[5] *Clearing*, etc., affording flank defence to the western side of the Black Town.
[6] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 12th Dec., 1689.

objected on the ground of useless expense. On the 29th September Fraser appended the following dissent to the Consultation of the 21st July: 'In a Consultation of December last I excepted against that labour in vain but vast Charges of the mudd Poynts which, by the Monsoon Rains and their now falling down, proves like that of Penelopies webb; and therefore not to be at any more Charges upon them on account of the Rt. Hon. Company.'[1] The view taken by the Company was adverse to the President:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee are less satisfied with our Presidents building Turfe Bulwarkes and making Trenches round the Black Towne at our charge, which we did never order to be done but at the charge of the Inhabitants; and the President did often promise it should be so; and we hope he will be so just as to do the Company right in this matter or pay the charge himselfe, It being a thing done without our consent as to the manner, and, as we apprehend, without the consent of our Councill. And now we doe expressly determine and order that all those Banks and Bulwarkes be by degrees soundly flaged with stone or Brick and Chinam at the charge of the Inhabitants for whose defence they are made onely, our Christian Towne being realy stronger in case of a formall seige without those out workes than with them. . . . Wee doe not now prescribe the manner how the money shall be raised for performing this noble worke. That must be done by consultation with the Heads or Chiefs of the severall Casts when our Commissary Generall hereafter mentioned shall arrive with you. . . . JOSEPH HERNE, Governour. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½.)

The massive building referred to in the next extract was probably situated at or near Periamett on the Poonamallee Road:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Lingapa, late Seer Lascar of this Country, having often endeavoured to put an Avaldar upon this Town and to impose a Custome for the Duan, but being successless therein, he about three years past orders the building a Banksall within a mile of the Fort, intending there to stop all Grain and other goods to pay them Juncan before they would permit them to come into Town. But Lingapa happily leaving this world before the finishing his ill designe or the Banksall, itt has since layn neglected, after a great expence and forwardness, being brought up about ten foot from the ground, and a large Strong building near 100 foot square, built most part with Iron Stone, and a strong double wall that might bee soon made a good ffortification against us. In consideration of which, and the troublesome times that threaten us, the Governour privately treated with the Avaldar of Pullimalee about buying the Said building of him, who . . . was prevailed with to dispose, or rather give the same to the Governour for Pags. 60, tho by calculation of our bricklayers, itt could not cost less than twenty times as much. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 22nd Dec., 1687.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 21st July, 1690.

DOMESTIC DETAILS.

In 1688 the Company, at the instance of Sir Josia Child, who was then Deputy-Governor, and through the agency of Sir John Chardin, of London, Knight, and Coja Panous, Calendar, an eminent merchant of Ispahan, granted special privileges to Armenians who might settle in British towns in India. The contract,[1] dated 22nd June, 1688, provided that persons of that nation should trade on the same terms as English freemen, and possess all rights enjoyed by British subjects. Whenever there were forty Armenians resident in a Company's town, a temporary church was to be built for their use, and ground granted them for the erection of a permanent place of worship, the Company allowing £50 a year for seven years for the maintenance of a priest.

On receipt of the contract, the Fort St. George Council summoned 'Senor Gregorio Paroan' and the principal Armenian merchants,[2] and acquainted them with the contents. They were given copies for communication to their friends in Bengal, whom they proposed to invite to Madras. At their request they were, like the English, exempted[3] from the minor dues ordinarily payable 'to Peddanaigue, Towne Connacaply, Muskeet,[4] Pagoda, or any other petty Custome or duty whatever.'

In 1687 the Company resolved[5] to set up an Insurance Office at Fort St. George 'for the furtherance of your trade and our own Customes.' The following extract illustrates the terms of business:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We now send you all proper Bookes for Assurances, with a sufficient number of printed Policies. . . . And We do appoint that Mr. Thomas Gray, who comes to you by this Ship, be Register of Assurances, and keep the account of the Companys Revenue ariseing thereby under the controul of our President and Council. . . .

'To set the wheels a going, we are content, and do hereby impower you, to write, by way of assureing, 5000 *l.* adventure from India to England upon any our three decked Ships at the præmio of 5 per cent if you apprehend no extraordinary danger, but the subscription to be made by our Register of Assurances for the time being at the Companys risgo, and by order first entered in your Councill Bookes. But our Register is not to subscribe any Policy at the

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. ix., 27th Aug., 1688.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 3rd July, 1689.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xvi., 6th March, 16$\frac{89}{90}$.

[4] *Muskeet*, mosque; from Ar. *masjid* through Port. *mesquita*.

[5] *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 12th Dec., 1687.

Companys hazard untill the præmio be first agreed in Council, . . . neither is he to subscribe any Policy of Assurance to any adventure untill the præmio is first paid into our Cash, and that he has a Certificate thereof from the under Cashire. These are our Limitations, which you are not to alter or go from upon any pretence whatsoever, either in takeing less than we have appointed, or writeing more adventure upon any one Ship then five thousand Pounds as aforesaid; neither are you to write upon any other Ship or Voyage for our account and risgo then our three Decked Ships homeward bound. But if you are desired to assure any adventure upon our said three decked Ships homeward in a time of greater danger or hazard then at present appears, You are in such case to demand such great præmio as the extraordinary danger in your judgment shall deserve. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 25th Jan., 168⅞.)

In the year 1688 the Company desired[1] that a Post Office should be established at Madras according to directions then being sent to Bombay. The instructions, which applied only in principle to Fort St. George, ran as follows:—

The Company to Bombay.

'We likewise require you to erect a Post-Office for all letters to be brought to and delivered at, setting such rate upon each single letter, and so proportionably upon double or treble letters, as may in a few years bring in insencibly a vast revenew to the Company, and a much greater conveniency to merchants and trade in generall then ever they yet had or understood. For which purpose you [must] order fitting stages and passage boats to go off and return on certain days, and proper stages by land to Surrat and other places to convey letters with great security and speed; and you must make it highly criminall to send letters to any place where you have established a Post-Office by any other conveyance than by the Office erected for that purpose. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. viii., 27th Aug., 1688.)

Writing of 1673, Fryer states that Bombay flew the Union flag, while Madras displayed St. George's standard; and his drawing of the White Town shows the cross of St. George floating from the Fort flagstaff.[2] In 1687 the Company expressed surprise[3] that 'you had worn any other than his Majesties Union flag these last two years, which is of absolute necessity for you to doe, and Our positive order that you shall always wear his Majesties Flag.' On the 12th June, 1688, the standard was accordingly hoisted[4] on the 'English Bastion' of the Inner Fort in presence of the civil servants, the three companies of the Garrison, the Train bands, and the principal inhabitants, European and native. When the

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. ix., 27th Aug., 1688.

[2] The flag displayed by the Company's ships bore seven horizontal red stripes on a white ground, with a St. George's cross in the inner top corner.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 28th Sept., 1687. [4] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 12th June, 1688.

flag was displayed, 'the Governor began a glass of Toby[1] to our Gracious Kings health and Royall Families,' when salutes were fired from the fort and the ships in the road. The company then went to 'a handsome collation upon the Fort house Tarrass,' prisoners were liberated, gifts made to the poor, and the soldiers rendered 'as merry as Punch could make them, till night Silenced all in repose.'

The use of slaves for domestic purposes in Madras had always been recognized, and sales and purchases were invariably registered at the Choultry. The iniquitous practice of stealing children for export was, of course, illegal, and John Leigh's severe condemnation of 1653 will doubtless be remembered. Thirty years later fresh complaints resulted in an absolute prohibition against the exportation of slaves of any age.[2] In 1687, however, the trade was sanctioned under regulation,[3] a duty of one pagoda being exacted for each slave sent from Madras by sea. The accounts of the Sea Customer for September, 1687, show that no fewer than 665 slaves were exported during that month. Slaves were also purchased for the service of the Company:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Having private advice of a late robbery committed by the Muckwaes[4] of a parcell of Corrall Stoln out of Chests bringing ashoar, orders were given for immediate enquiry. . . . But upon the first noise hereof most of the Muckwaes, being conscious of their guilt, left their dwellings to Secure themselves from Justice, dispersing to Palliacatt and Sadraspatam. . . . 'Tis order'd they be recall'd, with the assurance that none but the Guilty shall suffer for this crime: they being all notorious Thieves are fearfull of being punish'd for company or their past crimes. And . . . Wee do now again order that Mr. Fraser (who, being Land Customer, has the best oppertunity for itt) do buy fforty young Sound Slaves for the Rt. Hon'ble Company, and dispose them to the Severall Mussulaes, two or three on each, in charge of the Chief man of the Boat, to be fed and taught by them. And to encourage their care therein, 'tis order'd a short red broad cloth Coat be given to each Chief man, and that the Rt. Hon'ble Companys marke bee embroider'd with Silk on their backs, with the number of their Rank and the Boat, which are also to be so numbred, whereby wee shall have them att better command, our business go more currently on, and easelier thereby discover their Theiverys.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiii., 29th Sept., 1687.)

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[1] *Toby*: This beverage has not been identified. It can scarcely be *toddy*, for that would be an inappropriate drink for the Governor at a ceremonial. A copyist's error for toky (tokay) is unlikely.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. vii., 1st Sept., 1682.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 1st Aug., 1687.

[4] *Muckwaes*, boatmen.

In the following year there were again complaints of the stealing of children,[1] and stringent orders were passed for the registration of all slaves by the Justices of the Choultry prior to exportation. The penalty for persons offending more than once was 'to loos their ears in the Pillory.' A few months later the despatch of slaves from the port was altogether prohibited[2] in deference to the aversion of the Mogul power to the trade.

When the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Company were summoned to the King's presence to discuss the new Charter, his Majesty failed to ascertain from them the population of Madras. Hence the following letter to Fort St. George:—

The Company to Elihu Yale.

'There are Severall opinions that have been offered his Majestie concerning the number of men, women and children within our City of Madrass and Towne of Fort St. George. Some of us remember Capt. Wilshaw,[3] when he last came from thence, said that you had made a computation and found the whole number of Souls within and without the City, within the Companys own Bounds (supposing your Mussulah Village to be taken in) did amount to three hundred thousand men, women and children, free people and Slaves.

'And to the end that we may be able to give his Majestie a certain account, we desire you to make a new Computation of the whole, vizt., how many Englishmen, women and children are there; the like of Portuguez, Jewes, and of all your severall Casts whatsoever, with their distinct Religions, Vizt. Whether Moores or Jentues, and how many of each, as near as you can, and of what Professions and Occupations.

'We do not this out of any vain glory or ostentation, but merely to satisfie his Majestie, and the better to comport our government by ballancing of the severall powers or numbers under your government. Jos^{a} CHILD, Gov^{r} . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 12th Dec., 1687.)

No regular census appears to have been taken, but by 1692 the Company had arrived at the conclusion that there were about 400,000 people within the limits of Madras:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have been unworthily and falsely amused with untrue suggestions, for private ends, that if we raised any small Revenues upon the Inhabitants for publick, Nationall and honorable Ends, the Inhabitants would be so discouraged that they would leave the Place. . . . The falsity of those assertions are now manifest to every mans view there and to our experience here, your

1 *P.C.*, vol. xiii., 2nd Feb., 168$\frac{7}{8}$. 2 *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 14th May, 1688.

3 Capt. Francis Wilshaw, Commander of the *Loyal Resolution*, was at home at the end of 1683, and probably in the latter half of 1686. If so, his intelligence would apply to 1685 (*Ct. Bk.*, 5th Dec., 1683, and 26th Nov., 1686).

Inhabitants being encreased, since we first establisht those minute inconsiderable ground rents, above two Hundred Thousand souls, and are now in the whole above Four Hundred Thousand souls, and let no man hereafter be so impudent to tell us we are mistaken. Wee have tryed this truth not onely by the examination of Captain Heath and many other English, but alsoe by some Serangoes[1] and Lascars,[2] Inhabitants of Madrasse, Seperatim et Conjunctim. JOSEPH HERNE, Gov^r . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½.)

Quit rent was first imposed in 1681 ; so it appears that, at the end of the next decade, the population had doubled. These are remarkable figures, but they are even more striking when compared with earlier estimates, such as Sir William Langhorn's computation of 50,000 in 1674. It will be convenient to exhibit here successive statements of population collected from various sources :—

Population of Madras.

Year.	Population.	Authority.
1639	7,000	Rough estimate deduced from comparison of revenue in 1639 and 1648.
1646	19,000	Deduced from figures of 1648 by deduction of reported deaths during famine of 1647.
1648	15,000	The Company (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xxii., 21st Aug., 1649).
1670	40,000	Captain Thomas Bowrey.
1673	33,000	Exclusive of Europeans, Dr. John Fryer.
1674	50,000	Sir William Langhorn (*O.C.*, No. 3992, 20th Aug., 1674).
1681	200,000	The Company (*Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½).
1685 (?)	300,000	Captain Wilshaw (*P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 12th Dec., 1687).
1691	400,000	The Company (*Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169½).

The last three estimates include women and children. The quadrupling of the population in the seven years following 1674 may, it is suggested, be accounted for by assuming that Langhorn's and earlier figures comprise only adult males. These earlier figures, moreover, excluded Triplicane.

Yale promoted the commercial prosperity of Madras in many ways, as, for instance, by the importation of weavers, to whom he assigned ground in Peddanaikpetta :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President, haveing for severall years used his utmost endeavours and interest in this and other Countreys to invite and bring as many of the severall

[1] *Serango*, *syrang*, the chief of a lascar crew ; from Pers. *sarhang*.

[2] *Lascar*, a native sailor, an artilleryman as 'gun-lascar,' a tent-pitcher with the army ; from Pers. *lashkarī*, a soldier.

Casts of weavers to inhabit and settle their families and trade in this towne . . .; and haveing been long treating with the Janrawar[1] Cast of fine weavers, perswaded near fifty families of them to come hither. To whom, after haveing veiw'd and allotted them ground Seperate from the other Cast of weavers to build on, and other conveniencys for their trade and worshipp, gave them a Cowle. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xvi., 22nd Feb., 16$\frac{89}{90}$.)

Under the cowle they received ground 'from the Janrawar Street as far as the River to the Westwards, and to the uttmost of the Rt. Honble. Company's limitts to the Northward.'

In later years frequent references are made to the 'Orphans' Stock.' This fund appears to have been first established with some money allotted to the orphan children of John Pois or Poyse. This person died insolvent, and the Paymaster administered his estate. In 1689 orders were issued[2] transferring the fund to 'the Custody of the French Padryes to be managed for the good of the Children.'

Mindful of the welfare of the Portuguese Protestants, the Company announced, in 1692, that they were sending out two ministers versed in their language.[3] Until a special church could be built by local bounty, service was to be conducted once a week, in the Portuguese tongue, at St. Mary's Church. One of these ministers, the Rev. George Lewis, succeeded the Rev. Richard Elliott as chaplain at the Fort in 1696.

From a memorandum of 1691, designed for the information of Fort St. David, we learn what allowances were drawn by the civil servants at Fort St. George in addition to their salaries :—

Memorandum by the Secretary.

'The Rt. Honble Company's Allowance to the Councill, &c., here for dyett money, House rent, Servants Wages, Washing, Vz.

	Peons.	Dyet & rent.	Wages.	Washg.
The Worspll. Tomas Wavell, Second	3	P. 6-00-0	Fa. 150	Fa. 6
Mr. Jno. Cheney, Third	2	P. 6-00-0	107	6
Mr. Wm. Fraser, Fourth	2	P. 6-00-0	97	6
Mr. Tho. Gray, Fifth	2	P. 6-00-0	85	6
Mr. Wm. Cawly	2	P. 6-00-0	85	6
Secretary	1	—	34	4

[1] *Janrawar*, from Can. *jandra*, a great man ; a caste of weavers inhabiting Canarese and Telugu districts (*Madras Census Report*, 1901).

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xv., 5th Aug., 1689.

[3] *Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., 169$\frac{1}{2}$.

'Marry'd Merchants, &c., at 5 Pag[s] per Month, and the Writers at Pag[s] 3. Besides this, the Rt. Honble Company allow the Second here a Pallanqueen and a horse, but none to the rest of the Councill nor the charge of keeping one, nor any thing more then their Sallary for wyne, Punch, fyrewood, &c., excepting a shair of those Liquors their Honours are pleased to Send out of England. . . . Nor are the millatary Officers any where allow'd dyet money; their comeing to table on their gaurd days is a courtesy, and only the Governour's favour to them. WILLIAM PROBY, Sec[ry].' (*P.C.*, vol. xvii., 16th July, 1691.)

The last two years of Yale's administration were marked by faction in the Council. The opposition was led by Mr. William Fraser, who in later years pursued similar tactics with Governors Higginson and Thomas Pitt. The trouble with Yale began over the question of rebuilding Black Town rampart, and it rapidly became acute. All the Members habitually signed the Consultation book, but a week or more after the meeting Wavell, Gray, Cheney, and Fraser used to enter minutes of dissent. Fraser objected to every measure proposed, even to the purchase of Tevnapatam. When he became Mayor, and Gray an Alderman, quarrels arose between Yale and the Mayor's Court. Wavell and Cheney both died in 1691, and Gray followed in August, 1692, 'of an imposthume in his Liver' at the early age of twenty-three.[1] Whispers were actually heard that the President had facilitated their departure. Between the 5th January and the 21st March, 1692, no meeting of the Council was held, and Yale must have experienced difficulty in carrying on the government. He applied to the home authorities for a responsible person to settle the matters at issue. The Company sent out Captain John Goldsborough, who was knighted before he embarked, and at the same time commissioned Mr. Nathaniel Higginson as Governor:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Our late Presidents desire of sending out an able, experienced, honest person to hear and determine all controversies between himselfe and our Councill has put us upon the choice of Captain John Goldsborough, whose experience, wisdome and moderation is sufficiently knowne to all. . . .

[1] The period was certainly a fatal one for the Company's servants. Dr. Heathfield passed away in 1688, and Mr. Robert Freeman, a Member of Council and Captain of the Trainbands, followed the next year. The former was succeeded as surgeon by Dr. Samuel Browne. In 1690 died Mr. William Jearsey, and in another part of India Sir John Child, brother of the famous Josia. Mr. Henry Alford, a Madras civil servant, husband of three Elizabeths, expired in 1692. The tombstones of Heathfield, Freeman, Wavell, and Gray are still to be seen in the pavement around St. Mary's Church. Gray married Frances English in 1690 at St. Thomas's Mount.

'Mr. Yale, our late President, we would have continue at Madrass until the arrivall of our Supervisor Captain Goldsborough, that all Differences may be fairly adjusted there by the wisdome and moderation of Captain Goldsborough, that upon Mr. Yale's return hither we may have nothing to say to him but to bid him welcome home. . . .' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. ix., 22nd Jan., $169\frac{1}{2}$.)

Mr. Higginson had resigned the service in 1689, when he was Second of Council, but he was re-entertained in 1692. His commission as Governor reached Madras on the 23rd October, and Yale immediately delivered over charge. The ex-Governor remained at Fort St. George nearly seven years longer. The following letter from him illustrates the kind of accusations he was called on to meet:—

'*Letter from Elihu Yale to the Honble Nathaniell Higginson, Esq, President and Governor, the Worshipfull Judge Advocate,*[1] *Mayor etc. Councell.*

'I am advised that Mr. Tho. Gray wrote to his Father per shipp Orange that Mr. Wavell and Mr. Cheney were strangely rub'd out of the world, and that he was sicke and feared he lay under the same fatall Machivillian pollicy. Which horrid Scandall I heare has made strange reflections in England; therefore I earnestly require your Honours, etc., that the matter may be strictly examined and truely reported for the satisfaction of Justice, theire severall relations, and the world, who are to[o] credulous in such cases; as alsoe for the clearing the Government and those it may reflect upon. Tho' I have to[o] much reason to beleive that himself more deserved that black censure by the wicked attempts of his Parriar Servants, whome he long concealed in his House and protected from Justice, but was after forc't out by Mr. John Cheney, then Choultry Justice, and by him examined and found guilty of that wicked designe against me, and justly punisht for it. Likewayes Mr. Grayes sorrowfull dyeing confession sufficiently shewed his turbulent spirit and bad temper, declareing that, through the whole course of his life, his greatest pleasure and delight was in doeing Mischief; which his troublesome practices here notoriously confirmed, few escapeing his Injurie, his verry father nor Mother exempted. But I shall not rake into his dirty Ashes, but desire your Honours etc. will strictly and impartially looke into the subjects of his complaint and doe Justice therein. ELIHU YALE.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. viii., 19th Jan., $169\frac{4}{5}$.)

Early in 1697 Yale submitted a petition[2] to the King in Council, in which he bitterly complained of the treatment meted out to him. He stated that his accusers were his judges, legal advice was denied him, his witnesses arrested and confined, and trial by a jury refused. He said he had been 'imprison'd in a Fort ever since November, 1692,' and that his life had been attempted by

[1] *Judge Advocate.* Mr. William Fraser, who succeeded Mr. Dolben.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 10th Feb., 1696 [1697].

poison. He accordingly prayed that orders might be issued to the Company to bring him home.

In forwarding this petition Higginson remarked that Yale himself had, in 1692, elected to have the questions at issue decided by the Court of Judicature, rather than by Goldsborough as arbitrator. The charges related to private transactions with the Company's Merchants. Under instructions from home, the Court was to consist of Mr. John Dolben (who came out with Goldsborough) as Judge, and two assessors to be appointed from a nominal list. Only three of the persons named in the list were alive—viz., Fraser, Wheeler, and Hatsell. Yale objected to the first two as prejudiced, but eventually Wheeler and Hatsell were appointed. When Wheeler died, Fraser took his place. Higginson stated that no legal assistance was denied, except that of Mr. John Coventry, an attorney who had been removed for malpractice. 'Wee have no professed Councillors at Law or Attorneys at Madrasse, nor doe we need them in cases relateing to the custom of Merchants, where every man has liberty to plead his own case, and therefore Mr. Yale could not want the ablest Councill and Attorney, Vizt himselfe. . . . Mr. Yale's person was never imprisoned one minute, nor was ever denyed liberty of goeing home.'

As to the alleged attempt on Yale's life, Higginson observed that the story was merely a counterblast to the rumours connecting the ex-President with the death of certain members of his Council, 'concerning which we don't accuse him, being compelled by the rules of Christian charity to Suspend a Censure, the most material Evidence being Dead: but if they had been liveing to declare, themselves, what others have since their Death declared as from them, Some of Mr. Yale's aforementioned Instruments must have been prosecuted, and he would have been put hard to it to clear his own reputation.'

Whatever may have been the cause, Yale delayed his departure until 1699, by which time Higginson had himself been succeeded by Thomas Pitt. Yale embarked in the *Martha*, Captain Raynes, in company with John Nicks, was allowed the 'accommodation of the Great Cabbin,' and sailed on the 22nd February. To the subsequent history of the ex-Governor allusion has already been made.

CHAPTER XLI

1692—1698

HIGGINSON'S ADMINISTRATION—THE FORT HOUSE—THE TOWN HALL—THE HOSPITAL

HIGGINSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE new Governor, Nathaniel Higginson, had been in India only eight years. He joined the service in 1684 as a Factor in Bengal, whence he was transferred in the following year to Madras. He appears to have occupied originally some public post in England, for the Company, when advising that the Fort St. George revenues should be farmed by sealed tender, remarked that 'Mr. Higginson knows the way in the Navy Office.'[1] Higginson was rapidly advanced from ninth to second of Council, but in 1689 he resigned the service and proceeded to Bengal. Returning after an interval of three years, he was re-entertained in his former rank, and was commissioned to succeed Yale as Governor. Higginson assumed office on the 23rd October, 1692.

On the 5th December following, Sir John Goldsborough landed at Madras, and in virtue of his commission as 'Supervisor and Commissary Generall' in India, was sworn in as President of the Council. He remained in Madras eight months, investigating charges against Yale and others. During this period Higginson sat as second member. To Goldsborough, a prominent commander of the Company's ships, several references have already been made, dating from the time when he took Streynsham Master home from Surat in 1672, and helped to fight the Dutch in 1673.

The Council consisted at first of only five members, Goldsborough, Higginson, John Dolben the Judge Advocate, lately

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. viii., 25th June, 1688.

arrived from England, William Fraser and James Wheeler.[1] A claim was made against Yale for unauthorized expenditure on Black Town rampart and on a 'Physick Garden;'[2] and judgment was ultimately given against him for Pags. 4,923. At the same time John Nicks, charged with malpractice at Conimere, was mulcted in Pags. 8,000, and his wife Catherine, who, with Mrs. Paiva, had been staying at Yale's garden-house, in Pags. 600.[3]

These cases having been disposed of, Sir John Goldsborough spent about a month in inspecting Fort St. David, and on the 29th July, 1693, embarked for the Bay, leaving his wife at Madras. On the 29th November he died suddenly in Bengal.[4] Lady Goldsborough and her children lived at Jearsey House in Charles Street, and when this residence was taken up for public purposes, she was granted the use of the Company's Garden House, 'and 12 pagodas per mensem Diett money.'[5] Her Ladyship, however, declined the pecuniary grant as being inadequate.[6] Sir John Goldsborough was succeeded by Sir John Gayer, who, by a commission dated the 6th March, 1694, was nominated 'Generall of India' with headquarters at Bombay. Higginson was at the same time appointed 'Lieutenant Generall of India.'[7] His Council, which had been strengthened, then comprised William Fraser, Warehousekeeper; John Styleman, Bookkeeper; Thomas Wright,[8] Paymaster; Charles Barwell, Sea Customer; and Edward Mountague, Land Customer. Each member had from two to five Merchants, Factors and Writers under his immediate control. The special appointments of 'Rentall Generall' and Translator of Persian and Gentue letters were held by John Foquet and Edward Baugus respectively.

In 1695 the inevitable difference with Fraser arose. At a private supper-party given by the Governor, the host's servant

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 8th Dec., 1692.

[2] This Botanic Garden was probably established in connexion with the new Hospital which Yale had built at the north end of the barracks.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 28th March, 1693.

[4] *Let. to F. St. G.*, 9th Dec., 1693.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 16th July, 1694.

[6] Lady Goldsborough was still at Madras in 1695, when she became the wife of Mr. Roger Braddyl of the civil service.

[7] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 4th Feb., 1696.

[8] Thomas Wright, of the civil service, came to India in 1684. He married (1) in 1697 Frances Lightfoot, who died in 1704, and whose monument is preserved at St. Mary's; and (2) in 1706 Mary Beard, daughter of Edward Fowle, and widow of John Beard, jun.

Kistna complained that Mr. Fraser had threatened him. Higginson called Fraser aside and asked for an explanation. The rest of the episode is related in the words of a subsequent consultation :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Fraser thereupon tooke occasion to justifie himself by making publick declaration before the said company[1] and twenty black people, alledging that Kisna was a knave, and he had already charged him in Consultation, but the means was denyed him to prove it. . . .

'The severall words which passed cannot be conveniently noted, but the President observ's that Mr. Fraser doeth affront him in the manner of threatning his Servant, and then justifies it, and doeth allso act very imprudently in discourseing of what passed in consultation before mixed company, and declareing before them that the President will not concede to the way propounded for finding out frauds and cheats. NATHANIELL HIGGINSON, WILLIAM FRASER, JOHN STYLEMAN, THOMAS WRIGHT, EDWARD TREDCROFT.

'I do not approve of this Consultation for reasons hereafter to be given, but it is not time now. W.F.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxii., 24th Sept., 1695.)

A year later, after many bickerings, the Governor presented a long indictment against Fraser, accusing him of 'slighting and disregarding orders of Consultation; in the ordinary course of Consultation-debates behaveing himself arrogantly; affronting the Governour and others of the Councell with base scurrilous reflections or impudent ba[n]tering Language more becoming a quarrelsome Huffe or a Hector then the Member of a Civill Councill, to the disturbing, distracting and obstructing of Proceedings in Councill.' Fraser alleged that the majority of Council were prejudiced; but Wright, Barwell, Styleman and Hatsell (from Fort St. David) all agreed that his conduct was insufferable. Fraser was accordingly reported to Sir John Gayer at Bombay, and by his order suspended.[2]

Notwithstanding a difference between the Government of Fort St. George and Nawab Zu,lfiķār Khān, and some friction with the Portuguese who unsuccessfully attempted to re-establish their power at San Thomé, Higginson's administration proved an era of peace and progress. The city of Madras was developing rapidly. The Factory-house in the Inner Fort, the Mint and Choultry were all rebuilt. By the Corporation a Town Hall was erected, and that body became responsible for the city's conservancy. The fortifica-

[1] Mr. Alvarez, a Hebrew merchant, Mr. Stephen Frewen, a factor, and one other were the remaining guests at the Governor's party.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 23rd Aug., 1697.

tions of the White Town were put in order, and Black Town rampart was repaired. Regulations were framed for policing the city, controlling the new Hospital built by Yale, and managing the principal temples and mosques. Fresh territory was acquired in the shape of the important suburban villages of Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tandore. All these matters are dealt with in detail in the following pages.

The Fort House.

Although the works of fortification which were exposed to the inroads of the sea had claimed reconstruction, a longer life than half a century might reasonably have been expected from buildings within the White Town. Already, however, the Inner Fort was showing signs of failure, while the Fort House had for years been in a precarious condition. Interest is attached to this building, whose time of erection is known, from the circumstance that an illustration of it presenting some peculiar features is given by Fryer. It will be convenient to recall briefly the history of the structure. Cogan stated that 'the Tower (or house) in the midst' of the Fort was finished before he left Madras in 1643. The edifice was enlarged by Winter twenty years later, and in 1664 it contained, besides the Consultation Room, the general dining apartment or Fort Hall, the Chapel, quarters for the Agent, three Councillors and the Chaplain, besides a wine cellar which was doubtless capacious. In 1672 a recommendation was made that the additions on 'the North West side of the Terazza' be taken down, and the original building buttressed in that part.

In the following year Fryer saw the house, and noted that it slanted diagonally to the paved courtyard of the Inner Fort. His statement is borne out by references in the records to the north-east, north-west, south-east, and south-west sides of the building. Fryer's drawing therefore shows the position of the house correctly, but it depicts a plain square edifice having two floors and a domed roof. In each of the two visible faces are three doorways with window openings above. These doorways, with the adjacent wall spaces, indicate that a side of the house might measure 30 to 35 feet, so that the whole building could not contain more than eight small rooms and a staircase. It is obvious that such a structure could not have afforded the

accommodation which it is known to have contained. A dome is considered an unlikely form of roof on several grounds. The references in the records point to a terrace roof or to a flat projecting portion at a lower level. The conclusion arrived at is that Fryer's representation of the house is, like the rest of his view, conventional and untrustworthy.

The walls of the house are said to have been tottering in 1677. Masonry buttresses, which had lately been put up on the north-east and south-west sides, were supplemented by others in those parts and on the north-west, while timber shores were needed on the south-east side. The house was occupied at that time by the Agent and others of Council, the Chaplain, and some of the Factors and Writers. In 1679 a Committee reported that the additions made by Winter were in a dangerous state and should be pulled down. Reasons have already been given for the belief that in 1688 the Fort House possessed three floors with the Consultation Room at the top.

By 1693 it was recognized that the building was past repair and must be reconstructed. The Governor moved with the General Table into Jearsey House in Charles Street, and the old Factory was demolished. The new one was built on a different plan, its sides being parallel to the curtains of the Inner Fort; and, instead of being in the centre of the court, it was erected somewhat nearer to the eastern face. The dimensions sanctioned were 110 feet by 55 feet. These measurements may be verified in all the plans available from Thomas Pitt's map downwards. No substantial alteration has since been made to the walls, and the building preserved its original dimensions down to 1825, when wings were added at either end to develop it into the present Government office. There exists, in fact, satisfactory evidence that the middle portion of the Secretariat building dates from 1694-95, and it is therefore some fifteen years younger than St. Mary's Church.

The following extracts relate to the reconstruction :—

Fort St. George Consultations.

(*P.C.*, vol. xix., 18th March, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, etc.)

'Upon information given of severall new Cracks appearing in the ffort House, we caused the Chinam to be laid open, and upon viewing thereof, find

the walls of the East Corner to be crack't through from top to bottom on both sides of the Angle . . ., which defects appear to have been old, but very lately Encreased so much that the walls cannot be supported by Buttresses any longer, but is in daily danger of falling, and is not safe for the Rt. Honble. Companys Servants to be in, in the Raine and winds which usually happen in the beginning of Aprill. It is therefore Ordered that the House be Pulled down, beginning att the East Corner, and other Lodgings be built in the ffort as shall hereafter be thought convenient. In the mean time that Mr. Jearsies House be hired by Judge Dolben for the accommodation of the Rt. Honble Companys servants. J. GOLDSBOROUGH, NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, JOHN DOLBEN, WILLIAM FRASER, WILLIAM HATSELL, JAMES WHEELER.'

'3rd July, 1693.[1] Ordered that the Fort House be puld down forthwith, Severall of the main Beams proveing rotten in the ends, and the Generall Table be removed to Mr. Jearseys house. The Books, Papers and Cash that [were] formerly kept in the Consultacon room to one of the Curtain Chambers.'

'30th April, 1694.[2] Ordered that the new House in the Fort be forthwith built according to a Modell now produced and approved, being 110 foot in length and 55 foot in breadth, to be built on the East side the Fort att 18 foot distance from the Godown wall and att equall distance from the North and South Walls.'

'27th March, 1694.[3] When the late Commissary Generall was here, the Fort house, appearing very defective, was ordered to be pulled down, and a large house in the Town hired at 19 pagodas per month for two years . . .; and having now sufficient [materials] to begin, we intend very suddainly to lay the foundation and carry it up to the 1st story before the rain[s] set in; and after it has had a due settling thro' the rains, to finish the rest. And if we meet with no interruption in the procureing of Chinam, we hope to finish it by Aprill 1695.'

The house seems to have been nearly completed by September, 1695. The Company found fault with Fort St. George for undertaking so considerable a work without previous sanction.[4]

Other Government buildings constructed during Higginson's administration were a Mint, a new Choultry, and an enlargement of the Custom House. The last was extended on both sides of the Sea Gate, the addition taking the form of sheds for weighing and storing goods.[5] The 'new Mint' is first mentioned in 1695.[6] It was situated at the south end of the barracks, and appears to have been used for the coinage of both gold and silver. At a later period the silver mint was transferred to a building in the north-west angle of White Town, and the gold mint to the Inner Fort. The Choultry in the Black Town was reported[7]

1 *P.C.*, vol. xx.
2 *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*
3 *O.C.*, No. 5913, Fort St. George to Sir John Gayer.
4 *P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697.
5 *P.C.*, vol. xix., 29th Dec., 1692.
6 *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 17th Jan., 169$\frac{4}{5}$.
7 *P.C.*, vol. xxiv., 25th Jan., 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

in 1697 to be so old and decayed that some prisoners had lately made their escape by breaking through the walls. It was resolved to rebuild the Choultry on the same ground, extended by the purchase of an adjacent house on the north side. Meanwhile, the business of the office was carried on in a 'Large shope over against the midle Gate . . . the place of the dayly randevouze of many Persians and Moors:[1] and that so many of the small shops adjoining be made use of for Prisons as occasion requires.'

A complete survey was ordered to be made of all houses and lands:—'It is resolved that Mr. John Foquett, the Rentall Generall, be appointed allso Surveyor of the Houses, Grounds and Gardens belonging to this Citty and the Liberties thereof, in order to the framing of a perfect Register. To begin at one End, and so go on from house to house till he hath gone through all, measureing the ground belonging to every House, Examining and registring the Titles of the Possessors.'[2]

The Town Hall.

The earliest Town Hall of Madras was the Choultry Justices' Court in the native quarter. As far back as President Baker's time the Choultry was occasionally designated the 'Towne-House.' When Master established a Court of Judicature in 1678 the need of a separate Court-house became apparent, and two years later a building was erected in the White Town, close to the Choultry Gate, for this purpose. The new edifice was denominated the Town Hall, but its dimensions were too restricted for convenience. On the establishment of a Mayor and Corporation in 1688, a more commodious building was confidently looked for; and although the revenue of the new body was insignificant, Yale complained in 1691 that the Corporation had so far done nothing towards the provision of a fresh edifice. The City Fathers however bestirred themselves in the following year to wipe away the Governor's reproach by building with borrowed money. The site of the new Hall was south of St. Mary's Church, but on the opposite or east side of St. Thomas's Street. The prospect of Fort

[1] Perhaps the Exchange mentioned by Captain James Martin and Dr. Fryer.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 26th Aug., 1697.

St. George from Thomas Pitt's map, which forms the frontispiece of this work, and the views painted by Lambert and Scott about 1732 show the Town Hall as a lofty building having an ornate vaulted roof, surmounted by a cupola which terminated in a substantial dragon as wind-vane. The Hall served as the Mayor's Court, and beneath it, as we learn from the records, was the Prison :—

The Mayor to the Commissary General, &c.

(*P.C.*, vol. xix., 25th Jan., 169⅞.)

'To his Excellency Sir John Goldsborough, Knt., Commissary Generall, The Honble Nathaniel Higginson, President, &c. Worshipfull Councill.

'We, the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, make bold humbly to address your Honours in behalfe of this Corporation. That, since by your Honours late Order this Corporation has lost the considerable Income of the measureing Duty, you would please to favour us with some other Allowance that may be Equivolent to it ; otherwise we shall not be able to maintaine our great and unavoidable charge, which at this tyme, with the Interest w[e pa]y for our money taken up to build the Town Hall, is more than fifty Pagodoes a Month. We doe assure your Honours we have and shall be as frugall as possible may be. We are inform'd that the Licencing of Publique Houses and many other small Dutys is Commonly granted to all Corporations. Which we humbly request your Honours would please to consider of, and by some meanes (what your Honours think most convenient) grant us encouragement to goe on chearfully in the discharge of our Duty in promoting the good and tranquillity of this young Corporation.

'Jo. STYLEMAN,[1] *Mayor.*

'ffort St. George, Jany 20, 169⅞.'

The Government considered that the Corporation should find means of support other than the Company's revenues, and asked for a statement of income and expenditure. Writing home a year later,[2] the Council reported that the debt 'unadvisedly Contracted for the building the Towne Hall' amounted to 4,000 pagodas, of which a considerable part remained unpaid. They added that there was difficulty in maintaining the proper representation of nationalities in the Corporation, which contained one Frenchman, two Portuguese, two Gentues and seven English.

[1] *John Styleman* is shown as a free merchant in the lists of 1685 and 1688. He owned a house in White Town by the river, and in 1694 obtained permission to rebuild it and to use the river wall as a foundation for the terraced 'hall' of the residence (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 19th April, 1694). A few months later, in company with Wright and Barwell, he was appointed to the Council, which had become reduced to three resident members. A monument to Diana, daughter of John and Elizabeth Styleman, *b.* 1684, *d.* 1686, is preserved at St. Mary's. Ann and Elizabeth Styleman, perhaps sisters of the free merchant, appear as unmarried women in the list of 1688.

[2] *O.C.*, No. 5911, 17th Feb., 169⅞.

The Armenians had always declined to serve, no Jews were available, and 'it's not thought safe to introduce Moor men into any part of the Government, and its our opinion they are never to be trusted.' The Portuguese generally stood aloof, and there were no Dutchmen in the place.

The Council ultimately assigned the Scavenger's duty for the years 1695 and 1696, on condition that the conservancy of the town should be managed by the Corporation for that period.[1] The heads of castes also made a contribution of Pags. 900.[2] With this assistance the debt on the Town Hall was extinguished.

Another work undertaken by the Corporation was the paving of the streets of the White Town.[3] The northern half was completed in 1692 at a cost of Pags. 417,[4] but the remainder was delayed for want of funds. Authority was granted to levy an assessment on the houses in proportion to the area of pavement in front of each.[5] A list is given in the records showing the names of the house owners and the measurements, but the street designations are omitted. The assessment fell heaviest on the Portuguese Church and on Elihu Yale, Mrs. Heathfield and Mrs. Monke.

Mrs. Heathfield, the doctor's widow, was a lady of property. Besides her substantial White Town residence in Middle Gate Street,[6] she owned a garden-house in the fashionable suburb of Peddanaikpetta. In Thomas Pitt's map the garden-house is shown on the north side of Elephant Street, and it is mentioned in the Consultation of the 25th October, 1697, when the Paymaster was directed to plant out some thousand young trees on adjacent land, in view to their affording shade for a weaving-ground, as well as a supply of firewood.

The Hospital.

The earliest hospital was, as previously stated, established in 1664 by Sir Edward Winter in Cogan's house for the treatment of

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 31st Dec., 1694.

[2] The contribution was not voluntary, but was levied by assessment (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 6th July, 1706).

[3] Paving consisted in making footways of brick. The roadways were of sand.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 6th Feb., 169$\frac{2}{3}$.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 24th Aug., 1693.

[6] At this period the White Town was commonly known locally as the *City*, and the Black Town as the *Town*. The Company, however, usually transposed these appellations.

sick soldiers. Fifteen years later this building was found to be inadequate, and a Committee advised its extension. The hospital which existed in 1688 was a large double-storied edifice near the church, which had been built by public subscription. It was presumably erected at some time during the nine years preceding. In consequence of the influx of Company's servants due to Charnock's arrival from Bengal and the suspension of the northern Coast factories, the Government experienced difficulty in finding accommodation for all their civilians.[1] They cast their eyes on the commodious hospital, and purchased it from the Vestry for Pags. 838, its original cost. The upper rooms were then made available as quarters, while the lower became an extension of the adjacent godown. The sick were transferred temporarily to a hired house in James Street pending the erection of a new building near the river. The disposal of the old hospital is matter of interest, because the edifice was thenceforward known and referred to as the 'College' (*collegium*). This designation led Sir Henry Yule to surmise erroneously that it was a very early educational institution (*madrasa*) from which the city might have derived its name.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The withdrawing Severall of our Factorys having brought many of the Rt. Honble Companys Servants hither, for whom having no accommodation in the Fort, they are necessitated to lodge at publique houses, which has been the occation of their too great expence and disorder, and cannot well be prevented without Some Suitable Lodgings bee built or hired for them. And there being a very commodious house built by the contribution of the Town Inhabitants for an Hospitall to entertain Sick Souldiers and Seamen, which lying so near the Rt. Hon'ble Companys Sorting Godown and the Church, and in the middle of the City, that 'tis very offensive and inconveniently Scituated for that use; and its Tarras joyning to the Godown, and the great concourse of company that frequent the Hospitall renders the Rt. Hon'ble Companys goods in danger of being Stoln . . .; which cannot bee better prevented for the future but by adding the Hospitall to the Godown, which the many lower Rooms therein will bee of great conveniency and Service for China[2] and other Sorts of fine goods, and the upper Rooms for Lodging Chambers for Factors and Writers. From which considerations . . . 'tis agreed and order'd that itt bee bought of the Parish for their account, and that a new Hospitall be built with the mony att a more convenient place near the River Side. And Mr. Higginson,

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[1] The regular quarters for the unmarried Factors and Writers appear to hav been under the north and south curtains of the Inner Fort.

[2] *China—i.e.*, Chinese.

Mr. Fraser, Capt. Bett and the Church Wardens[1] do make a due Survey and vallue of the Said Hospitall building, and that it be paid for accordingly; and that the Church Wardens, &c., do begin with all expedition the new Hospitall by the River.' (*P.C.*, vol. xiv., 22nd March, 168 7/8.)

The site selected for the new hospital was at the north end of the barracks,[2] and the building was erected during Yale's term of office. It must therefore have been completed not later than 1692, and it was probably in use two years earlier. It was a handsome edifice, built, like the barracks, in the Tuscan style.

The Vestry expended on the new building the greater part of the sum they received for the old one, and contributed as before to the upkeep. Yale himself seems to have advanced a further sum of Pags. 1,700. The total cost was therefore about Pags. 2,500. The Vestry at length asked to be relieved of the expense of upkeep on the ground that the hospital was maintained for soldiers and sailors, that is, solely for the Company's benefit. At the end of 1698 Thomas Pitt, who had succeeded Higginson, investigated the question, and resolved to ascertain how much Yale had disbursed. He sent to enquire, and made the unfortunate selection of Fraser as envoy:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that an account in writeing be demanded of Elihu Yale, Esq^r, (formerly President of this Place) of the building of the new Hospitall, and that Mr. Fraser goe to him for the same.

'Upon consideration of the Petition deliver'd in by the Ministers,[3] Churchwardens, &c., in Consultation the first Instant, representing to this board the great charge they are at in maintaining the Hospitall which is wholly appropriated to the use of the Souldiers, &c. in the Companies Service,

'Resolved for the future they are discharg'd from contributeing thereto, and only to pay the charge of such sick persons as they shall send thither; and that henceforward the Chirurgion, or Steward of the Hospitall, render a monthly account to the Paymaster of the charge of said hospitall.

'Resolved that that part of the petition in which they desire some consideration for the building the Hospitall, which cost them Eight Hundred Pagodas, be referred to the Rt. Honble Company.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 8th Dec., 1698.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We are willing, for the reasons given, to excuse the Church Stock from paying fifty pagodas per annum, formerly allowed towards the charges of the

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[1] *The Church Wardens*, Messrs. Henry Mose and Charles Metcalfe, the former a civil servant employed as Attorney-General, the latter a free merchant.

[2] See Thomas Pitt's map.

[3] The Ministers were the Rev. George Lewis and the Rev. James Wendey.

Hospitall, and to bear all the charges thereof ourselves; but to reimburse the first cost of the building in part or in whole, We cant find reasons cogent enough to perswade us thereunto. We are well informed there were publick Contributions, and freewill Offerings given by our Commanders, &c., for its first erection; and its, we think, sufficient that we now bear the whole burden of its repairs, salaryes of Chirurgeon, &c., and that the doors are open for all truly necessitous Patients, whether belonging to the Garrison or Town.' (*Let. Bk.*, vol. x., 21st Nov., 1699.)

This extract is important as showing that, though the hospital was originally designed for the use of the garrison and men of the Company's ships, its scope was now extended to embrace other classes of patients. For two hundred years the Madras hospital continued to be a joint civil and military institution.

On the death of Dr. Heathfield in 1688, Dr. Samuel Browne had been locally appointed Fort Surgeon pending a nomination by the home authorities. In due course the Company sent out Dr. Edward Bulkley, who arrived in 1692. He seems to have had previous Indian experience, for the Company, writing five years later, remarked:—'When we understood Mr. Heathfield was dead . . . we resolved to supply you as soon and as well as we could, and accordingly sent you, five or six years since, Mr. Bulkeley, one who was every way very fitly qualified to serve us by his large experience in India as well as here, and as fit for prescribing Phisick as manuall Operation.'[1] Bulkley proved to be a man of energy and ability, who did much to improve the management of the hospital. He was appointed on the same terms as Dr. Heathfield. From the Consultation of the 3rd January, 1698, it appears that Heathfield had drawn a salary of £36 per annum, with extras for a dubash or head servant, 'Duty fellow' or lampman, washerman, barber, and waterman, besides diet money, horse allowance, and oil and wax in kind. He had the help of a Surgeon's Mate at five pagodas a month, and an Assistant at three pagodas.[2]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Orderd that Dr. Bulkeley, Chyrurgion (lately come from England), doe enter upon his charge of the Hospitall, and take care of the Patients therein, and look after all the medicines and other things carefully that none be spoyled or wasted negligently, or used for any other end or purpose but those they

1 *P. from Eng.*, 16th April, 1697.

2 The Assistant was often a soldier of the garrison.

were intended for. And that he keep an account of all materiall actions in a Book that may remayne in the Hospitall, to be examined when needfull or required. And Doctor Browne is to be continued a Chirurgion here as before. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 29th Dec., 1692.)

In the following year an unfortunate accident occurred in Dr. Browne's practice. Mr. James Wheeler,[1] one of the Members of Council, took a dose of Browne's physic on the 30th August, 1693, before starting on his morning walk. He did not appear at the Council meeting held in the forenoon, and word was brought that he had been seized with serious illness. Another message followed at 11 a.m. reporting his death. The Council at once adjourned and set out for Wheeler's house. On the way a letter was put into the President's hand. A flash of recollection had revealed to Dr. Browne that the medicine administered in the morning had been inadvertently pounded by a servant in a mortar used for arsenic. Immeasurably distressed, Dr. Browne hurriedly penned a note to the President saying, 'I have Murthered Mr. Wheeler by giveing him Arsenick. Please to execute Justice on me the Malifactor as I deserve.'[2]

Dr. Bulkley held an autopsy, and reported that, though little could be gleaned from appearances, the symptoms before death pointed to poison. Evidently no chemical tests were applied. Browne and his servant were committed to custody. The former was tried and 'acquitted by the Grand Jury, who brought in the bill Ignoramus.' The action of the Jury in throwing out the bill caused some dissatisfaction among the community, as it was considered that a case of criminal negligence had been made out.[3]

The following is an example of a medical report of the period. Mr. John Nicks, under confinement in respect of charges of misappropriation of funds, was said to be in a bad state of health. The two surgeons were called on for an opinion:—

The Surgeons to the President and Council.

'Wee the Subscribers haveing, according to your Orders, visited Mr. John Nicks, find him very much indisposed by a chilly numbness in his feet and hands, and an oppression in his Brest and Stomack, which is a hindrance both to his Speech and breathing. These Symptoms in all probability are occasioned

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[1] *James Wheeler* married (1) Tryphena Ord in 1681, and (2) Frances Russell in 1687.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 30th Aug., 1693. [3] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 2nd Sept., 1693.

by malancholy, want of exercise, and his being oblidg[ed] to breathe a Stagnating aire, which except Speedily remedid (since it approches his Stomack) may prove of Dangerous Consequence. EDWARD BULKLEY, SAMUEL BROWNE.' (*P.C.*, vol. xx., 16th Aug., 1693.)

Two days later Nicks' place of confinement was changed to his own house.

From the Consultation of the 8th September, 1694, it appears that a Steward was attached to the hospital. To him the Paymaster was authorized to make a disbursement towards the support of the sick and 'the maintenance of [Mr.] Fowles[1] who was formerly one of the Rt. Honble Companys servants, and now reduced to a miserable condition by the Barbiers, and not able to contribute anything towards his own support.'

Five years elapsed before the Company discovered that Fort St. George was maintaining two surgeons. They immediately ordered reduction, and Dr. Browne was discharged at the end of 1697.[2] Dr. Bulkley then submitted proposals for reform in the administration of the hospital:—

Dr. Bulkley to the President and Council.

'To the Honble Nathaniel Higginson, Lieutenant-Generall, and Worshipfull Councill, By whom it is ordered that a remonstrance be given of what is needfull and convenient for the well carrying on the businesse relateing to the Cure of the Sicke and Lame belonging to this Garrison.

Pursuant thereunto, I humbly propose that the Surgeon of the said Garrison be allowed (at least) one mate and one assistant, with a Dub[ash], Conicoply and 4 Coolies. Allso a yearly supply of Europe Medicines to the amount of fifty Pounds, with allowance of as much for Drugs and medicines procurable in these parts; with Stillatories, Mortars, &c. Vessels and Utensils necessary for the preparation of Medicines. And because good and proper Diett is likewise necessary, there ought to be a steward and Servants belonging to the Hospitall for provideing and takeing care of the Same; with Cotts, Bedding and apparel, &c. And as to the Charge of Diett for the said Sicke and Lame, I thinke it might be Supplyed at the rate of four fanams per day for each person. EDWARD BUCKLEY.

'P.S. I hope it will not seem amiss or unreasonable that I allso propose a convenient Dwelling House for the Surgeon of this Garrison (as customary in other places) or allowance for the same. E. B.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 4th April, 1698.)

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[1] Perhaps a relative of the late Engineer. In the list of freemen of 1696 he appears as William Fowle.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxvi., 3rd Jan., 169$\frac{7}{8}$. Browne died at the end of 1698.

CHAPTER XLII

1692—1698

THE FORTIFICATIONS—TEMPLES AND MOSQUES—SAN THOMÉ AFFAIRS

THE FORTIFICATIONS.

A SURVEY of the fortifications, conducted in April, 1693, revealed numerous signs of decay. In the Inner Fort the Scotch Point was so much bulged and cracked by settlement that it became necessary to rebuild the north face of the bastion with laterite. The Irish Point and the curtain walls also required substantial repair.[1] Among the outworks, the Round Point and Queen's Point had been undermined by the river freshes, while York Point had been damaged by the inroads of the sea. These three bastions were strengthened by piling their foundations with redwood.[2] In the following August a survey was made of the river wall from Charles Point to Gloucester Point. Ten or a dozen unauthorized passages which had been made through to the river were stopped, and the wall built up, especially for a length of 120 feet north of the new hospital, where lay two vacant houses belonging to Elihu Yale.[3] In 1695, on an alarm of the approach of a French fleet, a laterite gun-platform was laid before the Sea Gate.[4] Encroachment by the sea again caused serious trouble:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'On friday the 20th Instant, at night, the sea on the height of the spring tide haveing, when the wind was very calme, over flown the banke of sand lyeing between the sea and the River from St. Thomas Point to the Barr, Wee went on Satturday to view the place, and find that if there had happened a

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 10th and 17th April, 1693.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 1st June, and 3rd and 21st Aug., 1693.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 21st Aug., 1693.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxii., 21st March, 169 4/5.

Monsoon or a great wind at the same time, would have caused a much greater overflowing, which would, by reason of the Mote lyeing before St. Thomas Gate and the Trenching of the ground about St. Thomas Point and Charles Point, have endangered both these Points being undermined. It was found necessary and ordered that the Mote lyeing between the bridge[1] and Sea be filled up, and the ground lyeing between that and the sea bee made Levell for the better turning the course of the sea from those Points in case of its overflowing. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xx., 23rd Oct., 1693.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Principal Inhabitants and Senior Merchants having with the Councill on the 23rd Instant viewed the Sea Side, The result is that, thô the Sea doeth plainly increase and may in time hazard the walls, yet it is not adviseable to Stake it from Point to Point, partly because the charge will be so great (supposed to amount to, if well done, at least Pagodas five thousand), and partly because it is generally doubted that it will not answer the end.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 30th July, 1696.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour acquaints that Severall persons complaining unto him of one hundred houses[2] being washed away by the late incroachment of the Sea, and desireing Ground may be alotted them for rebuilding their houses, He . . . went and viewed those places, alotting parcells of Ground northward of the Town for the Severall Casts, vizt, Cattamaran men, Coolys, Palenq[ueen] Boys, Gun Room Laskars ; and in that part alotted to the Cattamaran men their being a few Parriars, the Cattamaran men agreed to pay for those houses, and the Parriars were ordered to remove to the Parriar Town.[3] Also severall of the English and Portug[uez] Houses being destroyed by the Sea, for whom there is vacansy, and there being about Twenty Par[riar] Houses mixed among other Souldiers houses s[ituate] next without the mud walls to the Eastward of Mr. Manuchys Garden,[4] The Carpenter and Bricklayer were ordered to value said houses, and the Parriars acquainted that they should receive the value of their houses, or have other houses built of the same dimensions in another place, This being the nearest and most convenient place for the Souldiers. All which is approved. . . .

It is noted that the Sea continues to gain upon the Shore, and this day all the Sea Gate platform is washed away to the very Gate, and beates upon the walls for the most part between York Point and James Bulwarke,[5] for which there is no remedy.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxiv., 26th Nov., 1696.)

By the middle of the following year it became necessary to close the Sea Gate:—'The Sea having washed away all the Sand before the Sea Gate, so that there is no passage for Coolies, It is ordered

[1] *The bridge* across the ditch opposite St. Thomas Gate.

[2] In the Black Town.

[3] *The Parriar Town*, probably the present Georgetown Parchery.

[4] *Mr. Manuchys Garden*, Signor Manucci's ground near Tom Clarke's Gate.

[5] This proves that James Bulwark was on the sea-front.

that, till the Sea Gate can be repaired, the Sea Customer do cause all the goods to bee landed and brought in at St. Thoma's Gate.'[1]

Owing to the hostile attitude assumed in 1698 by Nawab Zu,lfiḳār Khān, who was still engaged on the siege of Gingee, all the English residents of Black Town were ordered into the White Town,[2] and preparations were made for defence:—'Mr. Empson[3] produces an account tak[en] by himselfe and the Officers of the Garrison [of] the Stores in the Armory, Gun-room, and [at the] several Points and Batteries, which they report to be in good order, and propound the Garden Point[4] be filled and [ ][5] Guns mounted, and that the Battlements of Queens point be raised towards the Canal and Bridge. That [store] of Amunition and Granado's be placed [at the] Bridge Gate and Tom Clarks Gate.'[6]

The thorny problem of the Black Town wall must next be reviewed. Sir John Goldsborough inspected the rampart shortly after his arrival, and found that all Yale's work had proved futile:—'Having this fforenoone [15th December, 1692] viewed the Mudd Points and Walles about the Black Towne made by the late President Yale, they appear to be so worne, Ruind and wash'd away by the Rains as they are alltogether [useless] and of no defence as they now are.'[7] A claim for the cost was accordingly made against the ex-President personally, and enforced.

Fort St. George Consultations.

(*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, 10th and 19th Dec., 1695.)

'The mudd walls round about the Black Towne being by the late rains broken into severall gaps, which gives a free passage into the Black Town in the night, it's resolved necessary to repaire the same to prevent to[o] great a number of people from stealing into the Black Towne, which daily flock from the adjacent places for feare of the Morattas. . . .'

'19th December, 1695. The Inhabitants between the Bridge[8] and Queens

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 14th June, 1697. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 24th Feb., 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

[3] *Mr. Empson:* Matthew Empson was the Paymaster. He arrived in India in 1687, and in 1693 married Elizabeth Alford, *née* Mell, 'a Casteez,' widow of Richard Brereton and afterwards of Henry Alford. Empson owned a large garden-house in the thoroughfare now called Mint Street, opposite the Jews' Cemetery.

[4] *Garden Point*, probably the small bastion on the south side of the Company's New Garden.

[5] Blank in original. [6] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 28th Feb., 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

[7] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 15th Dec., 1692.

[8] The bridge which spanned the canal on the west side of Black Town.

Point haveing made use of the ground betweene theire houses and the old Mudd wall for Houses, gardens, &c., which was left for the rounds to pass in the night; the most considerable of them being sent for, it was, with theire consent, ordered that a new wall be built a little further out, so as to leave a walke for the rounds betweene their Houses and the new wall, and that all the Inhabitants then do pay all the charges proportionably.'

Two years later it was resolved to rely on musketry only for the defence of Black Town, and in consequence to dismantle the bastions while strengthening the curtain walls. The bastions are referred to as 'Trivitore, Attipollam and Cundore Mud Points, and the River Spur.' The works owed these new names presumably to the villages towards which they faced. The first was probably the easternmost bastion of the north wall, and the second was almost certainly the bastion by Mud Point Gate. Cundore Point must have been either the work at the north-west angle, or that near the middle of the west face, while the River Spur is deemed to have been the old bastion adjacent to Queens Point. If these surmises are correct, the lost village of Condore must be sought to the west or north-west of Old Black Town. The Consultation runs as follows:—'Ordered that Trivitore, Attipollam and Cundore Mud Points, and the River Spur be demolished; and that the Clay, etc., be made use of for the Strengthening of the mud walls, and raiseing a step at the Basis of the inside thereof to such a heigth and breadth, and in Such manner as may be convenient for the useing of Small Arm's. The reasons whereof are that the said Points are not defensible against an Europe Enemy unlesse we had a greater number of men to Spare, and would be usefull for the Enemy; and the Step will be usefull [to us].'[1]

In 1697 the old decision to build Black Town rampart in masonry was reaffirmed:—'The following orders are made upon perusall of the Rt. Honble Companys Letter Dated 1st July, 1696 . . . ; That the Scavengers duty be received by Mr. Foquett,[2] the Rentall Generall, and accounted unto the Rt. Honble. Company's cash as formerly, and the produce paid unto the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 27th Feb.. 169⅝.

[2] *John Foquet* entered the service in 1687. In 1700 he married 'Ann Brown,' widow of Dr. Samuel Browne. Her daughter, Elizabeth Brown, brought an action for breach of promise against Capt. Henry Cornwall in 1711. Seven years later she became the wife of the Chaplain, the Rev. Charles Long.

Mayor, etc. of the Corporation (as the Town Conicoplies Duty is), to be applied unto the building of a Brickwall round the Towne.'[1]

Temples and Mosques.

The two principal Hindu temples of Madras—viz., the Perumāl Kovil of Black Town, built by Timmaṇṇa, and the ancient Parthasārathi temple of Tripliçane, were managed by the Company's Chief Merchants under the control of Government. Their revenues were derived partly from endowments of land, and partly from a tax on imports and exports which was paid voluntarily with the customs dues:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Gentoe Pag[oda in the Black Tow]n being built by Timina, the former Cheif [Merchant, and from] that tyme kept in repayre and maintained by the Ch[eif Merc]hants, who allso Received the Custome of the Gentoe Pagodo, voluntaryly payd by all but Europe Natives and Armenians, wherewith they orderd the maintainance of their Braminies, &c.; and allso the more famous Pagodoe of Triblicane, which is mentioned in one of the King of Golcondahs Phirmaunds dated the 23^d ffebruary 1676[2] to be granted to the Company, which we obtained at the speciall Instance of Verona, and hath been ever [since] under the management and care of our Cheif Merchants, wh[o applied] the Profit of the adjacent grounds to the maintainance [of their] Braminees, amount[ing] yearly from Pagodas fifty to [seventy]; Untill lately President Yale took both the said Pagodoes out of the hands of the Cheif Merchants, and made Rangia Chittee, Collavamatadre and Child Conacople the Overseers and Governours of the Pagodoes, Though nothing doth appeare in any Consultation of the Reason which mooved President Yale to doe it. Since which tyme the Inhabitants have entertained Jealousyes of Dyabolicall arts practis'd in those Pagodoes against some of the Merchants and their Party.

'The Merchants being Present, it was declared to them that, for their Encouragement and the better satisfaction of the Inhabitants, We doe give them liberty to make the same use of their Pagodoes, and to receive the same Income for both as formerly; but reserve to our selves the Power of recalling that Liberty when we shall see cause. And also that the Ground belonging, as they say, to Triblecane is to be disposed of by us to such Inhabitants as we shall think fitt to settle there; and that it is not in their Power to lay any Taxe upon such Inhabitants without our Consent. [And further] that they are to give an account Yearly on eve[ry New Years day of the Incomes of Triblicane and how the same does arise].'[3] (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 29th Dec., 1692.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 7th June, 1697.

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[3] The record, which is in bad condition, has been made good from Wheeler, who copied it fifty years ago without preserving the original spelling.

The above arrangement was cancelled four years later in consequence of the unsatisfactory conduct of Beri Timmappa, who was then Chief Merchant :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The matter . . . relating to Timapa being now debated, it is resolved that it is requisite that the mannagement of the Revenues of the Madrass and Triblecane Pagodoes be taken out of the hands of Timapa, &c. Merchants, and placed in other hands for the present. And that neither Timapa, Allingall Pillas nor Mooda Veronas son doe were roundells, and that they be cautioned not to ride either in a Palankeen or on Horseback in the Town.

'Timapa being sent for, and alledging that the Pagoda of Madrass was built by his Ancestors,[1] concerning which he will deliver a Petition in two or three days time; but he will deliver the Triblecane Pagoda to whome wee shall order to receive it. . . .

'Ordered that Ramapa, a Braminy, Nairo Verona, and Racca Chittie be appointed to mannage the Revenues of the Pagodas of Madrass and Triblecane. NATHANIELL HIGGINSON, JOHN STYLEMAN, WILLIAM FRASER, CHARLES BARWELL, THOMAS WRIGHT.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 18th April, 1696.)

The history of the Company's Merchants was reviewed in the Consultation of the 23rd April, 1696, preparatory to revision of their privileges. It appears that Chief Merchants Beri Timmaṇṇa and Cassa Verona (Kāsī Vīraṇṇa) and their predecessors were free of customs dues; but in 1678, when a great part of the Madras trade was in Verona's hands, it was settled that he should pay half rates on his imports and exports, whether they were for his private account or the Company's. The other half was remitted as a concession to former usage and to Nawab Neknām Khān's cowle, as well as in consideration of Verona's responsibility for the merchants associated with him. At the same time special provision was made that the exemption formerly enjoyed by Beri Timmaṇṇa should not be continued to his sons or brothers.

On Cassa Verona's demise in 1680, Timmaṇṇa's brother, Pedda Venkaṭādri, became Chief Merchant in his room. In the following June the Company of Joint Stock Merchants was formed with Venkaṭādri as its titular head, and full customs dues were claimed. Suspended by Master, Venkaṭādri was afterwards reinstated by Gyfford. In 1681 Government consented to the payment of only half rates by Pedda Venkaṭādri, Allingall (Alangāda) Pillai and

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Mooda Verona (Muddu Vīraṇṇa) on their quarter share of the Joint Stock, on account of extra charges which they were called on to meet; and the concession was approved by the Company.[1]

Having thus reviewed the facts, the Council resolved that 'the Joint Stocke Merchants or Contractors for the provision of Callicoes doe pay but halfe the Custome which others pay, Vizt. for soe much as is actually delivered to the Rt. Honble Company.'

Allusion has already been made to the catholicity of Cassa Verona's religious sentiments. Not only did he pass under a Moslem alias as Ḥasan Khān, but he even founded a mosque in Black Town. Its site was in 'Moors Street,' due east of the Perumāl temple and close to the beach. A second mosque was built in Muthialpetta[2] during Yale's term of office. From the following extract it is clear that the Moslem population of Madras in 1694 could have been but small:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The two moor mulla's,[3] Morcay Lubba and Abu Bucker, haveing for many years past been at great variance concerning the division of the Fees, &c., accustomed to be given them by that Cast; dureing which time of their difference some of the moormen have called in another mulla to officiate in a new intended mosquett, There being two already, One built by Verona within the Blacktown, and the other in President Yale's time in the Petta, sufficient for the whole Cast, and for all parts of the Towne, It is resolved not to admit of the building of any more. To prevent which it is adjudged a good expedient to confirme the Agreement made between the two mulla's, as signified in their Petition, and to grant them a Cowle according to the Tenor thereof.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 3rd July, 1694.)

The cowle provided that the right to officiate in the mosques should be confined to these two mullahs and their descendants.

A similar difference arose regarding the succession to the post of Peddanaigue. Timmappa Naik and Angārappa Naik both claimed to succeed the latter's father.[4] Yale, in order to hasten the settlement of the question at issue, placed the revenues

[1] Pedda Venkaṭādri was succeeded as titular Chief Merchant by his brother Chinna Venkaṭādri. Next followed Allingall Pillai, who founded the Ekambreswarar temple in Mint Street, and died in 1695 (*P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 31st Jan., 169⅘). His successor was Beri Timmappa, son of Pedda Venkaṭādri (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 22nd April, 1703). Timmappa fell into evil repute and fled Madras, his place being filled in 1696 by Chekka Serappa.

[2] Probably behind the present Bentinck's Buildings.

[3] *Mulla*, one learned in Moslem law and the Korān.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 27th Dec., 1692.

temporarily in the hands of 'the Sea side and Choultry Canocoples.' When the dispute had lasted seven years,[1] Timmappa Naik withdrew to Trivatore, where a fight took place between the rivals, and one of Angārappa's men was killed. The Government then interfered:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Timapa Naigue . . . gives this reason for his withdrawing, vizt. want of money to maintain himselfe and Peons, and declares his intention to be to draw out Airingapa Naigue that they may meet and fight, and then one of them would dye and the other enjoy the benefitt of the place. It is therefore Debated what method is to be taken. . . .

'It appears plain that they are both inclined to decide the controversy by fight, Timapa Naigue offering that hard usage to Airingapanaigues men on purpose to provoke him, which Airingapanaigue resents as a disgrace that he can't bear, and hath frequently desired the Governours leave to goe and right himselfe. . . .

'But if Airingapanaigue shall go out with his people which are about 300 here and near, the other will call his friends to his assistance (having not above 150), and that will oblige the other to call in the assistance of his friends allso, as is usuall among the Polligars, by which mean's probably a small army of Polligars may be drawn near this Place, the consequences whereof cannot be foreseen but ought to be prevented if they can. . . .

'It is ordered that the following writeing be given by the Governour in order to an accom̃odac̄on. Lett Timapanaigue and Airingapanaigue look after the watching businesse together, with each One Hundred Peons. I will pay each forty Pagodas a month. Therefore lett Timapa Naigue set those people free which he hath taken hold off, which was not well done, and then lett him come in safety. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxv., 12th Aug., 1697.)

The proposed compromise appears to have been unacceptable, for in 1699 the dispute between the rival claimants was settled in favour of Angārappa.

In 1693 the Council, deferring to the views of the Company, proposed to abolish the ancient office of Town Conicoply of Madras. Judge Dolben was of opinion that the cowle was voidable at the pleasure of Government. It was accordingly suspended, and the revenues were collected by the Company's conicoplies and lodged in the Choultry.[2] Two years later the former incumbent, 'Woota Lingua' (Ottai Lingam), was compensated by an allowance of Pags. 80 per annum out of the revenues, which then amounted to about Pags. 600.[3] The

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 9th Aug., 1697.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 27th July, 1693.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxii., 29th Aug., 1695.

Government's disposal of the case, though not contested at the time, was called in question about a century later, when it gave rise to considerable correspondence.[1]

SAN THOMÉ AFFAIRS.

Having outbid the English in 1688 for the lease of San Thomé, the Portuguese re-established themselves in the dismantled and partly ruined town. While they clung, under their Capitão Môr, to a semblance of authority within the European quarter, all real control centred in the Avaldar or Moslem governor Hājī Muḥammad 'Alī, who represented the Mogul both at Mylapore and in the country around Pulicat. The condition of San Thomé is thus described in a letter to England :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Inhabitants of St. Thoma continue under there subjection to the Moores Government, and are generally reduced to great poverty, haveing to noe purpose spent large sumes for getting the Government into their own hands ; and are miserably divided among themselves ; But yet retaine their pride, which makes them talke pertly upon every slight occation. Their present great news is that the King of Portengall has made a Company at Goa to whom is limitated the Trade of India, and Letters from some Merchants of Goa to their Correspondents here doe intimate there is something in it. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 4th Dec., 1694.)

In 1694 one Thomas Gutteridge, whose person was wanted at Madras, fled to the Portuguese town for security. The 'Captaine Moor' declined to extradite him unless Fort St. George engaged to hold the man harmless. Higginson determined on reprisals, and Lieut. Seaton was ordered to arrest any San Thomé Portuguese he might find in Madras, and confine them in the Inner Fort pending instructions from the Mayor[2]:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Received a Letter from Hodgee Mahomod Allee, the Avaldar of St. Thoma, adviseing that the runaway Thomas Gutteridge was delivered by the Portugueze into his hands, and earnestly desires that the Portugueze men may be discharged, and that a pardon may be granted to Ditto Gutterridge, and he promises to send him.

'The Portugueze of St. Thoma having delivered Thomas Gutterridge out of

[1] *P.C.*, vol. cl., 23rd July, 1788.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 15th Oct., 1694.

their possession, It was by the consent of the Council Ordered that John De Costa and Lucas Lewis be discharged from further confinement.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 19th Oct., 1694.)

In the following year the Viceroy at Goa commissioned one of his relatives named Luis Francisco Coutinho to be 'Generall of the Coast of Choromandell.' The 'ffidalgo' arrived at San Thomé, read his commission, accepted the resignation of the Capitão Môr, Thoma De Mayo, established an Office of the Inquisition, and summoned all Portuguese to return to the town. He had few troops, however, at his command, and little authority. Fort St. George declined to take him seriously.[1] He remained on the coast upwards of a year, and in 1696 sent his Oviedor[2] to the Governor of Madras with a request for guns. Higginson contented himself with a verbal negative.[3] The Council wrote home as follows regarding the fidalgo :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Inhabitants of St. Thoma in generall are extreamely dissatisfyed with the power which he hath exerted among them by exacting fines to the Kings use for misdemeanours, which money hee appley's to the payment of his Souldiers which were 50 in number, but reduced to less than halfe because the charges exceeded the fund. Nor are they better pleased with the Walls which hee hath caused to bee repaired about St. Thoma, with the permission of the Moors Avaldare when the Morattas threatned that place ; but as soon as the fear was over, the Avaldare tooke an occation to be offended, and tooke downe the Gate of the Citty, and broake part of the Walls down. And they have hitherto remained under that subjection to the Moors that they have been forbidden to weare Swords out of the Citty ; and still the best of them cannot wear a Kittesoll or a Sword when they pa[ss b]y the house of the principall Moors. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696.)

In the same year, 1696, a Captain Thomas Gullocke, who was in the Marshal's custody for debt, escaped to San Thomé. His friend Daniel Dubois, an attorney of Madras, was suspected of connivance. He was certainly guilty of contempt, and he was debarred from practice both at the Court of Admiralty and the Mayor's Court.[4] Mr. Chardin was then sent to San Thomé with a proposal of composition from the creditors. Gullocke rejected

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxii., 3rd May, 1695, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 6th May, 1695.

[2] *Oviedor*, Port. *ovidor*, auditor, one who heard and settled complaints.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 20th June, 1696.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 31st Aug. and 2nd Sept., 1696. Daniel Dubois, formerly of the civil service and now a free merchant, married (1) Elizabeth Cary in 1687 and (2) Mary Rickson in 1694.

the offer, and sent 'a Declaration in Poetry[1] of his resolution of departing from St. Thoma.' The Avaldar's officers then went 'to demand Mr. Gullocke at Padre Sardenas House, but the Padre and Mr. Gullocke stood upon their defence with Pistolls.' It was ultimately deemed advisable to send a pardon to Gullocke, and so ensure his return.[2]

In the latter part of 1696, when British relations with Nawab Zu,lfikār Khān were somewhat strained, the Portuguese made a vain attempt to recover lost ground:—'The Portugueze of St. Thoma have sent Domingo d'Coasta to the Nabob to solicit the renting of the adjoining Aldeas,[3] and the confirming of the Kings Phirmaund for injoying St. Thoma, with Priviledges according to Salabad,[4] and liberty of the Nabob to Fortifie. The Nabob has given them a Perwanna in persuance of said Phirmaund, thô he has not granted any thing according to their request.'[5]

Far from obtaining permission to fortify San Thomé afresh, the Portuguese had the mortification of seeing the existing works demolished. On the 8th January, 1697, Mogul officials arrived from Arcot and began pulling down three of the bastions[6]:— 'Spyes from St. Thoma have ever since the 11th Instant dayly advise[d] that the Moors goe on in pulling downe the ffortifications, whereof five points and the Gate demolished, and this day they began upon the Wall, carrying the Brick and Stone to a place where the Havaldar is goeing to build a house.[7] They have alsoe taken down the fflag stafe, and this day visited one of the Churches.'[8] For years the defences of San Thomé served as a quarry for the supply of materials to the neighbourhood. At the present day no trace of the fortifications remains.

In June, 1698, the arrival at San Thomé of an interloping craft flying British colours afforded excitement to Fort St. George for a week. The incident is treated at great length in the records.[9]

1 Unfortunately not preserved.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 8th and 11th Sept., 1696.

3 *Aldea*, a village; from Ar. *al-dai'a*, a farm or landed estate.

4 *Salabad*, immemorial usage.

5 *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 14th Sept., 1696.

6 *P.C.*, vol. xxiv., 8th and 11th Jan., 169 6/7. The fortifications then existing probably escaped the demolition of 1675; they could scarcely have been rebuilt by Coutinho.

7 Possibly the Cutcherry, the remains of which are still to be seen.

8 *P.C.*, vol. xxiv., 17th Jan., 169 6/7.

9 *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 16th June, 1698.

Orders were issued that no communication should be held with the ship, and 'that no Europe Inhabitant goe out of the bounds of Madrasse without leave of the Governour or Second of Councill.' Letters were written to the Captain Mōr, Lucas Luis, and also to the Avaldar, disowning the ship, and every effort was made to prevent trade. The action taken was effective, for the vessel soon left the coast.

The hostility of Zu,lfiḳār's ṣuccessor, Nawab Dā,ūd Khān, towards the British in 1701 and 1702 will be referred to in a future page. The Nawab visited San Thomé on several occasions at this period, and proposed to develop the town at the expense of Fort St. George. According to Manucci,[1] the Dīwān Muḥammad Sa'īd, who was at San Thomé in August, 1702, surrounded the whole place, including both the Moorish and Portuguese quarters, with a rampart of earth, and applied for permission to rebuild the half-ruined town. The Emperor, however, withheld sanction from the project. Manucci mentions[2] further that, though the Portuguese had their dwellings in the centre of the town, the Muhammadans surrounded them, and occupied by far the larger portion of the place. The Portuguese exercised no authority, their chief and almost only privilege being the display of their flag on Sundays and feast days.

[1] *Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii., pp. 288 and 296, edited by William Irvine.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

CHAPTER XLIII

1692—1698

SUBURBAN VILLAGES—MILITARY DETAILS—MINOR EPISODES—REVIEW OF TERRITORIAL GRANTS

Suburban Villages.

It will be remembered that Governor Yale's application of 1692 for a free grant of the villages of Egmore and Pursewaukum on the west, and Tondiarpet on the north, on account of services rendered, was referred to the Emperor by the Vizier. Early in 1693 Sir John Goldsborough received a perwanna from Asad Khān, dated the 10th February, by which 'the Towns Tandore, Persewacca and Yegmore' were granted to the Company in the name of 'President Higginson, the English Governour of Chinapatam.'[1] Goldsborough decided, however, that no attempt should be made to improve the revenues until the gift was confirmed.[2]

Prior to the grant by the Vizier, his son Zu,lfikār Khān had given a jaghire[3] to a certain Vālayuda Arasama Nāyak, which included two of the villages. After the British had entered into possession, Arasama Nāyak demanded the rendition not only of Egmore and Pursewaukum, but also of Triplicane.[4] This demand the Council resolved to resist by force, and a detachment of troops was sent to Egmore with the following orders:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'To Ensigne Alexander Del Gardiner.

'There being inteligence that a Party of moors Horse and Foot are comeing towards Yegmore, . . . These are therefore to Order you with ten Centinels to march to Yegmore, where there is allready one Serjeant and twenty Centinells

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1 *P.C.*, vol. xix., 25th Feb., 169⅔. 2 *P.C.*, vol. xix., 10th June, 1693.

3 *Jaghire*, an assignment of land; from Pers. *jāgīr*.

4 *P.C.*, vol. xx., 26th Dec., 1693.

whom you are to receive under your Command . . . You are there to take possession of and defend the Choultry[1] against all opposers till further Order. And in case any of the moors or morrattas come to take forceable possession of the place, and tye their leaves, You are to resist them and not suffer them to doe it. . . . In like manner, if you have information of the moors marching to Persiwacca to take possession of that place, You may leave a guard at Yegmore and march to Persiwacca and oppose them in takeing possession thereof . . . . NATHLL HIGGINSON, JOHN DOLBEN, WILLIAM FRASER.' (*P.C.*, vol. xx., 30th Jan., $169\frac{3}{4}$.)

The following letter was despatched to Asad Khān :—

President Higginson to the Grand Vizier.

'To Assid Cawn the Grand Vissier.

'Since the King's beginning to reign it is now 37 Years. I have often acquainted your Excellency of the many services done to his Majesty and his servants in Ascar Cawn and Allemerdecawn's[2] time. You cannot chuse but be sensible of it; besides the provision wee have allways sent up, and still continueing the same, to your Camp att Chingee and Wandewash. Upon which your Excellency gott from Prince Cawn Bux his Neshawn for us for three towns, which was given as a free gift, together with your own Seal and Perwanna for the same. Besides which, your Excellency have often promised in your letters that you would get the King's Phirmaund for us at the King's Camp to send it us presently. . . . Now Arsemonagues People came . . . and demand the same, giveing us a great deale of trouble; as allso Triplicane, which allways belonged to us; they contriving all ways possible to breed a quarrell, so that wee might incur his Majesties and your Excellencys displeasure, and likewise loose those towns, which would be a great dishonour to us. Wee did not take them by force you well know: it was by your Order. Neither shall wee ever take any thing without his Majesties or your Excellency[s order]. Now, since your Excellency have so often promised us, according to our desire, the King's Phirmaund, together with your own perwanna, for those towns, wee again doe desire you to gett it us imediatly, which, if you doe, will be a great Honour to us amongst all Europeans. . . . NATHANIELL HIGGINSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 28th Feb., $169\frac{3}{4}$.)

The outcome of this letter was a grant from Zu,lfikār, which overrode that given to Arasama Nāyak.[3] The Council then resolved to repair the tank, sow toddy seeds round the village bounds, and plant 'Cajue'[4] and other trees for firewood in all

[1] This Choultry was subsequently converted into a small fort, known as Egmore Redoubt.

[2] *Ascar Cawn and Allemerdecawn* ('Alī Asghar Khān and 'Alī Mardān Khān), successive Nawabs of the Carnatic (*P.C.*, vol. xvi., 24th Aug. and 1st Sept., 1690). The latter, on being taken prisoner at Gingee by the Marāthas, was succeeded by Ķāsim Khān (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 25th Feb., $169\frac{2}{3}$).

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 19th March, $169\frac{3}{4}$.

[4] *Cajue*, cashew, a tree producing an edible nut.

barren places.[1] The Government subsequently discovered that all grants must be entered in the books of the 'Canoungoes,'[2] and that if this course had been followed in 1693 the trouble with Arasama Nāyak would not have arisen:—'By the Conquest of Golconda and Vizapore, Aurenzeebs Dominions are accounted to consist of 56 Kingdoms or Principalities, which are divided under severall Canoungoes, who keep an account of the value and contents of all Lands, and allways reside with the King, and give direction for the distribution of Lands to the severall Subas[3] and Principal officers as they are appointed by the King.'[4] The Canoungoes were generally Marātha Brahmans who received no fixed salary, but took a percentage of the produce of the lands. Nārāyan, the British political agent who negotiated with Zulfikār for the grant of Egmore, etc., arranged that the Canoungo should have 1½ per cent. of the produce of the Madras villages, and 2 per cent. of those belonging to Fort St. David, together with a house and garden at each place. The Council, however, decided that the Canoungo should have no dealings with the inhabitants, but should receive a fixed payment of Pags. 35 per annum:—

'*A Cowle given by the Honble Nath^ll Higginson To Conoungoe Sisawgee Aumaugee Bawchurra.*[5] *Dated the 27th July*, 1695.

'Since I have been informed of your good and noble disposition, I doe now promise and give you by this Cowle the Conoungoes duty for the five Towns[6] belonging to Chinapatam, and allso the Eleven Towns belonging to Tevenapatam and Cuddalore. The Conoungoe duty of all these Towns is Pagodas thirty-five, all which you shall have in Chinapatam, and when you receive it, you must then continue a faithfull freind to the Rt. Hon'ble English Company.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxii., 2nd Aug., 1695.)

This matter has been dealt with at length because frequent references are made in later records to the Canoungo duty of Pags. 35, which was afterwards paid together with the Town rent.

In 1693 Dr. Samuel Browne had visited Gingee to attend

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 19th July, 1694.
[2] *Canoungo*, from Pers. *kanūn-go*, speaker of the rules.
[3] *Suba*, a province; from Pers. *sūba*. The word is here used for *sūbadār*, the governor of a province.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxii., 2nd Aug., 1695.
[5] Sisājī Amājī Bāchunā.
[6] Triplicane, Egmore, Pursewaukum, Tandore, and Catawauk, the last of which was acquired in 1695.

Ḳāsim Khān, the Carnatic Nawab-designate, and had obtained from him a perwanna for six villages to the northward of Madras — viz., 'Trivatore, Sautungaud, Shaudium Cuppum, Ernavoor, Cuttewacaw and Aleunda Cherre.'[1] The Council had reasons for thinking it undesirable to enter into possession, and though Catawauk was separately granted by the Nawab in 1695,[2] it was soon voluntarily relinquished. The northern villages did not pass into British hands until 1708.[3]

Wedged in between Pursewaukum on the north and west, Egmore on the south, and Peddanaikpetta on the east, was the village of Ypere or Vipery, which still belonged to the Mogul government. In 1695 the Council deemed it necessary 'to endeavour a grant of the Town of Ipere, which lyes intermixt in the middle of our new Towns, and in the troublesome place for receiving the Nabob's Junkan; and to rent the Junkans round about Madrass, if it can be obtained for a reasonable rent, for a year or two, as well to remove the Junkan places as to redu[ce] the Custome to Sallabad.'[4] Zu,lfikār was accordingly asked, through Nārāyan, to 'grant the Town of Vipere to the use of the Moschete[5] which was built by the Rt. Honble Company in Chinapatam.' The application was, however, unsuccessful, and the Junkanners continued to give trouble, assaulting Armenian and other merchants. The 'Junckan place beyond the River,' also known as the *Metta* or place of toll, was identical with the present 'Periamett' or Great metta. In 1697 the insolence of the Junkanner became intolerable:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxvi., 9th to 14th Oct., 1697.)

'9th Oct. The Junkanneer having severall times sent his Peons to keep a watch within Triblecane bounds, Peons were sent to turne them out. But this day the Junkanneer having sent 4 Rashboots[6] with possitive order not to leave the Post without his order, and allso 15 bundalars[7] to a Choultry within the bounds of Tandore, . . . 20 Peons were sent to Triblecane and 40 to Tandore with orders to prevent their Insolence.

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1 *P.C.*, vol. xx., 7th Aug., 1693.
2 *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 21st Sept., 1696.
3 *P.C.*, vol. xli., 24th May, 1710.
4 *P.C.*, vol. xxii., 3rd May, 1695.
5 *Moschete*, mosque. Probably the one built by Verona in the Black Town.
6 *Rashboots*, Rajputs.
7 *Bundalars*, Bondiliars, a Hindu caste speaking Hindustani and Marāthi, and accepting military service (*Madras Census Report*, 1900).

'11. Last night 40 Balears[1] came from Pollimullee to the Ipere meeta, there being in all there about 60; and Spie peons advise that this day or to-morrow Allebux is expected with 200 Peons belonging to Polligar Ramraz, who is the head Polligar of these parts. . . .

'This afternoon our watching Peons advise that 100 of Ram Raz Peons are come to the meet,[2] and Fifty of Timapa Naigues Peons are in readinesse at Cundore, and that Allee Bux hath ordered his son to pay them Batty.'

Matters looked so threatening that the Governor ordered the return of the British families staying at the Mount. Mr. Barwell, one of the members of Council, coming in with his family on the 12th, was stopped by the Junkanner near Triplicane. Dr. Browne was then sent out to bring in his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Proby.[3] This he was successful in doing on the 14th. A letter was sent to the Nawab complaining of the Junkanner's action, and the trouble ceased for a time.

All this while Zu,lfiḳār Khān was prosecuting the interminable siege of Gingee. Dissensions in the camp hindered the progress of operations. Zu,lfiḳār quarrelled with Prince Kām Baksh and actually imprisoned him. Being refused a loan by Higginson, he showed himself so hostile to the British that preparations were made at Fort St. George to resist an attack. In January, 1698, news reached Madras of the fall of Gingee.[4] Zu,lfiḳār then demanded the rendition of Tevnapatam and Cuddalore, and some fighting took place there.[5] Matters were finally arranged in July after protracted negotiations.[6]

MILITARY DETAILS.

The following police and garrison regulations were issued by Governor Higginson:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There haveing been severall Robberys and Burglaries committed of late, both within the walls and in the Black Town and Patta's, besides other disorders; For the prevention thereof for the future, It is Ordered that the

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[1] *Balears*: M. R. Ry. K. Rangachari suggests that these may be Balijas, a caste division of the Bondiliars.

[2] *The meet*, the metta.

[3] Samuel Browne, who married Ann Baker in 1688, died at Madras ten years later. William Proby became the husband of Frances Gray in 1693.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxvi., 2nd Jan., 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 16th and 22nd Feb., 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 28th July, 1698.

Souldiers of the Garrison and Gun Roome Crew upon their free guard days shall not walke out of the walls of the Christian Towne and Black Towne without leave of their officer; and after sun sett shall carry neither Musket, sword, Baggonet nor other Arms about them. And all the Europeans shall (except the Married Men who have leave to goe to their famillies) repaire to the souldiers Lodge, and the Gun Roome Crew to the place appointed, before nine a clocke at night, when the Ensigne or Serjeant of the Company shall call over the names of the souldiers, and the Gunners Mate the names of their crew by the Muster Roll, and marke the absent, and Report the same to the Governour next morning.

'And further, that the Talliars shall, as hath been heretofore used, beat the Tom Tom through the black town at eleven a clock at night, after which time if any person whatsoever, European, Moor, Mustee[z] or Gentue, shall be found walking in the streets, either of the black town or Patta's, The Talliars and Companys Peons appointed to watch are Ordered and have power to Lay hold off, seize such person and carry him to the next Guard, where the Officer of the Guard shall forthwith examine him, and if he doe not give a satisfactory account to him of the occasion of his being abroad soe late, hee shall detaine him upon the Guard till the morning, and then carry him to a Justice of the Peace, who shall examine him and proceed according as matter of suspicion or proof shall appear.

'And if any souldier . . . shall be found to have arms after sun sett, [he] shall, upon the next free guard day, be confin'd to the Cockhouse. . . .

'If any Souldier, or of the Gun Room Crew, shall be found drunke either upon their Guard, or free guard day, [he] shall be committed to the Cockhouse, and there kept three days fed with Rice and water: and the Marshall shall for provision thereof receive their three days pay on the next pay day. NATHLL. HIGGINSON, JO. DOLBEN, WILL. FRASER.' (*P.C.*, vol. xx., 23rd Oct., 1693.)

In the following year Ensign Alexander Delgardner, whose name has been previously mentioned, 'being a person of good experience in gunnery and military affairs and Fortification, and a very active man,' was despatched to York Fort, near Bencoolen, with a commission as Lieutenant. Mrs. Delgardner was consoled for the temporary loss of his society by the grant of a monopoly of the river fishing at Madras:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee the President and Councill of Fort St. George doe grant unto Anne Delgardner the Sole liberty and Priviledge of fishing in the River adjoining unto the Towne, forbidding any other person to catch fish in said river with any manner of Netts whatsoever, without leave first obtained from said Anne Delgardner, under Penalty of forfeiting their Netts, and suffering what other punishment the Justices of the Choultry shall thinke fitt to inflict; reserving to the Rt. Honble Company the liberty of fishing there once a month for the use of the Generall Table.

'Wee also grant to the said Anne Delgardner full power and authority

to take and receive custome fish of all Cattemarans, &c., as has been usually received by the Rt. Honble Company, for one Year to commence from the Date hereof, she paying for the same the sum̃e of thirty pagodas. . . . NATH^LL. HIGGINSON, JOHN DOLBEN, WILL. FRASER, WILL. HATSELL.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 3rd May, 1694.)

After Mrs. Delgardner had held the licence for two years, it was transferred 'to the Mucquaw men &c. at 50 Pagodas per annum to their great satisfaction.'[2]

Lieut. Delgardner, or Delgarno as he is now called, returned to Madras disgraced in 1697. He was dismissed from York Fort for refractory conduct and disrespect to the Governor, and for abusive actions towards the inhabitants, which culminated in a fatal assault on a slave boy. He was afterwards put in irons for mutinous behaviour. Fort St. George confirmed his dismissal,[3] and at the end of 1698 his name appears in a List of 'Seafaring men not constant Inhabitants.'

In 1696 the Company at last recognized the necessity of sending out a trained engineer officer in succession to Mr. Fowle. Early in the following year arrived Captain von Werlinhoffe with a commission as 'Engineer and Miner Generall[4] for an indefinite period.' It was ordered 'that hee have accommodations in the ffort, and at the Generall Table, takeing place next to Cheifs of ffactorys.' His commission, dated 24th April, 1696, ran as follows:—

Commission of Captain von Werlinhoffe.

'Wee, the Governour and Company of Marchants of London Trading into the East Indies, . . . do hereby constitute and appoint you, Captaine ffrederick Mathew v. Werlinhoffe, to be an Engineer, Miner Generall and Covenant Servant, to serve us in the East Indies . . . at and for the Sallary of one hundred Pounds a year. You are to take your passage on the Shipp Sampson, now outward bound for the East Indies ; Hereby recommending you to our Generall, Lieut.-Generall, Presidents, Agents and Councills in India to give you their furtherance and assistance in the carrying on of our service wherein you are imployed, and commanding all other our Inferiour Officers and Souldiers to yeild you due obedience as our Engineer and Miner Generall, and you yourself to observe and follow such orders and directions as you have or shall receive from us or from the Governour for the time being. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxv., 25th Feb., 169$\frac{6}{7}$.)

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[1] *William Hatsell*, first Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, sat in Council when present at Madras. He married Jane Needham in 1693.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 30th Sept., 1696.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 15th July, 1697, and vol. xxvii., 4th April, 1698.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 25th Feb., 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

In March, 1698, Captain von Werlinhoffe was transferred to Fort St. David to construct fortifications there and at Cuddalore. Four years later he was dismissed as constituting 'a great charge to the Company to no purpose.'[1]

The Government of Fort St. George were not unmindful of those who had claims on the Company. In 1697 a monthly allowance was made to the two daughters of Mr. Poirier, Deputy-Governor of St. Helena, 'to encourage the Charity of those who are so disposed.'[2] Gabriel Poirier, their brother, received a commission as Ensign in the Garrison.[3] Pensions were granted to the children of officers dying in the service. Thus:—'John Bayly haveing, according to the custom of the Garrison, received ninety one fanam's per month ever since the decease of his father who dyed an Ensigne about ten Years agoe; and being now capable of doeing duty, was called thereto. But his fond mother refuses to permit him. It is therefore Ordered that his Pay cease.'[4]

In 1696, owing to Zu,lfikār Khān's hostile attitude, the Train Bands were again embodied. All servants of the Company and all the Freemen of the place were ordered to attend for enlistment. Francis Ellis, Esq., was appointed Captain, Mr. John Affloeck, Lieutenant, and Capt. Charles Metcalfe, Ensign.[5] The first was a civil servant, and the other two were free merchants.

Minor Episodes.

Orders were issued in 1696 that 'the Cutt River be cleared' to a certain depth.[6] The artificial Channel near the present Penitentiary, which connected the Triplicane and Elambore rivers, and so converted the peninsula between them into 'the Island,' is doubtless alluded to. The cut was probably made with the object of equalizing the flood levels in the two rivers, but the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 3rd Dec., 1702.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 2nd Aug., 1697. The elder daughter, Mary, became the wife of Capt. John Parham in 1698, and the younger, Lucy (or Louise), was united to the Rev. George Lewis in 1702.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxv., 5th April, 1697. Poirier, who married in 1699 Lucy Croke (or Crook), *née* Fleetwood, eventually became Commandant of the Garrison, and died in 1716, aged forty-five. His tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 10th May, 1694.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 16th Jan., 169⅚, and 21st May, 1696.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. xxiii., 27th Feb., 169⅚.

year of its construction is unknown. In 1698 we find that 'John the Dutchman[1] having carried away a great deal of Earth from the Cutt River to make banks and manure his Garden, the Paymaster is order'd to cause him to returne all back again to the place from whence he tooke it, and to cause the mud in the bottom of the Cutt River (the water being now low) to be thrown upon the banks of each side, which will help to render that low land in time fitt for use.'[2]

The 'Cannall of the Padda,' as the natural drainage channel forming the western boundary of Black Town was called, appears to have been embanked, regulated, and utilized for the irrigation of the Company's paddy lands which lay between the two pettahs. The section of the canal north of Tom Clarke's Gate was lined with trees, and formed a promenade designated 'Merchants' Walk.' The exact period at which these improvements were carried out has not been determined, but Higginson's era was certainly marked by development of private enterprise. Thus, two free merchants named John and James Coventry, who were probably brothers, turned their inventive capacity to commercial account. The former, who was sometime Clerk of the Supreme Court, devised a water-lift in 1695, and secured a patent for it in the following terms:—

Grant to Mr. John Coventry.

'Whereas John Coventry, Inhabitant of this place, hath by his Petition signified to us that he had been at great expence and trouble in contriveing and makeing an Engine for the drawing of water, which when perfected would be a publick benefit and advantage to the place; and, in consideration of his trouble and charge therein, hath prayed us to grant unto him the sole liberty for makeing said Engine: Wee, the President and Councill, . . . considering the reasonableness of his request, and for encouragement to him and others to Invent and make other Engines and things whereby the Publick may be profited, doe . . . grant unto him, the said John Coventry, his heirs and assigns, the sole liberty and priviledge for makeing said Engine with three wheels for the drawing of water during the space of seven years. . . . NATH^{LL}. HIGGINSON, WILL. FRASER, JO. STYLEMAN, THO. WRIGHT, ED. TREDCROFT.'[3] (*P.C.*, vol. xxii., 19th Aug., 1695.)

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[1] Probably John Wessendonck, alias Stephenson. He married Violante Shales in 1694 in the name of 'Wesendoenk.'

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 23rd May, 1698.

[3] *Edward Tredcroft* entered the service in 1687. In 1696 his appointment was 'Searcher at the Sea Gate.'

Those acquainted with Madras would hardly anticipate a demand for Turkish baths in a place whose climate affords a natural bath during three-fourths of the year. James Coventry thought differently. Associated with two other free merchants, he secured a monopoly for the erection of baths:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Samuel Glover, Mr. James Coventry, and Mr. Thomas Shepheard, requesting liberty for Erecting Bagnio's or Sweating Houses, which they would be at the Charge to build for publick use if we will give them a grant for a certain time, it being the first essay, and will probably be a considerable charge, and supposed to be a publick Convenience; It is resolved to give them a grant . . ., the yearly rent being Ten Pagodas, which thô but small, there being no competitors, yet may lay a foundation . . . for an encrease of the Revenue when their time is expired. . . .

'*Notification.* Know yee that, upon the earnest intreaty and request of Samuel Glover, James Coventry and Thomas Shepheard, Inhabitants of this Citty, wee, the President and Councill, . . . grant unto the aforenamed . . . the sole liberty and Priviledge of erecting and keeping for publick use Hummums, Bagnios or sweating Houses for the Space and full terme of Five years. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxi., 22nd Oct., 1694.)

Supplementing the local products of arrack and toddy, there seems to have been a liberal supply of wines and spirits of Western origin. In 1695 a butt of sherry was ordered to be 'divided among the Rt. Honble Companys married Servants now upon the place as follows, Vizt., Mr. Styleman 30 Gallons, Mr. Empson, Mr. Hiller[1] and Mr. Mead[2] 20 Gallons each, and Dr. Brown 15 Gallons.'[3]

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxv., 1st March, 169$\frac{5}{6}$.)

'There being no wine or Bear, &c. ffactory provisions; It is ordered that the following Stores be bought for this and other ffactorys, Vizt.,

Bear, the quantity of 10 Butts in Butts or Punchions.
Redd wine in Caske, if good, 4 or 5 Small Caske.
Ditto in Bottles, 2 Chests.
Cannary, 2 Chests.
Brandy, the quantity of three Cases.
Cheeses, two hundred weight.'

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[1] *Joseph Hiller*, a freeman of Madras in 1685, entered the service in 1692. His house in White Town, probably in Middle Gate Street, is mentioned in 1693.

[2] *Matthew Mead* married Mary Ann Richardson, a widow, in 1688. He was appointed to the civil service in 1693, and was 'Attorny Generall and Sorter' in 1696.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxii., Sept., 1695.

The following episode relates to Mr. Edward Harrison, who afterwards became Governor of Fort St. George :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Edward Harrison, Purser of Shipp London[1] ffriggat having yesterday, in a quarrell, drawn a sw[ord] upon Peter Humbly, Surgeon of said Ship in a p[unch] House within the walls, and afterwards challeng'd the said Humbly; upon which they went and fought a D[uel] in the ffrench Padres Garden, wherein the said Harr[ison] was wounded slightly in the hand, which they [do] now confesse; It is ordered that for the said misdemeanour they pay five Pagodas each, and continue in the custody of the marshall till the same is paid. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxii., 3rd April, 1695.)

A letter received from Bengal in 1694 advised 'the Losse of the Royall James and Mary on a Sand near Tumbolee Point, goeing up Hughly River on the 23 September last.'[2] Many ships have since been lost on the *James and Mary* shoal, which is still a danger to navigation. The rapid current drives a bank of sand against a vessel aground, and capsizes the ship.

The risks of the Madras surf were exemplified in 1697. The ship *Tavistock* arrived from England during the monsoon with fifty chests of silver on board. Massula boats were sent off with a civil servant in each. These 'comeing ashore towards noone, the Surfe being raised by the increase of wind and High water, One of the Mussulas oversett and broke in pieces, wherein Mr. Batson Pearson and Mr. Henry Davenport came with Six Chests of Treasure and the Pacquet.[3] Mr. Davenport saved himselfe by Swimming; Mr. Pearson was drowned, and his body not found.'[4] The treasure was buoyed, and ultimately recovered by catamarans. Four days later Battson Pearson's body was washed ashore at Covelong. His tombstone may be seen by St. Mary's Church.

The Company's ships were often in danger from pirates :—

Fort St. George to Fort St. David.

'Ship Sedgwick arrived the 6th Instant from Anjenga, and brought a Generall to Fort St. David which comes inclosed, with a Narrative concerning

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[1] In 1701 Harrison commanded the *Gosfright*, and in 1709 the *Kent*, both ships trading between China, Bengal, and Europe.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 5th Dec., 1694.

[3] The packet of despatches and letters.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxvi., 22nd Nov., 1697.

Kidd the Pirates proceedings on that Coast. . . . The Sedgwick, as going, was persued three dayes and 3 nights by Kidd : being calme weather, and Kidd outrowing her, she narrowly escaped by favour of a Breeze of wind in which she out sailed Kidd. But was taken in her returne near Cape Comorine by Chivers, a Dutchman, in the Algerine Gally of 250 tons, 150 men and 28 Guns and 24 Oars, after 9 houres persuit with Sails and Oars. But the Cargo not proving for their turne, and the Captain giving the company a bowl of Punch, they let her go in a good humour, taking only Sailes, Cordage, cable, &c. Stores.' (*Let. from F. St. G.*, 7th April, 1698.)

The recognition by the Company of the practice of private trade by their servants may be inferred from the following extract :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'President Higginson producing the Indentures sent out by the Rt. Hon'ble Company to be Sign'd by him, and takeing notice that in the body thereof is expressed a totall prohibition of all trade in India in the goods mention'd, whereas in all former Indentures, and those Sent out by the same Ship, the prohibition of tradeing in these Comoditys is not *in India* but *to and from India ;* and the Rt. Honble Company have never in any Generall letter or otherwise Signified their Intention of limitting their President from trade in India, more then their other Servants, Wee are of opinion that the same did proceed onely from a mistake in the handscribe.' (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 27th April, 1693.)

The Council accordingly approved of an addition being made to the indenture.

On the 6th July, 1698, a ship came into the road bearing Thomas Pitt, sometime Interloper, who produced a commission from the Company appointing him 'President for the Rt. Honble Companys Affairs on the Coast of Choromandell and Orixa, and Governour of Fort St. George and Fort St. David,' and naming Nathaniel Higginson and others as his Council. Pitt assumed charge on the following day. Higginson served as Second of Council and Mintmaster until the 12th September, when Fraser, who had been suspended, was reinstated by Pitt. The ex-Governor declined to be associated with Fraser in any way, and resigned the service.[1] He remained at Madras, however, for upwards of a year, and ultimately sailed for England in the *Benjamin*, Capt. John Brown, on the 25th February, 1700.[2]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 12th Sept., 1698. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 9th Feb., 1699/1700.

Review of Territorial Grants.

In October, 1711, Edward Harrison, then Governor of Madras, addressed a general letter to the President and Council of Bengal, enclosing copies of such of the grants relating to Madras as were extant, together with a paper which purported to give an account of the first settlement of the English at Fort St. George. The latter document was in point of fact, however, only a brief and inadequate summary of the grants. As the sketch is carried down to Governor Higginson's time, it may be appropriately inserted here. The opening sentence which runs, 'Anno 1643 Agent Ivie left Armagon to settle in this Place, having a Cowl from Serango Raylo, Jentue King of this Country' contains a serious mistake, for it implies that the first settlement was effected by Ivie in 1643 under a grant from Rajah Srī Ranga. The error in statement is explicable on the assumption that the Rajah's original grant had been lost, and that the writer of the *Account* had before him the version which begins, '*Translation of a Cowle given by Steeranga Railo to Agent Ivie, dated 15th November*, 1643. You have left the Place called Armagon, &c.' That version has been already quoted, and reasons have been given for the belief that 1643 is an error for 1645. What is remarkable, however, about the account of 1711 is that Cogan, Day, and the very year of founding Fort St. George have all been forgotten, and the earlier grants of Naik Venkaṭappa and Rajah Venkaṭapati already lost sight of. An allusion is made to the amplitude of detail supplied by the older Consultation books. The absence, nevertheless, of precise statement regarding events antecedent to Langhorn's time tends to show that no older records were preserved at Madras then than now. The principal enclosures of Harrison's general letter were :—

'*List*[1] *of the Pacquet to Bengall per Ship President.*

(*Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 23rd Oct., 1711.)

(1) An Account of our first Settlement in Fort St. George.
(2) Translate of a Cowl given by Sheerango Rayloe to Agent Ivie, Dated November 15, 1643.[2]

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[1] The order of the entries has been altered to render it chronological as regards the grants.

[2] An error for 1645. Ivie did not become Agent at Madras until 1644.

(3) Copy of the Nabod Yecknam Cawns Cowl to the Honble Sir William Langhorn, Barronet, dated February 23d, 167½.

(4) Copy of a Cowl given by Musa Cawn to Sir William Langhorn, Barronet, dated April 13, 1676.[1]

(5) Translate of the King of Golcondahs Generall Phirmaund to the English Nation, dated December 19th, 1674.[2]

(6) Copy of his Highness the Olampana's Phirmaund and Cowl to Sir William Langhorn, Barronett, Dated February 23d, 1676.

(7) Translate of a Phirmaund from Nabob Assid Cawn to the Honble Elihu Yale.

(8) Translate of a Dustock[3] from Nabob Assid Cawn directed to the Phousdars,[4] Governours, &c.

(9) Translate of the Nishan of Prince Sultan Mahomud Cawn Bux to the Honble Elihu Yale, Governour &c.'

These documents, which probably perished at the fall of Calcutta in 1756, were copied into a book of *Fort William Letters Sent*, and transmitted to the India House in 1715. The book was afterwards lost, but it was in existence in 1789, when its contents were utilized in forming *Collections* [*of papers*] *to illustrate the Origin of the Settlement of Fort St. George.* These collections, which are preserved at the India Office in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. ix., include Harrison's *Account*, which is here transcribed from the original record at Fort St. George.[5]

'*An Account of our First Settelment att Fort St. George, with the Severall Priviledges granted us From Time to time att this and other Places upon the Coast of Choromandell.*

'Anno 1643 Agent Ivie left Armagon to Settle in this Place, having a Cowl from Serango Raylo, Jentue King of this Country, impowering us to build a Fort and Bullworks, to import and export Custom free, only paying half the Town Custom to the Duan, the other half to be reserved to the Company. The same Cowl grants us all the Ground belonging to Madrass, and gives full power to Execute Justice to all our own Inhabitants and all others that dwel among us. The Governour of Palamale is Strictly forbiden from medling with any of our Inhabitants, as are all Juncanneers from Stoping our Provisions. In Case any of our Ships were Wrecked upon the Coast, all goods that were saved to be for our own Account, and the said Raje obliges himselfe to protect us in all occasions to the utmost of his power.

'Some Years after the Grant of the Aforesaid Cowl, Nabob meer Jumbla,

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1 An error for 1672.

2 This *farmān* had no special reference to Madras.

3 *Dustock*, a permit, pass; from Pers. *dastak*.

4 *Phousdar*, foujdar, a magistrate; from Pers. *fauj-dār*.

5 The original grants have been lost, and no copies of them are found at Fort St. George. Another copy of Harrison's *Account* is found in *Fac. Rec. Mis.*, vol. xxiv.

having Conquered the Carnatta Country for the King of Golconda, Confirmed it Word for Word in Another Cowl granted by himself.[1]

'Anno 1671 Sir William Langhorn, Agent, entred into Articles with the then Nabob Yacknam Cawn, to pay a Certain Sum of One Thousand Two Hundred Pagodas Yearly for the Ground Rent of this Place and the Towns depending. The Nabob at the same time granted a Cowl Repeating and Confirming all the Priviledges given us by His Predecessors, which Cowl is a Recitall of that granted by the Gentue King, only somewhat more fully explained.[2]

'Anno 1672 Muja Cawn succeeded Yacknam Cawn in the Government of the Carnatta Country under the King of Golconda, and Confirmed all the fore-mentioned Priviledges in a new Cowl under his hand and Seal.[3] In the same Year the King of Golconda granted a Phirmaund to Mohan,[4] Cheif of Metchlipatam, and to all the Rest of the English Nation, allowing them to trade Custom free throughout all his Dominions.

'Anno 1674 the King of Golconda granted a general Phirmaund, Confirming all our Ancient Priviledges According to Sallabad and permitting us to build Ships anywhere on the Sea Coast, and issued out a Husbulhookum[5] to all his great Officers throughout the Kingdom Strictly prohibiting them from Molesting us in our Trade by exacting Custom or Juncan Mony in any of the Ports or Places in his Country.[6]

'Anno 1676 the King of Golconda granted a generall Phirmaund to Sir William Langhorn Confirming all our former Priviledges in a very Ample manner, with an addition of severall new Articles, as you will see in the Copy sent herewith.[7] We have likewise added the Copys of the foregoing Phirmaunds and Cowl for your perusall.

'This is all we have Remaining upon Record during the Reign of the King of Golconda;[8] and it is very Strang that we have a better Account upon our Books of what was transacted so long ago than of what has been done these late Dayes. However we shall proceed to give you as good an Account as we can pick out of Abundance of Books and papers, which we have been obliged to go through upon this Occasion, of what has been done since Sir William Langhorn's time.

'During the Government of Agent Masters and President Gyfford we find nothing new except the Settling[9] some small Factorys to the Southward, as Conimere, Cuddalore and Porto Novo, under the Raja of Chingee; which

[1] Mīr Jumla's cowle was granted to Ivie in 1647. No copy is extant, but the grant appears to have corresponded exactly with that of Srī Ranga.

[2] This grant, dated 23rd Feb., 167½, has been already quoted.

[3] Mūsā Khān's grant, dated 13th April, 1672, is not extant. It was a confirmation of Neknām Khān's cowle. In the following July Mūsā Khān ordered the restoration of Triplicane to the British.

[4] Richard Mohun, Chief of Masulipatam.

[5] *Husbulhookum*, a document headed with the words *hasb-ul-hukm*, according to order.

[6] The King granted a further *farmān* in March, 1675, regarding trading privileges at the request of Matthew Manwaring, Chief of Masulipatam (*Treat.*, vol. iii.).

[7] This is the King's *farmān* of the 23rd Feb., 167⅝, which confirmed Neknām Khān's cowle, and specifically included the village of Triplicane in Madras territory.

[8] There was another *farmān*, of no great importance, dated the 1st June, 1681 (*Treat.*, vol. iii.).

[9] In 1682.

Places being since withdrawn (except Cuddalore of which we shall Speak hereafter), there will be no occasion to say any thing of them.

'We remained in Peaceable possession of our Priviledges till the Mogull came into these parts to the Conquest of Golconda and Visapore, when Mr. Elihu Yale and his Councill thought it necessary to send an Armenian, One Ovannes, to Reside in the Mogulls Camp as their Vakeel to treat for a Phirmaund, which was in the Year 1688. The Vakeel wrote word that he had brought matters very near to a Conclusion; when, at the same time, Letters were sent from the Camp that Generall Child[1] at Bombay had made a Peace with the Moores,[2] and was to have a generall Phirmaund from the Mogull, in which this Place and Bengall were to be included. Which put a Stop to what Governour Yale was then doing, And the Vakeel was ordered to distribute no more mony till further orders. All that we can find of this Phirmaund upon our Books is a very slight Paper Containing nothing materiall to the Purpose.

'The next Steps that were made towards getting a Phirmaund were in the Year 1692 by Mr. Yale, when Cawn Bux, Assid Cawn and Zulphakur Cawn were at Chingee, when Mess^rs Trenchfield and Pitt[3] were sent from this Place to wait upon them with a Considerable Present. Upon which they obtained liberty for our Mint, with a Nashawn from the Prince, a Phirwanna and Dustuck from Assid Cawn, of which we send you Copys; and you may observe that a Phirmaund is therein promised, but has never been Complyed with.

'Another Essay was made in Mr. Higginsons time, Anno 1695,[4] to procure a Phirmaund when Zulphacer Cawn was with a Camp in these parts employed in the Conquest of Ellore;[5] but all that Mr. Higginson could procure was Parwannas to Confirm our Priviledges According to Sallabad. And so this matter has rested from that time to this, and we have been pretty easie; only upon Alterations of Government the Great Men have been allways troublesome and exacting of Mony. We have now given you a full account [of all] that has ever been done for Securing our Priviledges in this Settlement.

'Fort St. David and Cuddalore was granted us in 1688[6] by Ram Raz, Raja of Chingee; and when Zulphakur Cawn Conquered that City he was pleased to Confirm the grant of that and the depending Villages.

'Vizagapatam was granted us by Nabob Seer Lascarr in the King of Golconda's time, Anno 1682 or thereabouts, which we have enjoyed ever since, but never without great Troubles from the Nabobs that Govern the Carlingo Country.' (*Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xvi., 23rd Oct., 1711.)

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[1] Sir John Child, 'Generall of India.'

[2] Peace was proclaimed in 1690.

[3] Richard Trenchfield and John Pitt.

[4] Meanwhile, on the 10th Feb., 169$\frac{2}{3}$, Asad Khān had granted the villages of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tandore.

[5] Apparently Vellore is meant. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 6th June, 1695.)

[6] They were acquired in 1690.

END OF VOL. I.

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